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THE INDIAN YEAR BOOK OF EDUCATION 1964

SECOND YEAR BOOK

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION



NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH & TRAINING
NEW DELHI

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SECOND YEAR BOOK

Elementary Education



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PREFACE

The National Council of Educational Research and Training publishes the Indian Year Books of Education, of which the present book is second in the series. The First Year Book of Education was a review of educational developments in India in the post-independence period (1947-61). The present Year Book is devoted to an examination of the problems of elementary education in India.

One of the important objectives of the national educational policy is to provide free and compulsory education to all children in the age-group 6-14. The goal is drawing nearer realization with the completion of each Five-Year Plan. Expansion of educational facilities is taking place on a scale never known before, and with this the problems are also growing in range and complexity. It is hoped that the statements of the issues set out in this book and the data that are presented will be found helpful to students of Indian Education as much as to those who have a general interest in a study of these problems.

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SECTION ONE

Elementary Education in India

SECTION ONE

Historical Development (1800-1961)

This section deals with the historical development of elementary education in India. Chapter 1 covers the progress made up to 1921, when education was transferred to Indian control, and Chapter 2 brings the account up to 1961. Chapter 3 deals with the objectives, curricula and teaching methods in elementary education up to 1937, and Chapter 4 gives an account of the birth and growth of basic education which is trying to bring about a revolution in these fields. Chapter 5 contains two case studies: Baroda, which did pioneer work in compulsory education; and Kerala, the most advanced state in India in elementary education.

CHAPTER 1

A Period of Expansion (1800-1921)

Early Beginnings : The concept of universal education, of providing a minimum standard of education to every boy and girl, is, in India, as old as the first beginnings of her civilization. In the educational system evolved by the Vedic Aryans, a fairly long period of education was prescribed for all children, not on the basis of any State legislation—the concept of the State itself did not then exist—but through the more imperative form of a religious practice. The education of boys and girls began with the *Upanayana** ceremony which was performed by about the eighth year and which introduced them into the home of the preceptor or the *guru*. Here they spent a long period of apprenticeship, living a life of simplicity and hard work and pursuing their studies. The curriculum included, not only the study of religious texts, but also all branches of culture and knowledge as they were then unknown. The period of study usually lasted till the age of 16, and not infrequently, till the age of 24, when the student got married and became a *grahastha*. In modern terms, this educational system amounted to a period of at least eight years of compulsory schooling for every child. That it was universal amongst the Aryans is certain ; but to what extent this or a similar system prevailed among the non-Aryan people of the country is not known.

Unfortunately, this system of education disappeared almost completely in the social changes that took place in later years. Women lost their social status, especially after the entry of the non-Aryan wife in the Aryan household. They were first denied the right to study the sacred texts. Later on, the *Upanayana* ceremony came to be prescribed for boys only ; and ultimately, the right to all education was denied to women. The system of child-marriage, which soon crept in, made the education of girls virtually impossible.

* *Up* = near ; *Nayana* = carrying. *Upanayana*, therefore, means carrying the pupil to the teacher or guru and through him, to all the culture and knowledge of the race.

As the caste system became more and more rigid, its operation restricted educational opportunities even among men. The vast bulk of the population consisted of the *Shudras* (the fourth caste) and the *Antyajas* (the untouchable or the lowest caste), and they generally came to be denied all access to education. Even among the superior castes of *Brahmins*, *Kshatriyas* and *Vaishyas*, higher learning came gradually to be restricted to *Brahmins* only and the *Kshatriyas* and *Vaishyas* ordinarily received an elementary general education and professional training needed for their lives. In fact, the seeds of the subsequent stagnation of the Indian society can be traced to this rigid stratification of the social order in which access to education was determined by birth and restricted to a small class of men.

Towards the end of the ancient period, the Hindu system of education developed two main types of schools. The *Tol* or *Pathshala* was the Hindu school of higher learning. It imparted instruction through Sanskrit and provided a curriculum which covered all sectors of traditional classical learning. The teachers were *Brahmins*, respected for their piety and learning, and generally enjoyed the rulers' patronage. The pupils also were *Brahmins*. They received free education and maintained themselves through stipends or scholarships given by kings or rich persons or through private charity. In addition to these institutions of higher learning, there also grew up a large network of elementary schools which provided instruction in the three R's to the children, mostly boys, of the upper castes and the richer landlords and agriculturists. Their teachers were persons of humble learning and generally maintained themselves through small gifts of cash and kind which were given by the parents of those children who attended their schools.

With the advent of the Muslim period, another system of education was imported in the country, *viz.*, Muslim education. Like the Hindus, the Muslims also had two types of institutions. The *Maktab*, which corresponded to the Hindu elementary school, was generally attached to the mosques and functioned with the primary objective of teaching boys and girls to read and write, and particularly to read, the Holy Koran. The *Madrasah*, which corresponded to the Hindu *Tol* or *Pathshala*, was an institution of higher

learning which prepared a highly selective group of men for the professions: priests, judges, doctors, etc. There was no system of child-marriage among Muslims; but the custom of *purdah* prevented the spread of education amongst women.

Indigenous Elementary Education at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century: Both the Hindu and the Muslim systems of elementary education existed side by side throughout the middle ages; and, in spite of the decay caused by the unsettled conditions which prevailed in the country in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, were still fairly vigorous at the opening of the nineteenth century when the foundations of the modern educational system in India were laid by the British administrators. Authentic and extensive data on this subject are available in the reports of the enquiries made by Sir Thomas Munro in Madras (1822-24), Mount-Stuart Elphinstone in Bombay (1823-25), William Adam in Bengal and Bihar (1835-38), and in the Punjab (1849). A careful analysis of these documents shows that the elementary schools of this period were of two main types—elementary schools proper which were conducted by teachers as a profession and ‘centres of domestic instruction’ where arrangements were made for the education of children of the well-to-do families with or without the participation of some of the neighbouring families. Irrespective of their religious affiliation, all elementary schools had certain common features. They mainly catered to the needs of such classes as priests, zamindars, banias, money-lenders and well-to-do farmers. Unlike the schools of higher learning, they were not exclusively religious in character nor did they receive any endowments from the state or the public. The teachers were as humble as their attainments were modest and very often, they knew as much as they taught in their schools. Their remuneration was very small and consisted of regular payments and occasional presents, both in cash and in kind, which rarely amounted to more than Rs. 3 to 5 per month. The training of teachers was unknown and the more successful of them owed their skill either to natural gifts, or to the influence of a good teacher under whom they had studied in their childhood, or to family tradition. The schools gave instruction of a very practical type which was mostly limited to the three R’s, subject to the addition that, in Muslim schools, the reading of the Holy Koran formed an important subject of the

curriculum. They had no buildings of their own and were held, sometimes in a mosque or a temple or some such public building, often in the houses of the teachers themselves or of their patrons, and not infrequently, under a tree. There were no printed books, nor was any paper used, the writing being mostly done on wooden slates with dust or sandpasting. The methods of instruction were often crude and the punishments harsh ; but their great redeeming features were individual attention, cordial relations between teachers and pupils, and elasticity of organization. The amount of fees, the times of payment, their break-up in cash or kind, were all adjusted to the purse of the parents. The hours of instruction and days of working were equally adjusted to local conditions and needs of the pupils. There were no classes, no regular periods of admission, and no examinations at prescribed intervals. A pupil joined the school at any time, became a class by himself, followed his own pace of study and left the school when he had acquired all that he desired to know or the school had to teach. But the most distinctive feature of these schools was the monitorial system of education which was current in several schools, particularly the Hindu elementary schools. Under this system, the senior boys were required to instruct the junior boys, either individually or in small groups. This method was noted by Dr. Bell, the Presidency Chaplain at Madras, who introduced it in England as a cheap and efficient method of educating poor children.

These schools continued to reflect the stratification of the Indian society. They did not admit children from the scheduled castes. As for girls, the position varied from one area to another. Adam found that, in Bengal, hardly any girl ever learnt to read and write because there was a superstition that a girl who did so would soon become a widow. The picture was more favourable in Bombay where the enquiry stated that the Muslim families had a system of educating their daughters at home and there is evidence enough to believe that a similar practice also prevailed in the well-to-do Hindu families. In Madras, it was reported that, although learning was unknown to women of the Brahmins and of Hindus in general, the women of castes like the Rajbanda did receive some education. In the Punjab, not only were girls found to be attending schools, but there were also women teachers. In spite of these exceptions,

however, the general picture was one of an almost total neglect of the education of girls.

Some data are also available about the extent of educational facilities which this system provided. Munro found that in Madras, there was an elementary school for every one thousand of population and that one child in every 67 was under instruction. In Bombay, the picture was less bright and only one child in 113 was reported to be at school. Adam records that there was an elementary school in Bengal for every 400 persons and that one child in every 73 was in school. There is, however, enough evidence to show that both these were under-estimates. Adam also counted the number of literates in the district of Rajshahi and found that about 6.1 per cent of the adult male population (above 14 years of age) was literate. Good as these statistics are, a better idea of the situation is given, not by such statistics which could only be imperfect, but by opinions of British officers who knew the country intimately. For example, Munro observed that the state of education in India, 'low as it is compared to that of (England), is higher than it was in most European countries at no distant period'.¹ Mr. G. L. Prendergast, a member of the Bombay Governor's Council, wrote in 1821 that 'there is hardly a village, great or small, throughout our territories, in which there is not at least one school and in the larger villages more, many in every town and in larger cities in every division; where young natives are taught reading, writing and arithmetic, upon a system so economical, from a handful or two of grain to perhaps a rupee per month to the school master, according to the ability of the parents, and at the same time so simple and effectual that there is hardly a cultivator or a petty dealer who is not competent to keep his own accounts with a degree of ease, conciseness and clearness, I rather think fully equal to these and any British merchants'.² Even allowing for the element of exaggeration in statements of this type, there is no doubt that the system of elementary education for boys was fairly extensive at this period in all parts of the country.

¹ *Selections from Educational Records of the Government of Madras*, No. II, Appendix E.

² *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company*, 1832, p. 468.

Official Policy Towards Indigenous Elementary Education : It would obviously have been to the best interest of the educational development in the country if these indigenous elementary schools could have been adopted as the foundation of a national system of education and strengthened and improved through proper guidance and adequate financial aid. Such was the recommendation made by Munro in Madras, Adam in Bengal and Thomason in the North-Western Province (now Uttar Pradesh). The same views were expressed by the Despatch of 1854 and, more emphatically, by the Indian Education Commission of 1882. But by and large, the advice was not accepted by the officers of the Education Departments. Some of them had nothing but contempt for everything 'Indian', including indigenous education; some were of the view that any interference with the indigenous schools would destroy their good points without overcoming their deficiencies; many had an exaggerated concept of elementary education—they regarded it as a means of spreading Western knowledge through the medium of the Indian languages—and had hardly any use for institutions which were limited to the teaching of three R's; and most of them were in love with the idea of building up empires and of establishing *new* schools under their direct control and supervision. Consequently, the indigenous schools languished outside the official system of education till they disappeared almost completely by about 1900. Some were killed by ill-planned attempts at reform; others were destroyed by competition; but the vast majority died of sheer neglect. This was indeed a great national loss because the time and money that could have been advantageously utilized in improving and expanding an existing system was lost fruitlessly in creating a new system. It also checked the progress of elementary education considerably and it is a fact of history that the percentage of literacy among men, or the enrolment in elementary schools, was, on the whole, no better in 1901 than it was at the opening of the nineteenth century.

The First Steps (1813-59) : The existing system of elementary education did not, therefore, arise from the indigenous elementary schools which had developed over centuries and survived immense political vicissitudes. It was built up, *ab initio*, by the British administrators in about a century between 1813 when the East India

Company was compelled to accept responsibility for the education of the people and 1921 when the control of education was largely transferred to the Indian people themselves under the Government of India Act, 1919.

The first stage of this development comes to an end in 1859. During this period, each province of British India evolved its own method of dealing with the problem. In Madras, Munro proposed a scheme for the preparation of teachers under which two schools (one for Hindus and one for Muslims) were to be established in each Collectorate and one school in each tahsil. But owing to his sudden death, the experiment could not be pursued satisfactorily and was soon given up. In fact, elementary education continued to be sadly neglected in Madras till 1868. In 1855-56, it had only 83 departmental primary schools with 2,093 pupils. In Bombay, a great emphasis was placed on the training of teachers and the establishment of a new type of primary school whose one objective was to spread western knowledge through the media of Indian languages. These schools had ten classes and taught an ambitious curriculum which included the three R's, history of England and India, geography, astronomy, natural sciences, algebra, Euclidean geometry and trigonometry. In fact, these so-called primary schools were almost like high schools teaching through the medium of the Indian languages. The number of the schools was naturally small ; but the teachers were well paid and the standards, high. In 1855-56, it had 220 departmental elementary schools with 17,669 pupils. In Bengal, the Government concentrated its efforts mainly on the development of English schools and in 1854, the number of departmental elementary schools was only 69 with 3,279 pupils. In the North-Western Provinces, Thomason did the pioneer experiment of levying a cess of one-half per cent on land-revenue from the zamindars ; and its proceeds were utilized, along with an equal grant from the Government, to establish departmental elementary schools. The results were very encouraging and in 1854-55, there were 830 elementary schools with 17,000 pupils. In the Punjab (annexed in 1849), some progress had been made to establish departmental schools and in 1856-57, their number was stated to be 579. Taken all in all, therefore, this was a period of small beginnings. The difficulties in the way of a more rapid pace of expansion were

two-fold. First was the adoption of the *downward filtration theory* as an official policy of Government. It was believed that education filtered down from the upper to the lower classes of society and, therefore, the Education Departments were expected, *not* to make any attempt to educate the masses directly, but to concentrate their efforts on educating the upper classes only. Secondly, the resources given to the Education Departments were meagre in the extreme. Even in 1855, the total Government expenditure on education was only Rs. 999,898. As large portions of these resources had to be allocated to administrative expenditure and to the establishment of English schools and colleges, the funds available for elementary education were extremely limited.

The First Period of Rapid Expansion (1859-81): Between 1859 and 1881, however, steps were taken to overcome these difficulties. The *downward filtration theory* was first repudiated by the Despatch of 1854 which declared that 'our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible, still more important, and one which has been hitherto, we are bound to admit, too much neglected, namely, how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station of life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people, who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts, and we desire to see the active measures of Government more especially directed, for the future, to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure.' The same policy was reiterated in the resolution appointing the Indian Education Commission (1882) which observed that, while it would be contrary to the policy of Government to check or hinder in any degree the future progress of high or middle education, it is essential that the different branches of education should move forward with more equal step than hitherto and that the principal object of the enquiry of the Commission should be 'the present state of elementary education throughout the empire, and the means by which this can everywhere be extended and improved'.³ The Commission itself recommended that 'while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable, in the present circumstances of the country, to declare the elementary

³ *Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, p. 625.

education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore.⁴ With these pronouncements of policy which were also accepted and implemented in practice, a better deal came to be given to elementary education after 1859.

The most important event of this period was the levy of local fund cesses, a portion of whose proceeds was generally earmarked for elementary education. Realizing the success of Thomason's experiment in the North-Western Province, the Despatch of 1859 suggested that the 'officers of the Department of Education should be relieved from the onerous and invidious task of soliciting contributions' for the support of the elementary schools (which they were required to do under the system of grant-in-aid), that the 'means of elementary education should be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government', and that, for the support of these schools, a local educational rate should be levied because 'the appropriation of a fixed proportion of the annual value of the land to the purpose of providing such means of education for the population immediately connected with the land, seems, *per se*, unobjectionable, and the application of a percentage for the construction and maintenance of roads appears to afford a suitable precedent for such an impost'.⁵ In accordance with these orders, local cesses for elementary education came to be levied in the rural areas in most parts of British India between 1861 and 1880.

Reference has already been made to the levy of a cess in the North-Western Provinces. The Punjab, which was next to follow the example, levied a cess of one per cent of land revenue in 1856-57 in certain areas and generalized the levy in all areas in 1864. The Province of Oudh imposed a cess of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on land revenue in 1861 and earmarked one per cent out of it for education. The Central Provinces followed the example of the North-Western Province and levied the cess at one per cent in 1862-63. Two years later, the cess was raised to two per cent as the amount realized from the one per cent cess was not adequate to meet the requirements. Bombay introduced a cess of one anna on every rupee of

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 174.

⁵ Despatch of 1859, para 52.

land revenue ($6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent) in 1863 and generalized its levy by the Bombay Local Funds Act of 1869. One-third of the cess was earmarked for education. A similar local fund cess was imposed in Sind in 1865; but only half of it was given to all local purposes and the other half was retained by Government as a set-off against expenditure incurred by it for local purposes such as canal clearance, public buildings, etc. Berar imposed a local fund cess of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent and earmarked one-fifth of it for education. Madras passed a Local Funds Act in 1871 and imposed a cess at a rate not exceeding one anna on land revenue but did not prescribe any definite proportion of it to be paid to education. A local cess was introduced in Assam in 1879. But in Bengal, no cess on land revenue was imposed even up to 1881. This was mainly due to the permanent revenue settlement introduced in the Province which legally prevented any addition to the taxation on land.

As a result of all these measures, elementary education progressed very rapidly between 1859 and 1881. In 1855, the country had only 2,810 elementary schools (1,202 departmental, 36 aided and inspected and 1,572 extra-departmental) with a total enrolment of 96,923, excluding indigenous schools whose number was estimated at 47,886 and enrolment at 788,701 (and even these figures were largely under-estimated). In 1881-82, the number of primary schools⁶ increased to 82,916 with a total enrolment of 2,061,541, while the number of indigenous schools declined to 25,223 with an enrolment of 358,203 only. It must also be remembered that the expansion in the different provinces varied considerably depending upon the manner in which the proceeds of the local cess were applied. In Bombay, the total receipts from the local cess were Rs. 787,132. But as these were used mainly in maintaining departmental schools, which were costlier, there were only 5,338 elementary schools with an enrolment of 332,688. In Madras, the cess receipts were much less—Rs. 502,116. But as these were largely utilized in aiding private schools, which were cheaper, there were 14,486 elementary schools with an enrolment of 360,643.

One more point need be noted. The local fund cess on the land revenue was collected almost exclusively in rural areas. There

⁶ In addition, there were, in 1881-82, 3,404 middle schools with an enrolment of 146,630.

was no corresponding levy in urban areas and the municipalities were only *permitted* to incur some expenditure on elementary education. Consequently, they did not exert themselves fully and large amounts of the cess collected in rural areas came actually to be spent in urban areas.

The Indian Education Commission and After (1881-1901): The Indian Education Commission gave particular emphasis to the development of elementary education very greatly. It made one radical recommendation: the responsibility, control and administration of elementary education should be transferred to local bodies—the District Boards or Councils in rural areas and the Municipalities in urban areas. The recommendation was accepted and, for the first time, elementary education came to be a local responsibility. The problem of compulsory education was also raised before the Commission, but was ruled out as unpractical. However, it made several recommendations to accord priority to the expansion and improvement of elementary education.

In spite of these recommendations, elementary education languished between 1881 and 1901. The main cause was the neglect to provide adequate financial support. The Commission naively assumed that the proceeds of the local fund cesses would meet most of the needs of the situation. It did visualize some assistance from government funds and recommended that elementary education had 'a large claim' on provincial revenues and that, in this regard, the 'liberality of one part of India may afford an example to local governments . . . elsewhere'. These vague statements, however, meant little in practice and the contribution of provincial revenues to the expenditure on elementary education remained almost stationary during this period. Consequently, elementary education had to depend mostly on the inelastic local cess (the land revenue could be revised once in thirty years or so) and was starved for funds. In 1901-02, therefore, there were only 97,854 primary schools with a total enrolment of 3.2 million and 4,323 middle schools with an enrolment of 359,909. The indigenous schools had almost totally disappeared by this time.

One development of this period needs special notice. The transfer of elementary education to the control of municipalities compelled them to incur adequate expenditure thereon. Conse-

quently, the rural local fund cesses were relieved of a wrongful financial burden, and the contributions from municipal revenues to the expenditure on elementary education increased substantially. The Commission also recommended that a minimum portion of the local fund cess raised in rural areas should be earmarked for elementary education—this was not always done in the past—so that even the contributions from the rural areas expanded a good deal. Owing to these reforms, the total financial support available to elementary education from local funds increased very greatly. But for this increase, even the little expansion shown above would not have been possible.

The Second Period of Rapid Expansion (1901-1921): It was, therefore, obvious that the limit of expansion had been reached under the system of local fund cesses adopted in 1859 and that, for further progress, larger assistance from provincial revenues was called for. This bold decision was taken by Lord Curzon who increased the Provincial grants to local funds. The following passage from the *Government Resolution on Educational Policy*, 1904, thus explains the genesis of these orders:

14. Primary education is the instruction of the masses, through the vernacular, in such subjects as will best stimulate their intelligence and fit them for their position in life. It was found in 1854 that the consideration of measures to this end had been too much neglected and a considerable increase of expenditure on primary education was then contemplated. The Education Commission recommended in 1883, that 'the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement should be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should be directed in a still larger measure than before'. The Government of India fully accept the proposition that the active extension of primary education is one of the most important duties of the State. They undertake this responsibility, not merely on general grounds, but because, as Lord Lawrence observed in 1868, 'among all the sources of difficulty in our administration, and of possible danger to the stability of our Government, there are few so serious as ignorance of the people.' To the people themselves, moreover, the lack of education is now a more serious disadvantage than it was in more primitive days. By the extension of railways the economic side of agriculture in India has been greatly developed, and the cultivator has been brought into contact with the commercial world, and has been involved in transactions in which an illiterate man is at a great disadvantage. The material benefits attaching to education have at the same time increased with the development of schemes for introducing improved agricultural methods, for opening agricultural banks, for strengthening the legal position of the cultivator, and for generally improving the conditions of rural life. Such schemes depend largely

for their success upon the influence of education permeating the masses and rendering them accessible to ideas other than those sanctioned by tradition. 16. While the need for education grows with the growth of population, the progress towards supplying it is not now so rapid as it was in former years. In 1870-71, there were 16,473 schools with 607,320 scholars; in 1881-82 there were 82,916 with 2,061,541 scholars. But by 1891-92 these had only increased to 97,109 schools with 2,837,607 scholars, and the figures of 1901-02 (98,538 schools with 3,268,726 scholars) suggest that the initial force of expansion is somewhat on the decline; indeed the last year of the century showed a slight decrease as compared with the previous year. For purposes of exact comparison some allowances have to be made for differences in the basis of the statistics but their broad effect is not altered by these modifications. Nor has the rate of growth of primary schools kept pace with that of secondary schools, in which the number of scholars has considerably more than doubled during the last twenty years. It may be said indeed that the expansion of primary schools has received a check in recent years from the calamities of famine and plague; and it is further impeded by the indifference of the more advanced and ambitious classes to the spread of primary education. These, however, are minor obstacles, which would soon be swept away if the main difficulty of finding the requisite funds for extending primary education could be overcome.

17. The expenditure upon primary education does not admit of exact statement, since the cost of the instruction given in the lower classes of secondary schools is not separately shown, nor is the expenditure on the administration and inspection of primary schools capable of separate calculation. But the direct outlay from public funds upon primary schools stands as follows:

		1886-87	1891-92	1901-02
From Provincial Funds ..		16,00,239	13,43,343	16,92,514
From Local and Municipal Funds ..		26,07,624	35,86,208	46,10,387
TOTAL ..		42,07,863	49,29,551	63,02,901

18. On a general view of the question the Government of India cannot avoid the conclusion that primary education has hitherto received insufficient attention and an inadequate share of the public funds. They consider that it possesses a strong claim upon the sympathy both of the Supreme Government and of the local Governments, and should be made a leading charge upon provincial revenues; and that in those provinces where it is in a backward condition, its encouragement should be a primary obligation. The Government of India believe that local Governments are cordially in agreement with them in desiring this extension, and will carry it out to the limits allowed by the financial conditions of each province.⁷

⁷ *Progress of Education in India*, 1897-1902, pp. 462-63.

This policy decision implied an admission of the fact that the financial responsibility for elementary education had to be squarely placed upon government revenues, although the local bodies may be utilized as agencies for its administration. To that extent, it marked a fundamental and welcome modification of the policy laid down by the Indian Education Commission.

In this period, there were a number of fortunate developments which increased the tempo of expansion of elementary education. There was the general awakening in the country due to the organization of the struggle for freedom by the Indian National Congress. The First World War brought new social and economic factors into play. Consequently, the desire to educate their children spread rapidly among the parents, and school enrolments began to rise. Secondly, a strong demand for the introduction of compulsory primary education began to be put forward by the Indian people. This will be described in detail in the next chapter. But it may be mentioned here that Gokhale moved a resolution on compulsory education in the Central Legislature in 1910 and followed it up by the introduction of a Bill in 1911. Although the Bill was defeated, it focused public attention on the issue and created considerable pressure on Government to increase the grants-in-aid to elementary education. Thirdly, the Central Government sanctioned large grants for elementary education during this period and the Provincial Governments also followed suit. In consequence, there was an immense expansion of elementary education between 1901 and 1921. In 1921-22, the total number of primary schools rose to 160,070 and their enrolment to 6.3 million. The total expenditure on elementary education also rose in proportion to Rs. 50.9 million.⁸ Significant as these achievements are in comparison with the earlier periods, it must be remembered that, even in 1921, the expansion of elementary education was far from adequate. The total enrolment at the primary stage was only 2.6 per cent of the population (as against the desirable target of 20 per cent); a vast majority of villages were still unprovided with schools; the enrolment of girls or of the children from the backward classes was still extremely meagre; and in spite of all that was done since 1813, the overall

⁸ There were, in addition, 6,739 middle schools with an enrolment of 644,614 and an expenditure of Rs. 16.6 million.

percentage of literacy was only 7.2. It showed an increase of only 1.4 per cent over that of 1891 (when the first literacy statistics for the country became available); nor did it show any impressive progress in comparison with the estimate of 3 per cent literacy at the opening of the nineteenth century.

Qualitative Improvement of Elementary Education (1813-1921): The main achievement of this century of educational activity, therefore, is not expansion. It is rather to be sought in the quality and character of the education that was imparted in the new elementary schools.

First, the indigenous schools were either individual or community institutions unconnected with and unsupported by the state. The new elementary schools which were now created lost the vitalizing and intimate connection with the local community which the indigenous schools had. But they cut new ground in making elementary education a responsibility of the state (which may be administered direct or through local bodies) and securing to it, tax support at the local, provincial and central levels. Secondly, the teachers of the new schools were, on the whole, a more competent group. Their general education was better; the idea of training had been accepted; and their remuneration also had been considerably improved. Thirdly, the curricula also had undergone a considerable change. The indigenous schools had a course of 2 to 3 years and taught only the three R's; but now the elementary course was spread over seven or eight years and included the three R's, history, geography, nature study, physical education and hygiene, object lessons and drawing, and, with some variations from area to area, a second language (mostly English), science, agriculture and even handwork. The school building and physical facilities showed improvement. A number of schools were provided with buildings; printed books and paper had been introduced; and some teaching aids also began to be supplied. But by far the most far-reaching change was noticeable in the social groups from which the pupils were drawn: the elementary schools now enrolled a fair number of girls, not only in the special girls' schools, but even in the boys' schools and also an appreciable number of children from the backward classes—the untouchables as well as the hill tribes. In all these matters, the new elementary school was a distinct improvement over

the indigenous one and the qualitative gain so secured, compensated to some extent, the loss in quantity caused through the disappearance of the indigenous system.

CHAPTER 2

Towards Universal Elementary Education (1921-61)

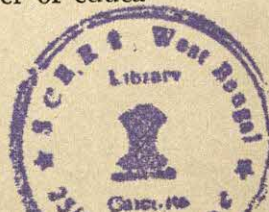
The year 1921 is a significant landmark in the history of elementary education in India. It was in this year that the control of elementary education was transferred to Indian ministers who were responsible to a legislature with a large elected majority. Moreover, it was from 1921 onwards that the country may be said to have definitely accepted the goal of compulsory education for all children and made considerable efforts to realize it in practice. This period of 40 years may, therefore, be aptly described as a march towards universal education. Although this ideal is yet to be reached, the overall progress of elementary education during this period was faster than in the preceding one, owing as much to the general social awakening among the people as to the deliberate attempts of government and local bodies to expand it both on a voluntary and on a compulsory basis.

For convenience of presentation, the events of this period will be divided into three sub-periods. The first sub-period covers the years of 'dyarchy' (1921-37) when the system of provincial government was divided into two halves—reserved and transferred. The transferred part was under the control of education ministers responsible to the legislature (education, subject to a few reservations, was included in this part), while the reserved part continued to be the responsibility of the governor. The second and the third sub-periods will cover respectively the years of 'provincial autonomy' (1937-47) under which the entire provincial government was made responsible to the provincial legislature, and the post-independence era (1947-61). Each of these sub-periods has its own distinctive features and achievements. Finally, we shall briefly review the progress made in the passing of compulsory education laws and their enforcement between 1918 and 1961.

I. Elementary Education under Dyarchy (1921-37)

Expansion of Elementary Education : The transfer of educa-

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tion to Indian control in 1921 ushered in an era of great public awakening, especially in the field of elementary education. As the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India, 1927-32*, observed: 'A burst of enthusiasm swept children into school with unparalleled rapidity ; an almost childlike faith in the value of education was implanted in the minds of people ; parents were prepared to make almost any sacrifice for the education of their children ; the seed of tolerance towards the less fortunate in life was begotten ; ambitious and comprehensive programmes of development were formulated, which are calculated to fulfil the dreams of a literate India ; the Muslim community, long backward in education, pressed forward with eagerness to obliterate past deficiencies ; enlightened women began to storm the citadel of old-time prejudice against the education of Indian girls ; Government, with full concurrence of legislative councils, poured out large sums of money on education, which would have been regarded as beyond the realm of practical politics ten years previously'.¹ In the five years following 1921, therefore, there was a sudden and great spurt in the development of elementary education. The number of elementary schools increased from 166,809 to 197,999, their enrolment from 6.96 million to 9.11 million, and expenditure from Rs. 67.5 million to Rs. 91.9 million.

Very soon, however, there was a set-back, due mainly to two reasons. First and foremost was the world economic depression which hit India in 1930 and the effects of which did not pass off till about 1937. It necessitated drastic cuts in educational expenditure, and all large-scale programmes of expansion had to be postponed. The second was an ideological consideration, a new point of view which was strongly urged by the Hartog Committee.² This Committee came to the conclusion that the system of elementary

¹ Vol. I. p. 3.

² According to the Government of India Act of 1919, a Royal Commission on constitutional reforms was to be appointed in 1929. But owing to the continued agitation in India that the Reforms of 1919 were unsatisfactory, a Royal Commission, presided over by Sir John Simon, was appointed a little earlier in 1927. Under Section 84-A(3) of the Government of India Act of 1919, this Commission was asked to report on the growth of education in British India and was also authorized to appoint, if necessary, an auxiliary committee for the purpose. Accordingly, the Commission appointed this Committee presided over by Sir Philip Hartog, who had served for several years in India as a member of the Calcutta University Commission, and as Vice-Chancellor of the Dacca University.

education in India was largely ineffective and wasteful, and that these weaknesses had increased considerably, owing mainly to the sudden expansion that had taken place since 1921. For instance, the Committee drew attention, almost for the first time, to the twin evils of wastage and stagnation. It showed that out of every 100 pupils who entered class I, only 18 reached class V and attained literacy and that, even of this meagre number, a fairly large proportion lapsed into illiteracy later because there was no adequate provision for the exercise and maintenance of the literacy that had been acquired. It was, therefore, of the view that it would be in the larger interests of the country to undertake a programme of 'consolidation and improvement' instead of pressing forward with expansion. This view was accepted by the Education Departments and came largely to dominate official policies between 1930 and 1937.

The tempo of expansion created during the first quinquennium, therefore, was greatly slowed down during the next ten years as the table on page 24 would show.

It will be seen that the total expansion achieved in the period of ten years between 1926-27 and 1936-37 was about the same that was achieved in the quinquennium between 1921-22 and 1926-27. No one would have objected to this reduction in the tempo of expansion if it had at least led to a corresponding improvement in quality. But this did not happen and the net result of the recommendations of the Hartog Committee was to slow down the tempo of expansion without any tangible gains in terms of qualitative improvement.

Transfer of Control to Local Bodies: The second important event of this period was the transfer of large powers of control over elementary education to the newly constituted local bodies. This transfer, it may be pointed out, was very different, both in extent and character, from the transfer of control made on the recommendation of the Indian Education Commission (1882). In the earlier case, the transfer of control was mostly an act of administrative decentralization. The local bodies of this period were neither fully democratic nor autonomous. In the beginning, there were no elections and all members were nominated. Later on, elections were introduced, but the elected members were in a minority.

TABLE 1: EXPANSION OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (1927-37)

Year	Number of elementary schools	Number of pupils in elementary schools	Expenditure on elementary schools (Rs.)	Enrolment at the elementary stage including pupils in elementary departments of secondary schools
1921-22				
Primary ..	160,070	6,310,400	50,908,107	6,897,233
Middle ..	6,739	644,614	16,632,257	434,810
Elementary	166,809	6,955,014	67,540,364	7,332,043
1926-27				
Primary ..	189,348	8,256,760	69,521,696	9,120,458
Middle ..	8,651	853,640	22,391,643	713,939
Elementary	197,999	9,110,400	91,913,339	9,834,397
1931-32				
Primary ..	201,470	9,454,360	81,260,290	10,427,980
Middle ..	10,616	1,342,468	28,989,829	980,514
Elementary	212,086	10,796,828	110,250,119	11,408,494
1936-37				
Primary ..	197,227	10,541,790	83,780,039	11,465,709
Middle ..	10,762	1,363,346	28,722,852	1,142,254
Elementary	207,989	11,905,136	112,502,891	12,607,963

When, in course of time, they were given the majority, the important post of president or chairman was made non-elective and was held by government officers in their *ex-officio* capacity (e.g. the Collector or Deputy Commissioner was the *ex-officio* President or Chairman of the District Board or Council). Moreover, inspection of elementary schools was done by government officers ; and District Educational Officers, who acted as secretaries of local bodies, exercised very large administrative powers. The local bodies were, therefore, concerned with only a few matters of policy ; and even in the making of such policies, the officials of the Department had

a large voice and their advice was usually sought and accepted by the non-official members. The Education Department, therefore, did not lose much when the so-called 'transfer' of elementary education to local bodies took place after 1882. The circumstances of the transfer during the present period were, however, very different. Under the Montagu-Chelmsford Report,³ the local bodies were wholly reorganized. They had a fairly broad-based franchise and large elected majorities. They now elected their own office-bearers and were, in every way, fully conscious of their authority. When very large powers devolved on such bodies, the transfer of power no longer remained a 'shadow' as in the past. It became a very real thing and created a number of difficult problems.

When education was transferred to Indian control, it was hoped that the measure would lead to an expansion of elementary education and to the introduction of compulsory education—a task which the earlier bureaucratic regime had failed or refused to do. The provincial governments were also conscious of this responsibility; but instead of attempting to fulfil it through the Education Departments under their direct control, they tried to achieve the goal indirectly through the local bodies. One of the first acts of most provincial governments under dyarchy, therefore, was to transfer very large powers over elementary education to local bodies. This was done with precisely the same motive as had impelled the Indian Education Commission (1882) to make a similar recommendation, that such transfer would facilitate the expansion and improvement of elementary education. The result, however, was contrary to expectations and the cause of elementary education suffered a set-back.

The Hartog Committee analysed the situation in detail and found ample evidence to show that the local bodies were very inexperienced in the difficult work of educational administration, that they were often reluctant to consult educational officers and that, in consequence, there was much that was wasteful and ineffective for the educational programme. The worst abuses were reported

³ This Report, prepared jointly by Mr. Montague, the Secretary of State for India and Lord Chelmsford, the Governor-General of India, in 1918, advocated a large-scale reform in local bodies with a view to democratizing them and investing them with larger powers. Its recommendations were, by and large, accepted and implemented.

in connection with the appointment, promotion and transfer of teachers. The Committee observed:

In England, these matters, which involve much detail where the number of teachers is large, are dealt with by local bodies with the assistance of a highly trained and competent staff. Local bodies in India do not usually employ such staffs, although in a few places there are executive officers for educational purposes. In most cases the executive powers in these matters are delegated by the local body, or are actually transferred by law, to the chairman (as in the United Provinces under an Act of 1928). It is on the one hand a disadvantage to place on an unpaid officer heavy administrative responsibilities; on the other hand, when abuses of power occur, they are easier to deal with if the responsibility is placed on a single individual than if it is placed on a body of persons. It is a distressing feature in the present system that local bodies and their chairmen have in many instances gravely abused their powers for political and other purposes, and that teachers are being used as election agents, and are transferred at election times for the purpose of influencing elections. The advice of the inspecting staff in these matters is frequently unsought, and when advice is tendered it is often ignored. Small wonder is it that the teacher finds it necessary to devote the greater part of his energies towards ingratiating himself with some influential member of the board in order to obtain a transfer to a more desirable locality or to secure his retention in his present desirable school. The chairman of one district board writes that some of the teachers devote much of their time to paying frequent visits to members in order to get themselves transferred or in trying to get the order of their transfer cancelled. The effect upon the discipline among the teachers and the tuition in the schools is deplorable; and disaster must certainly follow in those districts where these practices are allowed to continue.⁴

The Hartog Committee, therefore, recommended that suitable checks would have to be imposed upon the local bodies and that larger powers would have to be assumed by the Provincial Governments. It said:

We have not suggested, nor do we suggest, that the responsibilities of Ministers in the provinces should be reduced. On the contrary, we are of opinion that they have been reduced too much already by a devolution on local bodies which has taken the control of primary education to a large extent out of their hands with unfortunate results. The relations between Provincial Governments and local bodies demand further consideration and adjustment. Under recent legislation, powers have been devolved on local bodies in such a way that the Ministers responsible to the legislature have no effective control of the expenditure of money voted for mass education; and in some cases, owing to inadequate inspection, they have little information as to the results of that expenditure. It is clear that the new factor of ministerial responsibility has not been taken sufficiently into account.⁵

⁴ *Report*, pp. 328-34.

⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 346-47.

It may be admitted that the Hartog Committee emphasized only one aspect of the problem and that it did not give due consideration to the contribution which the local bodies were able to make to the progress of elementary education by bringing in additional resources and helping to create public awakening. Its recommendation was also mainly influenced by the departmental official who had not realized that the experiment of local self-government in education had really opened out a 'fairer field for the exercise of administrative and directive energy than the more autocratic system which it superseded.' It cannot, however, be gainsaid that the total picture, as it emerged from the Committee's Report, was not inaccurate. There is also little doubt that the teachers had suffered considerable demoralization under local control and that this had a very undesirable effect upon the quality of elementary education as a whole. The main question which succeeding administrators in elementary education had to face, therefore, was this: How to eliminate these evils arising from local control in elementary education and yet retain the advantages of local knowledge, interest, and financial support which they can bring?

II. Elementary Education under Provincial Autonomy (1937-47)

The introduction of Provincial Autonomy in 1937, under the Government of India Act, 1935, removed the handicaps under which the Indian Ministers had to function in dyarchy. It was, therefore, hoped that education as a whole, and elementary education in particular, would make more rapid progress; and such hopes were brightened by the fact that the Congress, which was committed to the programme of compulsory education, had assumed office in almost all the provinces. Popular Ministers began their task of educational development in right earnest immediately on assumption of office in 1937. Almost every province prepared programmes for large-scale expansion of elementary education and also increased the allocation of funds. Programmes of qualitative improvement of elementary education were also simultaneously undertaken. But hardly had this good work got into full swing when the Ministries resigned on the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. For the next six years, caretaker governments

functioned in the provinces and their responsibility was restricted merely to continuing and maintaining the programmes already started. There was, therefore, not much progress between 1939 and 1945. Post-war plans for educational development were prepared by 1944. But their implementation was postponed in view of the political changes in the offing and the short period between the end of the war and the attainment of independence was mostly taken up by plans for the transfer of power. Programmes for effective development of elementary education, therefore, did not begin until after the attainment of independence.

For the reasons indicated above, the progress of elementary education between 1937 and 1947 was not impressive (Table 2).

TABLE 2: EXPANSION OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (1937-47)

Year	Number of elementary schools	Number of pupils in elementary schools	Expenditure on elementary schools (Rs.)	Enrolment at the elementary stage including pupils on rolls in elementary departments of sec. schools
1936-37				
Primary ..	197,227	10,541,790	83,780,039	11,465,709
Middle ..	10,762	1,363,346	28,722,852	1,142,254
Elementary	207,989	11,905,136	112,502,891	12,607,963
1941-42				
Primary ..	181,968	12,018,726	94,951,601	13,105,618
Middle ..	11,162	1,450,841	27,713,017	1,232,234
Elementary	193,130	13,469,567	122,664,618	14,337,852
1946-47				
Primary ..	172,661	13,036,248	184,866,503	14,105,418
Middle ..	12,843	1,781,390	48,028,644	2,036,109
Elementary	185,504	14,817,638	232,895,147	16,141,527

Some attempts were made in this period to modify and limit the powers given to local bodies under dyarchy. In Bombay, the

Primary Education Act of 1923 was amended in 1938 and powers of inspection were taken over fully by the Government. The Administrative Officer, who functioned as the secretary of the District School Board, was made a government servant. The power of appointing and transferring teachers was withdrawn from the School Boards and vested in the Administrative Officer; and Government assumed the right to give specific directives to the School Boards on any matter it felt essential. This welcome change, though it met with considerable resistance initially, led to a good deal of improvement and set a pattern which has persisted to the present day.

During this period, the main effort of Government was directed to programmes of consolidation and improvement rather than to those of expansion. Programmes for teacher training, improvement of curriculum, and adoption of newer and better methods of teaching made headway, particularly with the stimulation provided by the concept of basic education which was placed before the country by Mahatma Gandhi in 1937. The salaries of the teachers were improved and there was a noticeable reduction in stagnation and wastage.

III. Elementary Education in Post-Independence Period (1946-61)

Constitutional Provision for Elementary Education : The idea of compulsory education was first put forward in India as early as 1838. The first efforts in this direction were made by missionaries and officials. But Indians themselves took up the demand very soon and heroic attempts to make Government accept responsibility for providing compulsory education were made by Gokhale between 1910-12. It was due mainly to the efforts of national leaders inspired by Gokhale that compulsory primary education laws were passed in all the British Indian provinces and some attempt was also made to enforce them. A brief account of these developments will be given in the next section. The results obtained from this legislation were, however, meagre and very soon a general demand grew up that the country must prepare a phased short-range programme for the provision of free elementary education for all children up to the age of 14 years. The efforts to make the British Government accept this national ideal had not succeeded. It was,

therefore, natural that it should figure prominently in the thinking of the people on the attainment of independence. The Post-war Plan of Educational Development, which had been prepared by the British Government in 1944, proposed a period of 40 years for the realization of this ideal. Indian public opinion opposed this proposal very strongly on the ground that the period proposed in the Plan was far too long. The Kher Committee proposed a revised programme of reaching this goal in 16 years.⁶ Even this did not meet the desire of the people and there was a general demand that very high priority should be given to the programme of universal elementary education in the national development plans and that it should be reached through a phased and short-range programme. It was in response to this demand that the Constitution of India, adopted in 1950, contained the following Directive Principle of State Policy:

Art. 45 : The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years.

During the last eleven years, the efforts of the country have been directed to the realization of this goal set before it by the Constitution.

Expansion of Elementary Education : The table on page 31 shows the progress of elementary education in the post-independence period.

The statistics of 1946-47 and those of 1950-51 given in this table are not strictly comparable. The former include figures of several areas which now form part of Pakistan and exclude those from the areas of the princely states now included in the Indian Union. Moreover, the attention of the country could not be concentrated on developmental programmes during this period, since priority had to be given to the immense problems of rehabilitation arising out of the partition. In spite of these limitations, these statistics show that the tempo of expansion in elementary education had increased considerably in this period,

⁶ *Report of the Committee on Ways and Means of Financing Educational Development in India, 1950.*

TABLE 3: ENROLMENT IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION
IN POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

(Figures in millions)

Year				Total enrolment in classes I-V	Percentage of enrolment in classes I-V to total population in the age group 6-11	Total enrolment in classes VI-VIII	Percentage of enrolment in classes VI-VIII to total population in the age group 11-14
1946-47							
Boys .. ..	..	..	..	10.63	53.1	1.72	15.4
Girls .. ..	..	..	..	3.48	17.4	0.32	2.9
TOTAL .. ..	..	..	..	14.11	35.0	2.04	9.0
1950-51							
Boys .. ..	..	..	..	13.77	59.8	2.59	20.7
Girls .. ..	..	..	..	5.38	24.6	0.53	4.5
TOTAL .. ..	..	..	..	19.15	42.6	3.12	12.7
1955-56							
Boys .. ..	..	..	..	17.53	70.3	3.42	25.5
Girls .. ..	..	..	..	7.64	32.4	0.87	6.9
TOTAL .. ..	..	..	..	25.17	52.9	4.29	16.5
1960-61							
(ESTIMATED)							
Boys .. ..	..	..	..	23.38	80.5	4.82	34.3
Girls .. ..	..	..	..	10.96	40.4	1.47	10.8
TOTAL .. ..	..	..	..	34.34	61.1	6.29	22.8
1965-66							
(PLAN TARGET)							
Boys .. ..	..	..	..	30.12	90.4	7.00	39.9
Girls .. ..	..	..	..	19.52	61.6	2.75	16.5
TOTAL .. ..	..	..	..	49.64	76.4	9.75	28.6

due mainly to the public awakening created by the attainment of independence.

The expansion of elementary education entered into its own in the Five-Year Plans for national development. In the First Plan, programmes of elementary education were allocated Rs. 850 million (or 63.9 per cent) out of a total allocation of Rs. 1,330 million to programmes of general education. In the Second Plan, they received an allocation of Rs. 870 million out of a total allocation of Rs. 2,080 million, constituting 41.9 per cent of the total allocation for general education. In the Third Plan, programmes of elementary education have a total allocation of Rs. 2,090 million (or 50 per cent) out of a total allocation of Rs. 4,180 million for general education. In the First Plan, the total enrolment in elementary education went up by 7.2 million and in the Second, by 11.2 million. In the Third Plan, it is expected to go up by 18.8 million which is a little more than the increase in the First and the Second Plans put together. This rate of expansion in elementary education has obviously no parallel in past history. Among other significant developments of this period by far the most important was the adoption of basic education as the national pattern at the elementary stage. The need for ancillary services, such as school meals, had been felt for a long time; but hardly any effort had been made, except in a few cities, to provide school meals to poor and needy children. A lead in this matter was given by Madras State which first introduced a scheme of school meals with community support and later on expanded it with assistance from state funds. The programme has now spread to a number of other states. By 1961, about 4 million children in the country were provided with school meals and the target to be reached by the end of the Third Plan has been placed at 10 million. Steps are also being taken to provide free textbooks to poor children, to improve the standard of textbooks and to bring down their prices. A movement for introducing school uniforms is also gathering momentum.

Another significant development has been the growing effort to bring the school closer to the local community and to seek community support for improvement of elementary education. The State of Madras has given a lead in the matter. The idea was first

tried in 1958 in a small area in Chingleput district. The physical deficiencies of every elementary school in the area were carefully assessed and the community was apprised of the basic needs of each school through informal contacts and they were requested to come forward with donations in cash and kind to meet the deficiencies. The response of the people was very encouraging. Projects to the value of Rs. 15,000 were undertaken and donations and gifts worth Rs. 1,300 were made at the first School Improvement Conference of the area. Since then, the movement has spread to other parts of the State and till December 1960, more than 150,000 projects of school improvement at an estimated cost of Rs. 63 million were undertaken by the people and schemes worth Rs. 40 million have already been carried out. The movement is now spreading to other parts of the country.

In respect of the relations of local bodies to elementary education, the developments have taken different directions in different states. In Punjab, the State Government took over the administration of all elementary schools. In Bihar, the powers of the local authorities were curtailed. A movement in the opposite direction has followed the decision to establish Panchayati Raj institutions at the block and district levels and to transfer to them all developmental programmes, including primary (and even secondary) education. The details of this programme will be discussed in a later chapter. But it would be enough to mention here that several states have already accepted this recommendation and acted upon it while others are actively considering it. It appears that the wheel is again tracking the circle made by the earlier decisions to transfer control to local bodies on the recommendations of Indian Education Commission (1882) or the Montague-Chelmsford Report (1918).

Viewed on the whole, this has been a period, not only of unprecedented expansion, but also of considerable qualitative improvement. There has been a general complaint that standards in education have fallen in the post-independence period because of rapid expansion. Whatever the merits of this view may be with reference to the secondary and higher stages, there is reason to believe that standards in elementary education have improved since 1947. There are several indicators for this: substantial

improvement in general education and professional training of teachers; improvement in their pay-scales; revision of syllabi and adoption of better methods of training; introduction of school meals; closer school-community relations; and a reduction in stagnation and wastage (although the last two still continue to be high). Considerable as these achievements have been, the leeway that remains to be covered is of a challenging magnitude. Even in 1960-61, when free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14 years should have been in force according to the Directive Principle of the Constitution, only 50 per cent of the total population in the age-group had been enrolled in schools (61 per cent in the age-group of 6-11 and 23 per cent in the age-group of 11-14). The standards in elementary education still leave a good deal to be desired, with the goal of converting all elementary schools to the basic pattern still unrealized.

IV. Compulsory Education (1918-61)

Early Beginnings (1838-1910): Although compulsory attendance of school children began to be enforced mainly after 1921, the idea of compulsory elementary education for children seems to have been born with modern elementary education itself. As early as 1838, William Adam wrote that 'the next form in which Government influence may be conceived to be employed for the promotion of education is by making it compulsory and enacting that every village should have a school'.⁷ In 1852, Captain Wingate, a Revenue Survey Commissioner in Bombay, when called upon by Government to give his views on a proposal to levy a local fund on land revenue, recommended the levy of such a cess and suggested that a part of it should be devoted to providing free and compulsory education for sons of agriculturists.⁸ These proposals did not find favour with other officers most of whom opposed it tooth and nail. It was, therefore, dropped although the local fund cess, as explained in Chapter 1, came to be levied in 1863. In 1858, Mr. T. C. Hope, the Educational Inspector of Gujarat Division, proposed that 'an Act be passed, to be declared in force from year to year in such towns and villages as appear to the educational

⁷ D. M. Desai, *Compulsory Primary Education in India*, p. 17.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 18-21.

authorities most ready for and in want of schools and rendering those places liable to a certain assessment for the entire expense of supporting them'.⁹ This proposal also was turned down as premature. These and such other early missionary or official attempts, although foredoomed to failure, served a very useful purpose of keeping the issue alive till the Indian people themselves came forward to demand compulsory education.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Indian leaders began to ask, through speeches and writings, for compulsory education. This demand was strengthened when England herself passed compulsory education laws in 1870 and 1880. In the course of their evidence before the Indian Education Commission, 1882, therefore, a large number of leaders from all over the country, representing all sections of the people, pleaded either for compulsory provision of schooling facilities or for compulsory attendance. A few advocated limited compulsion among the children employed in factories. In spite of its avowed anxiety for large-scale expansion of elementary education, the Commission did not accept any of these suggestions, probably because it considered them to be in advance of the times. Despite this set-back, the movement gained in strength and found a powerful source of inspiration in the experiment of compulsory education launched by the State of Baroda. Its enlightened ruler, Maharaja Sayajirao Gaikwad, introduced compulsory education as an experiment, in the Amreli Taluk of his State in 1893, and in view of the encouraging results obtained, extended it to all parts of the State in 1906. This great experiment clearly showed that compulsory education in India was not a utopian dream, but a realistic and practical proposition; and it served to inspire the Indian movement for compulsory education with hope and confidence.¹⁰

Efforts of Gokhale (1910-12): The scene of the movement soon shifted from the public platform to the floor of the legislature. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, a great Muslim leader of Bombay, raised the issue in the Bombay Legislative Council in 1902 and proposed that a beginning be made by introducing compulsory education in the City of Bombay. In spite of repeated attempts, however, the

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 21.

¹⁰ For details, see Chapter 5.

proposal was not accepted by Government.¹¹ It was, therefore, left to the great Indian leader and educationist, Shri Gopal Krishna Gokhale, to make free and compulsory primary education an urgent national issue by bringing the struggle to the floor of the Imperial Legislative Council. He referred to the problem in his budget speech of 1906 and suggested that the first step in the programme should be to make primary education free in all the schools of the country. This should be followed, he suggested, by making primary education compulsory for boys in the Presidency and a few other leading towns. When the minds of the people had been accustomed to the idea of compulsion, the experiment should be gradually extended to all parts of the country and should cover both boys and girls in a period of about twenty years. He warned the Government that 'it would not do to be deterred by the difficulties of the task. Our whole future depends on its accomplishment and as the Government continues listless in the matter, it will justly be open to the reproach of failing in one of its most sacred duties to the people'.¹² He spoke on the subject in a similar strain in 1907 and again in 1908.¹³ Finding that his speeches had not produced the desired effect, he launched a frontal attack in 1910 by moving a resolution recommending 'that a beginning be made in that direction of making elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country, and that a mixed commission of officials and non-officials be appointed at an early date to frame definite proposals'. The debate on the resolution showed that the House was strongly divided. The officials as well as some prominent non-officials opposed the resolution on several grounds: (1) there was no demand for such a measure from the agriculturists or the poorer sections of the society who would be hard hit by it; (2) there was enough scope for expansion of primary education on a voluntary basis, and persuasion must be exhausted before compulsion was resorted to; (3) advance of compulsory education must be an integral part of advance of education at all levels; and (4) resources were not adequate to meet the demands of the programme. Some members even expressed the fear that educated masses, by demand-

¹¹ D. M. Desai, *Compulsory Primary Education in India*, pp. 40-7.

¹² *Ibid.* pp. 71-2.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 72.

ing higher social and economic status, would lead to trouble and endanger the security of the State. The supporters of the resolution, among whom were eminent leaders like Shri Dadabhoy and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, met these arguments by pointing out that educating the people was the duty of every civilized government, that the masses must be educated in spite of themselves, and that it was a short-sighted policy to avoid compulsion and thereby enable parents to put the children at work at an early age. It was also pointed out that, as private and humanitarian agencies in the country were limited, the cause of mass education could not progress without compulsion and that, in the present circumstances of India, the voluntary method of persuasion was a hopeless failure. The debate clearly showed that Government was not prepared to accept the resolution; and, therefore, on an assurance from Government that his proposals would be examined carefully, Gokhale withdrew it.¹⁴

On March 16, 1911, Gokhale came back with a bill 'to make better provision for the extension of elementary education'. It embodied most of his proposals of 1910 and was a permissive measure enabling the local bodies to introduce compulsory education in their areas. It came up for consideration on March 18, 1912 after eliciting public opinion. The Government members opposed it vehemently on grounds similar to those on which they had opposed his resolution earlier. But Gokhale met all their arguments and closed his address with these memorable words:

My Lord, I know that my bill will be thrown out before the day closes. I make no complaint. I shall not even feel depressed. I know too well the story of the preliminary efforts that were required even in England, before the Act of 1870 was passed, either to complain or to feel depressed. Moreover, I have always felt and have often said that, we of the present generation in India, can only hope to serve our country by our failures. The men and women who will be privileged to serve her by their successes will come later. . . This bill, thrown out today, will come back again and again, till on the stepping stones of its dead selves, a measure ultimately rises which will spread the light of knowledge throughout the land.

As anticipated, the motion to refer the bill to the Select Committee was rejected¹⁵ by 38 votes against 13.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 72-9.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 79-95.

The Patel Act of 1918: The work of Gokhale was taken up by Shri Vithalbhai Patel. As early as 1916, he moved a resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council recommending the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials to frame and submit definite proposals for making elementary education free and compulsory within the municipal districts, with the ultimate object of introducing it throughout the Province. The resolution was lost. But Vithalbhai renewed his efforts with greater vigour and, in 1917, moved a bill for the introduction of compulsory elementary education in the municipal districts of the Province. Although there was some opposition even now, the Bill was ultimately passed with some modifications and became the first law on compulsory education in India.¹⁶

In the next 12 years, eleven more Acts of compulsory education were passed and by 1930, every Province of British India had a compulsory law on its Statute Book (Table 4).

TABLE 4: ACTS OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Year	Province	Name of the Act	Compulsion— Whether for boys or girls	Whether applicable to rural or urban areas
1919	Punjab	Primary Education Act	Boys	Both
	United Provinces	"	Both	Urban
	Bengal	"	Boys (extended to girls by an amendment in 1932)	Urban
	Bihar and Orissa	"	Boys	Both
1920	Bombay	City of Bombay P.E. Act	Both	Applicable to city of Bombay only
	Central Provinces	P.E. Act	"	Both
	Madras	Elementary Education Act	"	Both
1923	Bombay	P.E. Act	"	Applicable to the whole of the Province (except Bombay City)
1926	Assam	"	"	
	United Provinces	District Boards P.E. Act	"	Rural
1930	Bengal	Bengal (Rural) P.E. Act	"	Rural

¹⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 104-11.

Later Developments (1930-1961): It will be seen that all the Indian Provinces—which became Part A States under the Constitution of India in 1950—had already passed compulsory education laws by 1930. In the subsequent period of 30 years, most of these were amended from time to time, in the light of experience gained. The details of these amendments need not, however, be considered here.

The erstwhile princely states—most of which became Part B and C States under the Constitution in 1950—did not have such legislation in all cases. As stated earlier, Baroda had a compulsory education law since 1893; Kolhapur passed one in 1917; Kashmir in 1930; Mysore in 1931; Travancore in 1945; and Hyderabad in 1952. Some other states like Bhopal, Bikaner, or Gondal also had compulsory education laws, although full details about them are not readily available. But even in 1960, there were several areas belonging to the erstwhile princely states in which there was no legislation for compulsory education, a matter on which early action seems to be called for.

In 1960, exactly 50 years after Gokhale had moved his resolution on compulsory education in the Central Legislature, Dr. K. L. Shrimali, the Union Minister of Education, moved the *Delhi Primary Education Bill* in the Parliament. Its immediate objective was to provide a compulsory education law for the Delhi Union Territory; but it also included up-to-date provisions regarding enforcement of compulsory attendance, which could be taken as a model by the states for amending their compulsory education laws. The Bill became law on the 2nd of October, 1960.

The State Governments have since initiated action to amend their compulsory education laws on the model of the Delhi Primary Education Act, 1960. So far, such legislation has been passed in Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and Assam.

Enforcement of Compulsory Education Laws: The passing of compulsory education laws is the first and the simplest step in a programme of compulsory education. What is of greater importance is their enforcement in practice. In this respect, however, the progress shown was limited and out of proportion to the great enthusiasm with which these laws were enacted. In 1921, when eight laws for compulsory education had already been passed,

compulsion had been introduced only in seven municipal areas, five in Bombay, two in the Punjab and one in Bihar and Orissa. Fifteen years later, in 1936-37, the number of municipal and rural areas under compulsion rose only to 167 and 13,062 respectively and only 0.6 per cent of the urban areas and 1.9 per cent of the rural areas were covered by the programme. Even in 1947, there were only 155 urban and 7,824 rural areas under compulsion. (The apparent decrease was due to partition.) In the post-independence period, much better progress was evinced ; but even in 1958-59, the latest year for which the statistics are available, the areas under compulsion were 1,198 urban and 56,976 rural and the number of pupils attending schools in compulsory areas was only 7.2 million or 29 per cent of the total enrolment. As compared to the total magnitude of the problem, this progress cannot be regarded as satisfactory.

One of the important sectors in which further work is needed, therefore, is to evaluate existing programmes of compulsory education, to determine the factors which impede a successful implementation of compulsory attendance and to take suitable measures to make the programme effective. This is a fruitful field for research and experimentation by the State Education Departments.

CHAPTER 3

Objectives, Curricula and Methods of Teaching (1800-1937)

Early Vernacular Schools : The word 'primary' or 'elementary' education came in use in modern Indian education rather late and, in the early days, there were only two types of schools which were mutually exclusive—English and Vernacular. The British officials who laid the foundations of the modern system of education in India were most concerned with one issue: how to impart a knowledge of western science and literature to the Indian people. This could obviously be done most easily through the medium of the English language and it was for this purpose that the scheme of English schools was devised—its object being to teach the English language in the first instance and then to introduce the student to the learning and culture of the West. Since English could be taught only to a small percentage of people, they also desired to impart western culture and knowledge through the medium of the Indian languages and the system of 'vernacular' schools was first conceived for this purpose. The two systems were mutually exclusive and the 'vernacular' did not lead to the 'English'.

The system of vernacular schools grew up most conspicuously in the Province of Bombay between 1824 and 1854. The teachers of these schools, which usually had ten classes, were given a long course of pre-service training to enable them to teach their ambitious curriculum which included reading, writing, arithmetic, history of England and India, geography, astronomy, natural philosophy, algebra, Euclidean Geometry, and trigonometry. It would, therefore, be wrong to call them 'primary' schools. They were in fact 'secondary' schools which used the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction; and the Government of Bombay even conceived of and conducted, for some time, a 'vernacular' college for their students.

The Birth of the Lower Elementary School : What were the factors which changed this high concept of 'vernacular' schools into that of 'primary' schools which generally covered the primary or the

first stage of education and merely prepared their students for secondary schools? The answer is to be found in three sets of pressures. The first was financial. These schools were naturally costlier and, therefore, there was a continuous pressure to lower their standards with a view to reducing costs. The second came from the desire to build up a regular educational ladder. A child should naturally have an elementary instruction in the three R's in his own mother-tongue before he begins the study of English. It was, therefore, felt that the proper object of 'vernacular schools' should be to teach the three R's and to prepare the child for a secondary school as quickly as possible in three or four years at the most. The third pressure came from the parents. Accustomed to the indigenous schools for centuries, the average Indian thought only in terms of an education restricted to the three R's and resisted all attempts to introduce a wider curriculum. The new vernacular schools of the Government were, therefore, quite unpopular. An interesting light is thrown on this aspect of the problem by the following report of an Educational Inspector of this period:

Whatever may be thought of these results (*i.e.* the curricula of vernacular schools) in other quarters, the people themselves—the cess-payers—seem to think their boys in our Vernacular Schools are required to learn much. In a former report I once mentioned that one of the chief men in a large village, after sitting out the school examination, in which he seemed to take some interest, asked me to order the school master to teach only writing and ciphering, and not to use printed books or maps. This year, at another large village, which has a great deal of good land, and pays much cess, the Kulkurnee told me, that if I made the school master teach only writing and ciphering the school attendance would be trebled; that the people did not want what he called 'sirkaree vidya', that 'gawtee vidya' was enough for them, and as much as their children could be expected to acquire. A village elder and spokesman at another place (a Talooka town, where the Mamlatdar was present at the school examination) made a very animated speech against much learning, and in favour of the people's right to be as ignorant as their fathers. He said Government seemed to wish to make the people clever, and that education was doubtless a proper thing for Europe and Europeans, but that his people preferred to remain as they were. I mention these things as illustration of the general, if not universal, feeling of the people, which must be taken into account in judging the progress of Government Vernacular Schools and in revising examination standards. I have, elsewhere reported that I do not think these standards should be lowered; but I think some compromise should be made to induce boys to attend our schools, who now attend only indigenous schools or none at all.¹

¹ J. P. Naik: *History of the Local Fund Cess in the Province of Bombay*, pp. 31-32.

The result, therefore, was that the old idea of vernacular schools was given up and by 1870, the new 'primary' schools had only four classes, taught only the three R's, and prepared their students for secondary schools. In the circumstances of the period, the liquidation of this great experiment is disappointing, but not surprising. That the idea managed to survive for nearly half a century is, in fact, almost a miracle.

In other provinces, no attempt was made to develop 'vernacular' schools on the lines of Bombay. But the objective of vernacular education was defined as conveying 'useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, to the great mass of people'. This meant the three R's to begin with, but would also have to include several other things. The attempt to introduce these 'other things', however, was resisted as strongly as in Bombay and the concept of a primary school teaching only the three R's and preparing children for secondary schools after a course of 3 to 5 years became general in all parts of the country. The new 'vernacular' schools of government did not, therefore, raise standards in the indigenous schools as they were expected to do. It was the indigenous schools that dragged the government vernacular schools to their own level.

The Birth of the Higher Elementary School : Soon a reaction set in. First, the Wood's Education Despatch had pointed out that the 'active measures' of government be directed to one significant problem: 'how useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life, may be best conveyed to the great mass of the people.'

Any attempt to implement this directive implied a raising of standards in the elementary schools. Secondly, government needed a large number of employees who had received some education beyond the three R's but who need not have a knowledge of English. The teachers of primary schools, for instance, must have studied beyond the primary stage but not necessarily in the secondary schools. Such administrative needs suggested the lengthening of the primary course to some extent. Thirdly, with the expansion of elementary education, a body of students began to come in—students who could stay in school for 2 or 3 years after the primary stage, but who would not be able to go in for the longer secondary

course or for whom a secondary school could not be provided. It was naturally felt that a longer elementary course would be an appropriate answer to this problem. Steps, therefore, began to be taken to increase the duration of the elementary course to five, six, seven or eight years, according to local conditions and needs. Thus came the 'upper primary' school stage into existence. The 'primary' or 'vernacular' or 'elementary' school continued to provide a short course as before and mainly aimed at teaching the three R's. At the end of this course, a pupil could go into an 'anglo-vernacular' school which led on further to the high school and to the university. In the alternative, he could join an 'upper primary or vernacular' or 'higher elementary' or 'middle' school which prepared him for some job such as that of an elementary school teacher or a lower grade employee in a government department. The elementary course thus came to consist of two stages—a lower stage of 3 to 5 years and an upper stage of 2 to 3 years and this development became fairly general by 1881 and almost universal by 1901.

Elementary School Curricula in 1881-82 and 1902-07: The Report of the Indian Education Commission describes the curricula of elementary schools as they existed in the different provinces of India in 1882. They have been reproduced in Appendix I given at the end of this chapter. The elementary course of this period generally covered five years (Bombay had the longest course of six years). It was mainly restricted to the teaching of the three R's at the lower stage. Even at the higher stage, all that it tried to teach was a little history and geography, sanitation, native accounts, elementary drawing, agriculture, and a little English (in some areas only). By 1901, the process of lengthening the elementary course and enriching the curriculum had gone a step further. The primary schools now came to consist of six to eight classes, with or without an 'infant' class meant for very young children. An analysis of the curricula of this period has been given in Appendix II at the end of this chapter. It will be seen that the main additions to the curriculum were drawing, object lessons, singing and recitation, science, mensuration, physical education and manual work (as an optional subject only in a few areas). The objectives of the full course of elementary education are thus described by the *Quin-*

quennial Review of the Progress of Education in India (1897-1902, pp. 158-59):

The course of instruction in a primary school is simple and in general the maximum which it attempts is to teach the child to read and write his own language; to obtain a sufficient knowledge of arithmetic and mensuration to enable him to do easy sums; and to understand the simple forms of native accounts and the village map; to acquire a rudimentary knowledge of geography, agriculture, sanitation and of the history of his country; to train his faculties by simple kindergarten and object lessons; and to develop his physique by drill and exercises. The choice of books is so designed that the child may gain some knowledge of history, geography and the elements of science from the primers from which he learns to read. Of recent years endeavour has been made to render the course less bookish and more practical and specially by the introduction of kindergarten methods and object lessons. Where these methods have been used with discretion, that is to say, by competent teachers, without elaborate forms, rules, and appliances, using objects familiar to the children in their everyday life, they have been productive of much benefit, in imparting greater life and reality to the teaching and in training the children's senses and powers of observation.

The motivation for these changes came, not so much from local needs and demands as from the desire to initiate in India the changes that were taking place simultaneously in England. This, of course, has been one of the powerful forces in the building of modern Indian education in all sectors. Shri R. V. Parulekar, who made a special study of the evolution of elementary school curricula in Bombay, brings out this point very clearly (and what he says about Bombay is applicable to other areas as well):

Let us turn to the elementary schools of England. In 1862, the first Education Code saw the light of the day, and therein the subjects prescribed for standards I to IV of the elementary schools consisted of Reading, Writing and Arithmetic only. (Needle-work was prescribed for girls). Of course, as in our schools, the subjects were divided into four parts according to standards of increasing difficulty. If we confine ourselves to the first four standards of the English elementary schools of those days, we see that, in 1868, Geography, History and Grammar were prescribed as 'optional' subjects for standard IV with the proviso that one or two of these three might be taught in standard IV only. In 1875, they were still 'optional', but not more than two were to be optional subjects. It was only in 1893 that one of the three subjects, History, Geography and Grammar was made obligatory in the Primary School course at the option of the schools. In that year, Drawing was also made compulsory. It will thus be seen that during the years 1862 to 1893, a period of over thirty years, not a single subject out of all the above subjects except language and arithmetic (*i.e.* the three R's) was made obligatory in English schools. It is also important to note that only a very few schools provided instruction in these subjects before 1900 in the lower standards of the primary schools. It may be further pointed out that during

a period of thirty years from 1862-92, the English primary schools had the busiest period in their history; for, while in 1862 only 5 to 6 per cent of the population of England was in schools, in 1880, this percentage had nearly trebled and in 1893 when one of the three subjects—History, Geography or Grammar—was made obligatory, England had, for nearly more than a decade, the proud privilege of having almost all school-going children (6 to 11 according to our standard) in its primary schools.

It will be both interesting and instructive to see how the Bombay Educational administrators imposed the several 'optional' subjects of the English schools on the Bombay Primary Schools, making them not 'optional' as in England but obligatory. The Bombay (lower) primary school curriculum (standards up to IV) was first framed under the Departmental Code in 1865-66, and the subjects included were exactly the same as in England at the time, namely, the three R's except that Bombay added Grammar to the fourth standard. As soon as England prescribed Geography and History as 'optional' subjects for standard IV, Bombay planted both of them almost the very same year on standards II or III as compulsory subjects. As to Object Lessons, Bombay had them in 1887 or five years later than England (1882) but compulsorily, not at option, as was the case in England. As regards Drawing, England had it as a compulsory subject in 1893, and Bombay ten years later. Nature Study took very long to come to Bombay. In England it appeared on the scene in about 1902, in Bombay in 1919. Be it however noted that compulsory Physical Training which was introduced in English Primary Schools in 1902, has not as yet appeared in the Bombay schools as a compulsory subject. It would, therefore, appear that as soon as it was discovered in Bombay that a certain subject was introduced in the schools of England, it was soon prescribed for the Bombay schools, making the curriculum compulsorily richer and richer and even far more in advance of the ordinary English elementary school curriculum of the time, at least so far as the number of subjects was concerned . . . One cannot, however, help remarking that in copying wholesale the English model and superimposing it on Indian schools, the educational administrators hardly took into account the very important fact that the needs of a mainly agricultural country split into numerous villages would not be the same as those of a highly urbanized and industrialized country like England. It follows, therefore, that even purely from the point of view of efficiency, the curriculum laid down was not altogether suitable for the needs of the Indian masses.²

The Experiment of Rural Schools : Elementary education, as it had thus developed in the nineteenth century, had three specific objectives: (1) it imparted literacy; (2) it prepared for admission to a secondary school; and (3) it secured, for every pupil who completed the elementary course, some lower job under Government. These objectives were accepted without question so long as the expansion of elementary education was within bounds and was restricted to the urban areas or to the upper and middle classes.

² R. V. Parulekar: *Mass Education in India*, pp. 15-16.

But with the increasing enrolments as had already been reached by 1901—and still more with those contemplated for the future—the second of these objectives could apply to only a few children and the third to an extremely small minority. The traditional system of elementary education was thus left with only one objective, *viz.*, to impart literacy. This situation naturally raised a number of difficult questions. Is mere literacy worthwhile? Would it be desirable to incur such heavy expenditure on elementary education merely for the sake of literacy? How does elementary education constitute 'useful and practical knowledge, suited to every station in life' which, in the words of the Despatch of 1854, was the purpose of elementary education? How does elementary education help a rural child or the child of an agriculturist—and these formed 90 per cent of the total population—to become a better and a more useful citizen? These questions began to be raised towards the end of the nineteenth century and they became all the more urgent in the twentieth as the pace of expansion increased. It is to these questions that the Education Departments had to find answers.

The problem was dealt with in the comprehensive programme of educational development initiated by Lord Curzon in the beginning of this century. He felt that the traditional curriculum could be regarded as suitable for urban areas only; and that, whatever its merits, it did not meet the needs of the agriculturists or of rural areas. Hence arose the need to differentiate the curriculum of the rural school from that of the urban and to make rural school conform closely to its own environment. He said:

The instruction of the masses in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life involves some differentiation in the courses for rural schools, especially in connection with the attempts which are being made to connect primary teaching with familiar objects. . . . The aim of the rural schools should be, not to impart definite agricultural teaching, but to give to the children a preliminary training which will make them intelligent cultivators, will train them to be observers, thinkers, and experimenters in however humble a manner, and will protect them in their business transactions with the landlords to whom they pay rent and the grain dealers to whom they dispose of their crops. The reading books prescribed should be written in simple language, not in unfamiliar literary style, and should deal with topics associated with rural life. The grammar taught should be elementary, and only native systems of arithmetic should be used. The village map should be thoroughly understood; and a most useful course of instruction may be given in the

accountant's papers, enabling every boy before leaving school to master the intricacies of the village accounts and to understand the demands that may be made upon the cultivator. The Government of India regard it as a matter of the greatest importance to provide a simple, suitable, and useful type of school for the agriculturist, and to foster the demand for it among the population.³

These ideas were tried out in almost all parts of the country and, in particular, an attempt was made to introduce nature study, school gardening and agriculture in rural schools. But they did not succeed. This was due mainly to two reasons. There were immense difficulties in getting equipment, land and trained teachers. A more serious difficulty, however, arose from the fact that this differentiation tended to create a gulf between the urban and the rural school—the former, teaching more language, arithmetic and English, led to secondary schools and careers, while the latter, which was devoting a good deal of time to agriculture, led nowhere. The rural population resented this and desired to have schools which were as like the urban schools as possible. The situation has been graphically described by the *Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India*, 1917-22, p. 122, in the following words:

It is often assumed that the education given in a village school is despised because it is not practical enough. In many cases, however, the parent's objection is just the opposite. He has no desire to have his son taught agriculture, partly because he thinks he knows far more about that than the teacher, but still more because his ambition is that his boy should become a teacher, or a clerk. The solution which is so frequently put forward of popularising schools by adapting rural education to rural needs has little or no meaning in the absence of an agreement as to rural needs between the rustic and the reformer. The reformer has in mind the introduction of utilitarian studies such as agriculture into the village school course. The rustic sends his child to school to learn to read and write. He has no doubt of the fact that the village *guru* knows less of agriculture than he does himself and that what the boy needs in the matter of agricultural knowledge he can learn by doing in the fields. It is a view altogether sensible; and some sympathy may be felt for the parents in one backward area who went so far as to beat the *guru* for setting their boys to work in the school garden. . . . A subject which is far more likely to attract pupils to primary schools is English. The teaching of English in primary classes is permitted in Madras, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and in the higher or secondary classes in Bombay.

The Education Departments tried to eliminate the difference between the urban and elementary schools by introducing the

³ *Progress of Education in India*, 1897-1902, p. 464.

curricula of urban schools in the rural schools and vying with each other in teaching English—which was then esteemed as the key to everything considered worthwhile. Consequently, a reform which began with the idea of giving an agricultural bias to rural schools ended by introducing the teaching of English in them! The rural schools thus came back to the point from which they had started at the beginning of this reform. The objectives of elementary education which were designed in early 19th century, for a system which catered for a limited enrolment, continued to dominate right down to 1937, even though the composition and the nature of the school population had undergone great changes with expansion.

The answer to this difficult problem did come at last, not from the Education Departments, but from Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation. In 1937, he placed his scheme of basic education before the country and claimed that it was the one answer to India's needs in elementary education. The birth and subsequent development of this revolutionary educational philosophy and programme will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Teaching Methods : The teaching methods of the indigenous schools were generally crude and based upon long and continuous drill and rote memory. When the new elementary schools were started, the teachers were the persons who had received their early education in the indigenous schools ; and, as no other training had been given to them, they unconsciously adopted the methods of teaching in indigenous schools to which they were accustomed. The new elementary schools, therefore, also started with teaching methods based on rote memory and drill, supported by severe physical punishment for the defaulters. In the teaching of the three R's—which formed the core curriculum in the indigenous schools—these methods were always adopted without a question. But even in the new subjects added to the curriculum, the same methods were extended without a change. History, for instance, meant learning by heart long lists of names of kings and the dates of their birth, accession or death. Geography meant learning by heart long lists of place names. Even a concept like 'the earth is round' was taught by making the boys learn by heart the seven different proofs to show that the earth is round.

This emphasis on rote learning and memory could have been reduced with the passage of time if the training of teachers had been properly developed. But that did not happen in India. Even in 1901, only 18 per cent of the teachers were trained. Moreover, 'training of teachers' meant, at this time, not so much their instruction in pedagogy and methods of teaching, as further general education. In all training courses, therefore, subject knowledge was emphasized very greatly and little attention was paid to methods of teaching. The humanizing effect of teacher training was not, therefore, felt in elementary education in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a new deterrent, the examination, which was unknown even in the indigenous school, was added to the rigours of the traditional methods. This was mainly due to the system of payment by results which was adopted in England in 1862 and introduced in India in 1865. Under it, the inspecting officers had to examine annually *every* pupil in *every* subject. This external test, on which the whole future of the teacher depended, became the guiding factor in methods of teaching and the teacher had no desire to do anything except to prepare his boys for the inspectorial examination. The boys also cooperated because, for them, the mere passing of the examination meant the getting of a Government job and through it, both social status and economic security. Thus teachers and pupils alike worked for a common objective, for upper primary school examination. The Indian Education Commission, which did not commend the system of payment by results for the secondary and higher stages, viewed it most suitable for the elementary stage; and it continued to dominate the scene till the close of the century.

By 1901, however, things began to improve though rather slowly. Curzon pointed out that, in the Indian system of education, excessive prominence was given to examinations, that the courses of study were too purely literary in character and that the schools and colleges trained the intelligence of the pupils too little and their memory too much. In the reform movement that he initiated in the early years of this century, therefore, the system of payment by results was abandoned. The training of teachers was improved with greater emphasis on pedagogy and methods of teaching. The number of training institutions increased so that, in 1937, the per-

centage of trained teachers rose to 57. By now, a new generation of men and women, who had been brought up in elementary schools of a better type, formed the bulk of the teaching profession and began to exercise their influence towards a betterment in the methods of teaching. Kindergarten and object lessons were introduced; and even some activity came in through subjects like nature study, school gardening, agriculture, or handwork. There was, therefore, considerable improvement in teaching methods by 1937. But even at this time, the elementary schools continued to be mainly academic institutions which imparted a book-centred instruction, little related to the immediate natural and social environment of the child or to his future status in life.

It soon became obvious, however, that the situation could not be improved by tinkerings of the type that had been attempted since 1901. A change in teaching methods does not create a change in the character and objectives of the educational system. It has to be the other way round. What the situation really needed, therefore, was a revolution in thinking, nothing less than a break with the past, and an intensive effort to evolve an educational programme that would be child-centred, activity based, and directly oriented to life. This was given to the country by Mahatma Gandhi in 1937 and is leading to a revolution in teaching methods as well.

APPENDIX I

COMPARATIVE SYLLABI OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (1882)

Madras	Bombay	Bengal
LOWER PRIMARY STANDARD (Usually passed at the end of the pupil's 3rd year)		
<i>Head</i>	<i>Head</i>	<i>Head</i>
1(a) Reading at sight with facility a moderately easy book in a vernacular language. (15 marks)	1(a) Reading and writing of the first and second Departmental Readers in the printed vernacular character.	1. Reading (a) A vernacular adaptation of Chamber's Rudiments of Knowledge.
(b) Writing to dictation from the same book. (25 marks)	(b) The First Departmental Reader in script vernacular character.	(b) Manuscripts written in current hand.
	(c) Recitation and explanation of the poetical pieces. (100 marks)	
2. Arithmetic — The first 4 rules, simple and compound, with easy miscellaneous questions founded on them. (40 marks)	2(a) Writing to dictation, in the printed and script vernacular characters, an easy passage containing words of two or three syllables.	2. Copy-writing. (200 marks for heads 1 and 2)
	(b) Copy-writing (large hand). (100 marks)	
	3. Arithmetic (a) The first 4 simple rules.	3. Arithmetic (a) The first 4 rules, simple and compound.
	(b) Mental Arithmetic on the native methods. (100 marks)	(b) Mental Arithmetic on the native methods. (150 marks)
		(c) Bazar and zamindari accounts and simple mensuration. (150 marks)
	4. Geography — Boundaries, mountains, rivers, chief towns, roads, railways etc., of the collectorate to be pointed out on the map. (50 marks)	4. Cunningham's Sanitary Primer. (100 marks)
<i>N.B.</i> —In order to pass, the pupil must obtain $\frac{1}{4}$ of the maximum number of marks in each of the above heads and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the aggregate marks of the standard.	<i>N.B.</i> —In order to pass, the pupil must obtain $\frac{1}{4}$ of the marks assigned to each sub-head and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total marks of each head.	<i>N.B.</i> —In order to pass, the pupil must obtain $\frac{1}{4}$ of the marks in each group of subjects and $\frac{2}{3}$ of the aggregate marks of the standard.

COMPARATIVE SYLLABI OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (1882)—(Contd.)

Madras

Bombay

Bengal

UPPER PRIMARY STANDARD

(Usually passed at the end of a 5th year course)

*Compulsory subjects**Compulsory subjects**Compulsory subjects*

- 1(a) Reading at sight with fluency and intelligence a passage of ordinary difficulty from a vernacular book or newspaper. (15 marks)

- 1(a) Reading with explanation and parsing the Fifth Departmental Book, inclusive of the Lessons on Elementary Physics and Natural History.

1. Vernacular languages. (100 marks)

- (b) Poetry.

- (c) Reading manuscripts written in good current hand. (100 marks)

- (b) Writing a passage to dictation from the same. (25 marks)

- 2(a) Writing (in the printed and script character) to dictation from the Reading Book.

- (b) Copy-writing (current hand). (100 marks)

2. Arithmetic

- (a) Reduction, the Compound Rules and Vulgar Fractions. (40 marks)

2. Arithmetic

- (a) Vulgar Fractions, Simple Rule of Three and Simple Interest.

2. Arithmetic

- (a) Vulgar and Decimal Fractions and Simple Proportion.

- (b) Mental Arithmetic applied to bazar transactions. (10 marks)

- (b) Mental Arithmetic (complete) after the native methods; and bazar accounts. (100 marks)

- (b) Native accounts. (150 marks)

3. Euclid, Book I. (50 marks)

3. Geography—Asia. (40 marks)

4. History of India with special reference to the History of the Province; Physical & Political Geography of India; map of the District or Province to be drawn. (100 marks)

4. History and Geography of Bengal. (100 marks)

5. Elements of Physics. (100 marks)

6. Cunningham's Sanitary Primer. (100 marks)

COMPARATIVE SYLLABI OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (1882)—(Contd.)

Madras	Bombay	Bengal
UPPER PRIMARY STANDARD—(Contd.)		
(Usually passed at the end of a 5th year course)		
<i>Optional Subjects</i> (Any two may be chosen)	<i>Optional Subjects</i>	<i>Optional Subjects</i>
1. Vernacular Poetry— recitation and explanation of 200 lines of verse from any approved anthology. Simple parsing. (40 marks)	1. Elementary Drawing, including: (a) Freehand drawing, (b) Model and Object drawing, (c) Practical Geometry.	
2. English—reading and construing from the Second Reading Book. Dictation and oral translation. (45 marks)	2. Field instruction in agriculture.	
3. Elementary History—India or England, or the History of the World. (40 marks)	3. Printing, carpentry, joinery, smithery, etc.	
4. Cunningham's Sanitary Primer. (40 marks)		
5. Robertson's Agricultural Class Book or any similar primer. (40 marks)		
<i>N.B.</i> —In order to pass, the pupil must obtain $\frac{1}{4}$ of the marks in the compulsory subjects 1 and 2.	<i>N.B.</i> —In order to pass, the pupil must obtain $\frac{1}{4}$ of the marks in each sub-head and $\frac{1}{3}$ of the aggregate marks of each head of the compulsory subjects.	<i>N.B.</i> —In order to pass, the pupil must obtain $\frac{1}{4}$ of the marks in each group of subjects and $\frac{2}{3}$ of the aggregate marks of the standard.

We referred to Vernacular Standard VI, which is the highest development of the Bombay course, and is intended to prepare the successful pupil in primary schools for the lower grades of the public service. The subjects are as follows:

COMPULSORY SUBJECTS

- (a) Reading, with explanation, the Seventh Departmental Book (inclusive of the lessons on the History of Ancient and Modern Europe, and on Natural History and Elementary Physics);

- (b) Syntax, Prosody and Etymology;
- (c) Explanation and recitation of 300 lines of classical vernacular poetry; (115 marks)
- (d) Reading rough current hand. (100 marks)
- 2. Writing a report or story in current hand.
- 3. (a) Arithmetic, complete.
- (b) Knowledge of the principles and method of arithmetic; or Euclid, Book I. (100 marks)
- (c) Advanced native accounts and book-keeping.
- 4. (a) History of India, ancient and modern, with information regarding the system of government.
- (b) Geography, Political, Physical and Mathematical; an outline map of India to be drawn, (details to be prescribed by the inspector). (100 marks)
- 5. Cunningham's Sanitary Primer (Vernacular Version). (50 marks)

OPTIONAL SUBJECTS

- 1. Elementary Drawing, including:
 - (a) Free-hand drawing;
 - (b) Object and model drawing;
 - (c) Practical geometry.
- 2. Field instruction in agriculture.

NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES AND OUDH: STANDARDS

In primary English schools the subjects of instruction are Hindi or Urdu, English reading and writing, the elements of grammar, arithmetic, history and geography, and simple sanitary rules. In primary vernacular schools the subjects are reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the elements of history, geography, sanitation, and mensuration. In some schools the boys are taught to read the village accountant's papers. Besides the lower and upper primary examinations prescribed by the Government of India, there is no general departmental examination for primary schools.

PUNJAB: STANDARDS

The lower primary school contains three classes, the course in which comprises no English. The following is the work of the third or highest class: third and fourth Urdu readers, copies and dictation, first and second Persian readers, arithmetic to compound division (money), and maps of the Punjab and India. The upper primary school contains two classes and the course may be either English or vernacular. That of the highest class is as follows: in English schools the first reader; and in vernacular schools mensuration is substituted for English. The other subjects are Urdu and Persian selections; grammar, parsing and translation; arithmetic, including practice, rule-of-three, square measure, and interest; geography, including names of the countries of the world, with their capitals and chief natural features; and revision of previous lessons.

OTHER PROVINCES: STANDARDS

In the Central Provinces, as in Bombay, the course of studies varies for schools in different parts of the country. Primary instruction is given either in primary vernacular schools or else in the primary departments of middle schools. The latter have only three classes, while the former usually have four and in towns five or six classes. Vernacular standard III is held to correspond with the lower primary standard and standard IV with the upper primary. Under the former are taught reading, writing, grammar, geography, and arithmetic, including mental arithmetic and the four simple and compound rules. Under standard IV are taught reading, writing, grammar, history, geography and arithmetic, including simple proportion, vulgar fractions, and native accounts. In Assam primary schools are classed as lower and upper, the latter being also called lower vernacular schools. The standard of the former is arranged in strict accordance with the Government of India Resolution of the 6th of January 1879, while to the course of the latter a few additional subjects are added in order to prepare the pupil for the scholarship examination. In Coorg the standards are those prescribed by the Government of India. In the Haidarabad Assigned Districts the course is framed upon the standards already described for Bombay.⁴

⁴ *Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882*, pp. 121-124

APPENDIX II
ANALYSIS OF CURRICULA IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS 1902-1907 @

Subjects	Madras	Bombay	Bengal and Eastern Bengal	United Provinces*	Punjab	Assam	Central Provinces and Berar
Kindergarten	Kindergarten methods to be used in all subjects	Compulsory (Infants and Standard I)	Compulsory (Infant Classes)	Not prescribed	Not prescribed	Not taught	Optional
Drawing	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory	Not prescribed	Not taught	Not taught	Compulsory
Object Lessons†	Optional	Compulsory	Compulsory	Not prescribed	Compulsory	Compulsory	Urban—optional Rural—not taught
Geography	Optional	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory
History	Optional	Compulsory	Compulsory	Not taught separately	Not taught	Compulsory	Alternative to agriculture
Singing and recitation	Compulsory	Compulsory (Infants and Standard I)	Not taught	Not taught	Not taught	Not taught	Not taught

@ *Fifth Quinquennial Review: Progress of Education in India—1902-1907*, Vol. I, pp. 116-117.

† In Madras the curriculum includes as an optional subject: Nature study and elementary science which must be taught by study of the actual object. Object lessons are also recommended for use in illustration of topics arising in the reading and geography lessons. In Eastern Bengal and Assam, lessons on agriculture and scientific subjects which appear in reading books are to be illustrated by object lessons, but the curriculum makes no other provision for object lessons.

* In the United Provinces, kindergarten methods, drawing and object lessons are not prescribed; but they are being steadily introduced, especially where trained teachers are employed. History, hygiene and science are not taught as separate subjects, but the readers contain lessons upon them.

APPENDIX II (Contd.)

Subject	Madras	Bombay	Bengal and Eastern Bengal	United Provinces	Punjab	Assam	Central Provinces and Berar
Hygiene	Optional	Compulsory	Compulsory	Not taught separately	Compulsory in 5th standard	Not taught	Not taught
Agriculture	Optional	Included in object lessons	Included in readers; elective, alternative to Physics and Chemistry	Compulsory	Included in object lessons and special books	Included in the Reader Compulsory	Urban—alter-native to History. Rural—compulsory
Science	Optional	Not taught, except in object lessons	Compulsory	Not taught separately	Not taught, except in object lessons	Some lessons in readers, illustrated by object lessons	Not taught, except in object lessons which are optional
Second language	English, Optional	Not taught	Not taught	Not taught	(Persian)**, in town schools only	Not taught	Not taught
Mensuration	Compulsory	Optional	Compulsory	Not taught	Compulsory	Compulsory with geometry in upper classes	Not taught
Physical exercise	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory	Compulsory
Manual work for older scholars (distinct from kindergarten occupations for infants)	Recommended as an adjunct to all subjects	Optional, as alternative to object lessons in science	Optional	Not taught	Not taught	Not taught	Urban—optional Rural—not taught

** Persian is not taught in rural schools. which is alternative to Persian in those schools.

Boys going to middle vernacular schools from rural schools may take agriculture,

CHAPTER 4

Birth and Growth of Basic Education (1937-61)

I. Origin

It may be said of Gandhiji that, in the course of his long public leadership of India, he touched almost every aspect of Indian life and touched nothing that he did not radically attempt to reform. He began the Champaran Satyagraha in 1917 and the non-cooperation movement in 1920. The khadi movement was inaugurated at the same time, although he went on his famous tour throughout India, to preach the message of khadi, a little later in 1927. After the Salt Satyagraha in 1930 and the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1932, he began a great campaign against untouchability; and for the eradication of this great social evil, he undertook a whirlwind tour in 1934. After some years, the All-India Village Industries Movement was inaugurated for the economic regeneration of the people. With all the richness of this experience and against the background of his work in South Africa, he found that the final solution to the ills of our people could be found only through a proper system of education. Basic education was thus his last and most precious gift to the nation.

Although he formulated the scheme of basic education as late as in 1937, his perception of its underlying principles was slowly taking shape for several years. For instance, khadi and basic education were born in a way in a strange experience he had during the Orissa famine when he personally organized relief by collecting funds, food and clothes and distributing them free. The poor and the indigent rushed to him for these gifts. But the more he gave them, the more they asked, and gradually they lost their ability and willingness to work and a little later, even confidence in themselves and self-respect. Gandhiji, therefore, discovered that this charity did more harm than good because it destroyed their personality and weakened their lives. He also realized that the proper thing to give was not food, clothes or money, but work which, in its turn,

would give them, not only food, clothes or money, but also strength, self-confidence and self-respect.

But what work can one give to millions of poor? Obviously, such work should have the qualities of simplicity and availability. It should require only a little technical training that can be acquired within a few days or weeks and it should fulfil a great and abiding need of the people. It should not also involve large investment of money. After a good deal of thinking, he found that hand-spinning and weaving fulfilled all these requirements: the *charkha* was cheap, spinning was easy and, next only to food, the production of cloth fulfilled the most important need of all people. As he expressed it himself: 'The disease of the masses is not want of money so much as want of work. Labour is money. He who provides dignified labour for the millions in their cottages, provides food and clothing¹.' 'It is not even poverty that matters so much as idleness, which was at first enforced due to lack of work and now has become a habit, that matters. Idleness is the root of all evil and if that root can be destroyed, most of the evils can be remedied².' 'Through chronic famine conditions, the people of Orissa have been reduced to beggary. It is a very difficult thing to make them work. Revival of spinning is their only hope³.'

What Gandhiji thus said of Orissa is really applicable to the entire country. This nation of 440 million people is one of the poorest countries of the world and helpless in almost every aspect of life, including food and clothing. This abject poverty of material wealth, which is also an indication of our want of faith in ourselves, is due partly to our laziness and want of application and partly to labelling manual work as inferior and relegating it to the lower castes. Owing to the encrustation of centuries, our social structure degenerated and reflected an ideology which was the negation of respect for work by hand. The man who worked with his hands and produced wealth by dint of his work, day and night, was relegated to the lowest social cadre. The merchant who acted as the middleman was deemed higher. The people who fought with the sword and did no productive work themselves were

¹ Mahatma Gandhi: *Economics of Khadi*, p. 129.

² *Ibid.*, p. 141.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-4.

placed higher still ; and highest of all came the priest, who did no work at all. The result was that the lower classes always copied the ways of the upper ones ; and, in course of time, work was considered derogatory and every one aspired to lead a life free of manual labour. Our political and social degradation, our poverty and subjection can be traced directly to this mental and social degeneration. If India is to rise again, we must create a new type of society in which every one will work. Work, by its nature, will inspire confidence and strength. A national system of education for India which should pave the way for such a society must accept this fundamental view of life and the essential place of work in society. Gandhiji, however, found that the prevailing system of education worked towards exactly the opposite direction with disastrous consequences. He said: 'Whatever may be true of other countries, in India at any rate, where more than eighty per cent of the population is agricultural and another ten per cent industrial, it is a crime to make education merely literary, and to make boys and girls unfit for manual work in after-life. Indeed, I hold that as the larger part of our time is devoted to labour for earning our bread, our children must from their infancy be taught the dignity of such labour. Our children should not be so taught as to despise labour. It is a sad thing that our school boys look upon manual labour with disfavour, if not contempt.' He, therefore, desired to have an educational system based on work and on the dignity of manual labour. This became the most essential principle of his scheme of basic education.

Gandhiji had thought about this and other allied national problems for many years before he formally mentioned them at a conference of educationists, summoned in Wardha, in 1937. I had the good fortune to be one of them and I well remember how he placed the problem of education before the conference. He pointed out that the country needed a new type of national education and that such education should be made universally available to all the boys and girls of school-going age. This would need vast sums of money which could not just be found through the usual method of public taxation. It was to solve this financial difficulty that he came forward with a revolutionary suggestion. If work is to be the main instrument and basis of education, cannot

this work be utilized in the learning and doing of a continuous craft which, in its turn, is capable of creating wealth, capable of being measured in terms of money? Gandhiji was convinced that this could be done and that the only practical and possible way of making education available to all is to make the students earn through their work and help to maintain the school.

After Gandhiji's speech and the preliminary discussions, the conference converted itself into a committee to consider this new method of education put forward by him. Many prominent educationists of the country including Dr. Zakir Hussain, Sri Aryanayakam and Dr. K. T. Shah, many men and women who had been doing experiments in national education in various parts of India and the ministers of provincial governments participated in the discussion and the following resolutions were formulated and later on passed unanimously by the conference:

1. That in the opinion of the conference, free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale ;
2. That the medium of instruction be the mother-tongue ;
3. That the conference endorses the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this period should centre round some form of manual and productive work and all the other abilities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child ;
4. That the conference expects that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of teachers.⁴

It may be observed that the conference did not fully endorse the ideas of Gandhiji regarding the self-supporting aspect of the scheme ; but he accepted the resolution as the first step. Basic education may be said to have been formally born with this resolution.

The conference then appointed a committee, under the presidentship of Dr. Zakir Hussain, to draw up a detailed syllabus on the lines of the above resolutions and to submit it to the chairman of the conference. In February 1938, the committee submitted its report to Gandhiji, the chairman of the conference. He approved the scheme and placed it before the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress for consideration. The

⁴ Mahatma Gandhi: *Basic Education*, p. 26.

Congress accepted the scheme as its programme of national education in its Haripura session of March 1938, and with a view to developing the programme, decided that 'an All-India Education Board to deal with this basic part of education be established in order to work out, in a consolidated manner, a programme of basic national education and to recommend it for acceptance to those who are in control of state or private education.' This was the origin of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh.

II. Philosophy

In this new ideology of education, work is the pivot on which all instruction revolves. This work may be of various kinds. Activities involving personal and community cleanliness are foremost in a basic school. Education for the young does not mean stuffing impracticable ideas into the minds of children; it is essentially training them in good habits. Thus cleanliness and sanitation, practically done and scientifically understood, are the beginning of basic education. The daily experiences that every child has to undergo such as regular morning evacuation, cleaning the teeth, nose and eyes, bathing, physical exercises, washing clothes and other daily activities can be exploited for teaching, as well as for the inculcation of good habits. In the same way, social and religious festivals, weddings and other social events, visits to temples and other places can be made useful instruments of instruction. Above all, basic education recognizes that useful manual labour, through constructive crafts intelligently performed, is one of the best means of developing a balanced intellect.

The objectives of education is not only to turn out good individuals, but also socially useful men and women who understand their place in, and duty to, the society in which they live. This has recently been termed 'training for citizenship'. No education is complete until this important aspect of training is stressed, and basic education regards this aspect as an essential part of education. This is to be given, not theoretically, but by practical observance from the first year at school. And this, in its turn, leads to team work and discipline, the lack of which has been our national weakness. Activities involving social objectives gradually lead children to the cultivation of a social sense. They also learn to put the

needs of the community above their own petty pleasures and advantages.

A sharp intellect can be cultivated through other methods, but then it may not be socially developed. On the other hand, an intellect developed through the medium of socially useful manual labour must of necessity become an instrument of service. Mere intellectual training ordinarily makes a child individualistic. But education through work and activities brings him in contact with other children in cooperation with whom he has to work. This clearly brings out the social objective, important for healthy living, and trains him, not only in a sense of cooperation, but also in qualities of leadership.

Thus basic education represents, not only a new method of education, but also a new philosophy of life. It stands for the dignity of all human work. It recognizes that wealth is the creation of human endeavour and gives the highest place to work in its daily activities. It proclaims that there is nothing high or low in work itself. Scavenging is not low and lecturing is not high. But a man is high or low according to the way in which he does his work. The man who does his work efficiently, with a social sense, with devotion and unselfishness, is to be respected, whatever may be the work he is doing. In the same way, one who does not do his allotted work with a sense of duty, efficiency, and devotion, must be considered low, whatever be the actual work he may be engaged in.

Here are a few words of Gandhiji himself regarding the salient features of basic education:

The ultimate objective of this New Education is not only a balanced and harmonious individual, but also a balanced and harmonious society—a just social order in which there is no unnatural dividing line between the haves and have-nots and everybody is assured of a living wage and the right to freedom.

By education, I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in child and man—body, mind and spirit. Literacy is not the end of education, not even the beginning. It is only one of the means whereby men and women can be educated. Literacy in itself is no education. I, therefore, begin the child's education by teaching it a useful handicraft. I hold that the highest development of the mind and soul is possible under such a system of education. Only handicrafts have to be taught, not merely mechanically as they are taught to-day, but scientifically *i.e.*, the child should know the why and wherefore of every process.

My plan to impart education through the medium of village handicrafts, like spinning, carding, etc., is thus conceived as the spearhead of a silent social revolution fraught with the most far-reaching consequences. It will provide a healthy and moral basis of relationship between the city and the village and thus go a long way towards eradicating some of the worst evils of the present social insecurity and poisoned relationship between the classes.

It will mean a new educational technique where progressive self-reliance in all aspects of a healthy and balanced life—economic, physical, social, moral and cultural—forms the medium of instruction; and the necessary knowledge of subject matter is given, habits and attitudes formed and developed through this process.⁵

III. Growth

The Hindustani Talimi Sangh established its headquarters in Sevagram in April 1938 and decided to develop the experiment through two agencies: (1) Private educational institutions, particularly those with a national background; and (2) the State Departments of Education. The first group included institutions like the Jamia Millia Islamia in Delhi, Andhra Jatiya Kalasala of Masulipatam, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth of Poona and the Gujarat Vidyapeeth of Ahmedabad which enthusiastically came forward with their cooperation. The first institution of basic education, the Vidya Mandir Training School, was opened in Wardha in 1938 to train teachers and steps were taken for the introduction of basic education as an experimental measure by the Governments of Central Provinces, United Provinces, Bihar, Bombay and Kashmir.

It was a misfortune that, within a short time of this good beginning, the Congress Governments resigned in 1939 and the Congress was again involved in a life and death struggle for independence. The caretaker governments that took their place were generally apathetic; and consequently many of the basic schools started by the state governments were closed, while most of the others were allowed to continue in a state of suspended animation. Some of the institutions started by Gandhian workers, however, continued to work out the implications of this new and revolutionary ideology of education under the inspiration of Gandhiji.

In spite of these reverses, the soundness of the underlying

⁵ *Basic National Education* (published by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh), pp. 5-8.

principles of basic education impressed itself on the Government of the day, and the plan for Post-war Educational Development in India prepared by the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1944 accepted the principles underlying basic education (except for the self-supporting aspect), and recommended that 'a system of universal compulsory and free education for all boys and girls between the ages of six and fourteen should be introduced as speedily as possible, though in view of the practical difficulty of recruiting the requisite supply of trained teachers, it may not be possible to complete it in less than forty years⁶' and that 'the character of the instruction to be provided should follow the general lines laid down in the reports of the two committees of the Board on Basic Education⁷.' The Report, however, adds a note to distinguish its concept of education from what it calls the 'Wardha Scheme of Education'. It says:

Basic (Primary and Middle education), as envisaged by the Central Advisory Board, embodies many of the educational ideas contained in the original Wardha Scheme, though it differs from it in certain important particulars. The main principle of 'learning through activity' has been endorsed by educationists all over the world. At the lower stages, the activity will take many forms leading gradually up to a basic craft or crafts suited to local conditions. As far as possible, the whole of the curriculum will be harmonised with this general conception. The three R's by themselves can no longer be regarded as an adequate equipment for efficient citizenship. The Board, however, are unable to endorse the view that education at any stage, and particularly in the lowest stage, can or should be expected to pay for itself through the sale of articles produced by the pupils. The most which can be expected in this respect is that sales should cover the cost of the additional materials and equipment required for practical work.⁸

After the release of Gandhiji from prison, a conference on National Education was called at Sevagram in January 1945. It reviewed the progress of the scheme since its inception in 1938 and recorded with satisfaction that, in spite of adverse circumstances, the experiment of basic education had not suffered a set-back, that general interest in the scheme had increased, and that its intrinsic worth had attained a wider recognition. It also expressed satisfaction with the progress of basic education as regards its influence on the personality of the child, both as an individual and as a citizen. The conference also appealed to all those engaged in

⁶ *Post-war Plan of Educational Development in India*, p. 12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

constructive work or those who conducted institutions of national education to utilise the opportunity they had of introducing basic education.

The most important resolution was moved, however, by Shri Mashruwala. It said:

The Conference forwards the following resolution to the Hindustani Talimi Sangh for consideration. New Education or Nai Talim should be so organized that a normal adult pupil in village earns enough wages during his period of training to defray his cost of education. This is possible only if educational institutions in the villages become producers of articles of use and at the same time the articles are of true educational value. To this end the economic order of the country has to be simultaneously revolutionized. This double revolution in economy and education should result in a considerable and all-round enhancement of wages for both ordinary and the so-called intelligent labour and skilled artisanship. The production of food, clothing, dwelling and other important necessities of life should be considerably increased; technical research should aim at making decentralised and small-scale production economic without adding to the labour of the villagers. The primary object of production should be self-sufficiency of the nation and providing means of happiness 'unto the last' instead of earning profit and interest in trade and commerce.⁹

The conference also considered new orientation given to Nai Talim by Gandhiji as 'education in all stages of life from cradle to grave through manual work and rural handicrafts'. Three sessions of the conference were devoted to the discussions of pre-basic, post-basic and adult education and the following resolutions were passed:

1. This conference recommends that the Hindustani Talimi Sangh should give full consideration to the question of post-basic education as a system of complete education in itself and draft (1) suitable syllabi for part-time continuation courses for those who wish to live a fuller life and acquire further proficiency in their craft, (2) devise a diversified system of institutions to provide whole-time education for various aptitude-types on the basis of education through work, keeping in view the needs of national life.
2. This conference believes that, as the scheme of basic national education has now been worked for seven years, it is appropriate that the task of educating the children of the country under seven years of age should be taken up and recommends that the Hindustani Talimi Sangh appoint a committee to draw up a scheme of pre-basic education which will serve as foundation for basic education.
3. This conference accepts the main recommendations of the report of the Adult Education Sub-committee and recommends to the Hindustani Talimi Sangh that an Adult Education Committee be appointed to draw up a scheme of national adult education on the lines suggested in the report.¹⁰

⁹ *Seven Years of Work*, Eighth Annual Report of Nai Talim, p. 27.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

IV. Development

In 1944, the total number of basic institutions in the whole country was only 269, basic schools numbering 261 and training centres 8. The significant growth in basic schools came only when the Congress Governments were re-established in 1946. Five years later, at the commencement of the First Five-Year Plan, the total number of basic schools in the country was 33,730. These included 31,979 basic schools of Uttar Pradesh (where the State Government termed all their primary schools as basic schools), and only 1,751 basic schools in the rest of the country. If it is remembered that the total number of elementary schools in the country was 2,23,267, it will be evident that basic education had not made much progress, except probably in institutions for preparing teachers (of the total of 782 such institutions, 114 were basic).

During the First Plan, a systematic effort was made to develop basic education, and a number of schemes were worked out on an all-India basis. Consequently, basic education began to make progress in almost all the states. The number of institutions for training of teachers, for junior and senior basic schools, rose from 114 to 525, and this accounted for 56 per cent of the total number of such institutions. In addition to these, there were 24 training institutions at post-graduate level. The number of basic schools also increased from 33,730 to 47,813, of which the basic schools outside Uttar Pradesh numbered 15,915. The overall percentage of basic schools to the total number of elementary schools also rose from 0.9 per cent to 6.1 per cent (excluding Uttar Pradesh).

This progress of basic education was not only maintained, but increased during the Second Five-Year Plan. The number of basic schools increased by more than double i.e. from 47,813 to about 1,00,000—an increase of about 52,000 schools as compared to the increase of only 14,000 during the First Plan. The teacher is the pivot of any system of education and the more so in basic education which is a radical departure, both in theory and practice, from the traditional pattern of schooling. Another significant achievement of this period has, therefore, been to convert, by the end of the Second Plan, 70 per cent of the training institutions for elementary teachers to the basic pattern and it is expected that they would all be so converted by the end of the Third Plan.

The following table shows the progress of basic education in the three Five-Year Plans in a concise form:

TABLE 5 : PROGRESS OF BASIC EDUCATION IN THE THREE FIVE-YEAR PLANS

	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61 (Estimates)	1965-66 (Targets)
Junior Basic Schools	33,379	42,971	1,00,000	1,53,000
Junior Basic Schools as percentage of the total number of Primary (including Junior Basic) Schools. ..	15.9	15.4	29.2	36.9
Senior Basic Schools	388	4,842	11,940	16,700
Senior Basic Schools as percentage of Middle (including Senior Basic) Schools	2.9	22.3	30.2	28.9
Children in Basic Schools as percentage of the total number of children in classes I-VIII.	13.1	17.2	23.2	Not known
Basic Training Schools	114	520	715	1,424
Basic Training Schools as percentage of the total number of Training Schools	15	56	70	100

V. Self-supporting Aspect

No aspect of basic education has been attacked so violently as this. Even when Gandhiji made his suggestion that basic schools must earn their expenses and become self-sufficient, a 'professor' attacked it in virulent terms as follows: 'Let us not delude ourselves into believing that self-supporting workshop schools manufacturing and marketing goods will impart education. In actual practice, it will be nothing but legalised child labour To sum up, it is bad economy to adopt a short-sighted policy, which will make the schools solvent and the nation bankrupt¹¹.' This was also the view of a good number of people who were suspicious about the possible repercussions of accepting so revolutionary a

¹¹ Mahatma Gandhi, *Basic Education*, pp. 39-40.

theory. In this connection, it must be pointed out that even the original sponsors of the scheme, while they expected that the products of the crafts introduced in basic schools will have an economic value, did not say that such self-sufficiency is the essence of basic education. Even the Report of the Zakir Hussain Committee declared: 'We wish to make it quite clear that we consider the scheme of basic education outlined by the Wardha conference to be sound in itself. Even if it is not self-supporting in any sense, it should be accepted as a matter of sound educational policy and as an urgent measure of educational reconstruction¹².' This was also the view of even Gandhiji who, in spite of his stress on the self-sufficiency aspect of basic education, said that 'the test of success in basic education is not its self-supporting character, but whether the whole man has been drawn out, through the teaching of handicrafts in a scientific manner¹³.'

The aim of all education is to draw out the capacities and talent in every individual so that he may be helped to attain the highest degree of self-expression. Basic education seeks to use a constructive craft as an instrument to achieve this purpose. In basic education, the highly valued social qualities of team work, good neighbourliness and community-consciousness, along with efficient knowledge of a useful craft, are developed. The knowledge of craft should not be merely theoretical, but should also involve efficient performance. To learn to perform any task we have undertaken well and efficiently is one of the fundamental objectives of educational practice. The student can prove his efficiency in craft only by his ability to produce things of good quality, which implies that the things he produces have economic value. This is what Gandhiji meant when he said: 'The self-supporting part should be the logical corollary of the fact that the pupil has learnt the use of every one of his faculties.'

To examine this matter in detail, the Government of India, at the instance of the Central Advisory Board of Education, appointed a Committee consisting of two officers, who inspected the basic schools in the various parts of India. They examined the

¹² *Basic National Education*, Report of the Zakir Hussain Committee and the Detailed Syllabus, pp. 16-17.

¹³ Mahatma Gandhi; *op. cit.*, p. 51.

amount of work done by the basic schools, their economic value and also whether such work affected academic standards. Their report, known after them as the Pires-Lakhani Report, makes it clear that the development of productive capacity was consistent with a sound education. It also observed that, for the success of the productive aspect of basic education, the following conditions are absolutely necessary:

- (i) The basic school should consist of eight classes and should not be a truncated basic school of five classes only.
- (ii) Every class should have its full quota of 30 students.
- (iii) Basic schools should be well-equipped with the necessary tools and appliances, as well as sufficient land and livestock, in the case of agricultural basic schools.
- (iv) They should also be staffed and supervised by well-trained persons having faith in the objective of self-sufficient and self-supporting education.¹⁴

The Committee on the Productive Aspect of Basic Education considered this Report and unanimously came to the conclusion, 'that it was essential to give due importance to the self-supporting aspect of basic education and, on the basis of the data and the material collected, there was justification for the Central Advisory Board of Education for modifying the views expressed by them in their report of 1944 and to recommend to the Government the proper implementation of this aspect of the Scheme.' The Committee added that the scholastic side of the school work had not suffered in spite of the time given to the craft and that, from the wider educational point of view, the children had actually profited a good deal from this type of education. In view of the satisfactory position of their academic knowledge, it was suggested that the scholars trained in basic schools should be enabled to get admission, both to the higher grades of secondary education and to the University, without difficulty.

The Central Advisory Board of Education considered the Report of the Committee in 1952 and expressed the view 'that the element of craft work in basic education is of such educa-

¹⁴ *Pires-Lakhani Report*, para 6.

tional importance and value that, even if no economic considerations were involved, it is necessary to replace ordinary primary education by basic education in a planned manner. In carrying out this programme, special attention of the state governments should be drawn to the fact that a system of education cannot be considered as basic education unless (a) it provides an integrated course including both the junior and the senior stages, and (b) it places adequate emphasis on craft work, both its educational and productive aspects¹⁵.

In spite of these findings, however, there is a great deal of scepticism about the advisability of stressing this aspect of earning in basic schools. At the time this idea was put forward, there was a foreign government which was not prepared to spend the needed amount on education. With independence, the position has changed. The State has now assumed responsibility, under a specific Article in the Constitution, to provide compulsory and universal education for the children in the age group 6-14. In view of this, though basic schools emphasize that crafts should be done efficiently, the need to be self-supporting through craft work does not exist any more. Many state governments have, therefore, taken the view that economic returns from the labour of the pupils should be utilised for their own benefit, that is, in such programmes as providing mid-day meals and school uniforms for indigent children.

VI. Clarification of the Concept

It was unfortunate that basic education was misunderstood by a large number of people, even at the beginning. In spite of its having been accepted as the national policy by the central and state governments, the misunderstanding still continues in a variety of ways. People who were wedded to orthodox views on education, and who could not think on progressive lines, considered that Gandhiji's ideas of education were both impractical and undesirable. The idea that education could be made self-supporting was enough for them to condemn basic education as impossible. There were others who were opposed to the Congress. That basic

¹⁵ *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education*, p. 15.

education was announced as Congress policy by a resolution of the Indian National Congress was sufficient for them to be prejudiced against it. Even later, when the various governments accepted it on the recommendation of their expert committees on education, this prejudice still continued to linger.

Certain enthusiasts of basic education have done more harm to basic education than its opponents. This is one of the strange instances in which some people, by their own loyalty, enthusiasm and zeal, do more harm than good to their cause. I here refer to the people who thought that mere introduction of spinning into an elementary school constituted basic education. Nothing was farther from the meaning and purpose of basic education. If mere spinning was basic education, the millions of men and women who are spinning nearly eight hours a day should be considered to have had basic education. They are certainly experts in that craft, but that does not, by itself, form basic education. Gandhiji made this abundantly clear on many occasions. He said:

I want you to appreciate the difference between this and basic education. A carpenter teaches me carpentry. I shall learn it mechanically from him, and as a result, I shall know the uses of various tools. But that will hardly develop my intellect. If the same thing is taught to me by one who has had a scientific training in carpentry, he will stimulate my intellect too. Not only shall I then have become an expert carpenter, but also an engineer. For, the expert will have taught me mathematics, also told me the differences between various kinds of timber, the places they come from, giving me thus a knowledge of geography and also a little knowledge of agriculture. He will also have taught me to draw models of my tools and given me a knowledge of elementary geometry and arithmetic. Manual training should thus be given side by side with intellectual training. In basic education the principal means of stimulating the intellect should be manual training.¹⁶

There were also other factors such as the forced and far-fetched correlation sometimes practised in basic schools, the place of books and other activities in basic education about which ideas were not clear. The concepts that Gandhiji introduced were so different from the ordinarily accepted views on education, that their various aspects had not been properly understood in the different parts of the country. The situation, therefore, called for a clarification of the concept of basic education. This was done by the Government of India in 1956 in a small but valuable publication entitled *The*

¹⁶ Mahatma Gandhi, *Educational Reconstruction*, p. 17.

Concept of Basic Education. The following extract from this publication will give the salient features of basic education:

The term 'Basic Education' has been interpreted and sometimes misinterpreted, in a variety of ways. This is, to some extent, understandable because it is a comparatively recent development and its concept and technique are still in the making. It seems necessary, therefore, to state clearly what we mean by Basic Education.

Broadly speaking, we would like to point out that the concept of Basic Education is the same as that defined in the Report of the Basic National Education Committee (The Zakir Hussain Committee) and elucidated by the Central Advisory Board of Education. It is clear that the basic principles and techniques, as made out in the Report, should guide and shape educational reconstruction in India. So far as the provision of eight years of compulsory universal schooling and the use of the mother-tongue as the medium of instruction are concerned, there is no difference of opinion about them. They have now come to be universally accepted and need no further elucidation except in so far as it may be necessary to stress the intrinsic wholeness of the entire period of basic education, covering the junior as well as the senior basic grades. The other implications and features of basic education that need to be clarified and stressed are the following:

1. Basic education, as conceived and explained by Mahatma Gandhi, is essentially an education for life, and what is more, an education through life. It aims at creating eventually a social order free from exploitation and violence. That is why productive, creative and socially useful work in which all boys and girls may participate, irrespective of any distinction of caste or class, is placed at the very centre of basic education.
2. The effective teaching of a basic craft, thus becomes an essential part of education at this stage, as productive work, done under proper conditions not only makes the acquisition of much related knowledge more concrete and realistic but also adds a powerful contribution to the development of personality and character and instils respect and love for all socially useful work. It is also to be clearly understood that the sale of products of craftwork will meet some part of the expenditure incurred in running the school or that the products will be used by the school children for getting a mid-day meal or a school uniform or help to provide some of the school furniture and equipment.
3. As there has been controversy and difference of opinion regarding the position of craft work in basic schools, it is necessary to state clearly that the fundamental objective of basic education is nothing less than the development of the child's total personality which will include productive efficiency as well. In order to ensure that the teaching of the basic craft is efficient and its educative possibilities are fully realized, we must insist that the articles made should be of good quality, as good as children at that stage of their development can make them socially useful and, if necessary, saleable. The acquisition of skills and the love for good craftsmanship have deeper educative significance than merely playing with the tools and raw materials which is usually encouraged in all good activity schools. This productive aspect should

in no case be relegated to the background as has been usually the case so far, because directly as well as indirectly, efficiency in the craft practised undoubtedly contributes to the all-round development of the child. It sets up before children high standards of achievement and gives them the right kind of training in useful habits and attitudes like purposeful application, concentration, persistence and thoughtful planning. While it may not be possible to lay down specific targets for productivity at this stage, it should be the teacher's endeavour to explore its economic possibilities fully with the emphatic stipulation that this does not in any way conflict with the educational aims and objectives already defined. However, it has to be stated that, in the upper classes of junior basic schools and in the senior basic schools, it should not be difficult for states to lay down certain minimum targets of production in the light of carefully assessed experiences.

4. In the choice of basic crafts which are to be integrated into school work, we should adopt a liberal approach and make use of such crafts as have significance from the point of view of intellectual content, provide scope for progressive development of knowledge and practical efficiency. The basic craft must be such as will fit into the natural and social environment of the school and hold within it the maximum of educational possibilities. The idea that has been wrongly created in the minds of some people that the mere introduction of a craft in a school, *e.g.*, spinning, can make it a basic school does grave injustice to the concept of basic education.
5. In basic education, as indeed, in any good scheme of education, knowledge must be related to activity, practical experience and observation. To ensure this, basic education rightly postulates that the study of the curricular content should be intelligently related to three main centres of correlation *viz.*, craft work, the natural environment and the social environment. The well-trained and understanding teacher should be able to integrate most of the knowledge that he wishes to impart to one or the other of these centres of correlation, which form important and natural foci of interest for the growing child. If he is not able to do so, it either means that he lacks the necessary ability or that the curriculum has been burdened with items of knowledge which are not really important and significant at that particular stage. It should also be realized, however, that there may be certain items in the syllabus which cannot be easily correlated directly with any of the three above centres. In such cases, there should be no objection to these being taught according to the methods of teaching adopted in any good school. This means that, even in the case of such lessons, the principle of interest and motivation and the value of expression-work will be utilised. In any case, forced and mechanical 'association' which pass for correlation in many schools should be carefully avoided.
6. The emphasis on productive work and crafts in basic schools should not be taken to mean that the study of books can be ignored. The basic scheme does postulate that the book is not the only or the main avenue to knowledge and culture, and that at this age, properly organized productive work can in many ways contribute more richly both to the

acquisition of knowledge and the development of personality. But the value of the book, both as a source of additional systematic knowledge and of pleasure cannot be denied and a good library is as essential in a basic school as in any other type of good school.

7. The basic scheme envisages a close integration between the school and the community so as to make education as well as the children more social-minded and cooperative. It endeavours to achieve this, first, by organizing the school itself as a living and functioning community—with its social and cultural programmes and other activities—secondly, by encouraging students to participate in the life around the school and in organizing various types of social service to the local community. Student self-government is another important feature in basic education which should be envisaged as a continuous programme of training in responsibility and in the democratic way of living. In this way, the basic school not only helps in cultivating qualities of self-reliance, co-operation and respect for dignity of labour but also becomes a vital factor in the creation of a dynamic social order.
8. Basic education should no longer be regarded as meant exclusively for the rural areas. It should be introduced equally in urban areas both because of its intrinsic suitability and also to remove the impression that it is some kind of inferior education designed only for the village children. For this purpose, necessary modifications may have to be made in the choice of basic crafts for urban schools and even in the syllabus but the general ideas and methods of basic education should remain the same.¹⁷

The question has been asked whether, in a machine age like the present, instruction through such crafts as spinning, weaving or carpentry is suitable. That the Sage of Sevagram, who was the founder of basic education, stood unequivocally for decentralised industries needs no repetition. He believed in the revival of cottage industries as a permanent and the only method of enriching the people in our country. But apart from it and even otherwise, basic education should equip our boys and girls better than a mere scholastic education. In the ordinary schools, where education is mainly through books, children rarely use their hands and feet and so their limbs have never been developed. This training cannot by any means be considered suitable for the machine age referred to above. But on the other hand, the children in basic schools are being trained in the skilful use of their limbs. They develop an intelligent use of their hands both in social activities and in the operation of the tools they are handling. And so, judged by any standard, they will be found superior to others even in the operation of machines.

¹⁷ *The Concept of Basic Education*, pp. 2-7, 1957.

Thus it will be seen that basic education is based on the fundamental principles of the educative value of manual work. Useful manual labour intelligently performed is an excellent means of developing a balanced intellect. A mere intellectual education without a corresponding cultivation of a social sense, results in the creation of selfish exploiters in society. A balanced intellect presupposes the harmonious development of body, mind and soul. That is the foundation of high character. An intellect that is developed through the medium of socially useful labour will normally develop into an instrument of service to the community. This great principle is now being recognized in a great measure throughout the progressive countries in the world. And so, other things apart, basic education, when properly worked, will stand out as a unique method of education that will develop the best in the child socially and intellectually, and make him a useful member of the society in which he lives.

VII. Orientation Programme

In order to assess the various basic schools which had come into existence in the different parts of India, an Assessment Committee was appointed under the chairmanship of Shri G. Ramachandran. Its report gives an assessment of the progress of basic education in the country till the end of the First Plan and it makes several very important recommendations on the lines of which the programme of basic education is being developed at present.

The Committee, which travelled throughout the country and observed the working of basic and non-basic schools, expressed satisfaction at the general progress shown by basic schools. It said:

Wherever basic education has come into one of the older schools, even if only imperfectly, it has brought about a change for the better in some directions. Children are more alert, more full of questions and more eager to know everything, a little more resourceful and braver and certainly more concerned with their surroundings. We visited also some non-basic schools, not far away from the basic schools we saw, and we talked to children of both the sets of schools, asking the same questions and testing them more or less in the same manner. Except in a few cases, basic school children generally came off better. In any comparison of average basic schools with average non-basic schools, it was clear, that the former have improved the character and habits of the children, their resourcefulness, capacity to do things and to question and understand matters a little better. It was not possible for us to make a full study in comparison; but our impressions are clear. In the case of the

teachers, there can be no doubt whatever, that those trained in basic education make better teachers whether they work in basic schools or non-basic schools. If basic schools do not generally furnish a better picture, it is largely due to the fact that educational administration still remains unimaginative and unable to keep pace with the fresh demands of a new situation.¹⁸

The Committee made a variety of recommendations such as improving administration, training of administrative personnel, production of guide and reference books for teachers and handbooks for administrators, conduct of seminars and conferences and the establishment of a Central Institute of Basic Education. The most important of its recommendations, however, was the 'Orientation Programme' whose object was to orientate all schools to the basic pattern in a snap and short-range programme. Prior to 1956, the usual method adopted to develop basic education was the 'compact area method' under which a small contiguous area was selected for the experiment and an attempt was made to convert every school in that area into a basic school. The Assessment Committee came to the conclusion that the compact area method 'has tended merely to create small patches of basic schools here and there without these patches multiplying or spreading quickly or extensively enough. The creation of these patches has led to their remaining in that condition far too long without affecting the surrounding overwhelmingly vast area of elementary education which is non-basic. Also this has resulted in some special conditions being created which make basic education look artificial¹⁹.' The Committee, therefore, suggested that 'the whole of elementary education should be plunged into a programme of conversion, step by step, which should be completed within a stipulated period²⁰.' This was to be achieved by replacement of the vertical process of 'converting' non-basic schools towards the basic pattern by the horizontal process of 'orienting' non-basic schools to the basic pattern. This 'orientation' was to be achieved by introducing, in all the non-basic schools, activities of basic schools and simple crafts which neither involve much expenditure nor require any specially trained teachers but which, all the same, would reduce the gap between the basic and non-basic schools and enrich the curriculum of the latter.

¹⁸ *The Report of the Assessment Committee on Basic Education*, pp. 24-25.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

For giving effect to this orientation programme, the Committee made the following suggestions:

- (i) Introduce activities like *Safai*, kitchen gardening etc. in all schools, teaching children to participate in them intelligently and appreciatively.
- (ii) Introduce community self-government of children through their own 'Aam Sabhas' and their own elected Ministries to develop a sense of responsibility and leadership. The Ministries should be elected often enough in the year to give everybody a chance in small batches to undertake various activities and programme under their own management.
- (iii) Introduce cultural and recreational activities planned and executed by children under the guidance of teachers, in order to produce physical fitness and mental happiness and also to inculcate a growing sense of aesthetic values and social cohesion.
- (iv) Introduce simple useful crafts, the doing of which can be regulated to suit the capacity of the children from year to year and to stimulate the skills of their fingers and their interest in producing little things which will be of use to them. These may be local crafts or others which will cost almost nothing in the earliest years. Later, such crafts should be productive in a more real sense.
- (v) Introduce the elements of extension work by bringing the children into slowly increasing and fuller touch with the community through useful activities and suitable programmes. This will aim at steadily enlarging the area of the child's human interests.

While organizing these activities, the Committee suggested that the following principles should be borne in mind:

- (a) The choice of an activity should arise out of the natural and developing life of the learner and it should be directed towards a purpose recognized as necessary by him and with a decision on his part to carry it out as fully as possible.
- (b) The activity chosen should be such that the learner will derive emotional satisfaction from doing it; it will result in gaining for the doer knowledge which he needs and produce something which fulfils a real want felt by him, thus stimulating him to persist in doing it better and better.
- (c) It is important for the teacher to cultivate the creative atmosphere of friendly group relationship among the pupils and to bestow the closest attention on their feelings and attitudes so that what is done is done in such a manner as to enable them to accept understandingly the new process of activities and behaviour.
- (d) The learner must actually engage himself in all the precise processes of carrying out the activity and for this, he must live that way and accept the fact that such activity is right for him.
- (e) The why and how of what he does, must become more and more clear to him and also acceptable to him as contributing to his purpose and helping him to carry out other related purposes which he considers important.
- (f) There should be provision of facilities for each individual and for the group to evaluate the many and varied outcomes of an activity.

These recommendations have been accepted by all the state governments and the programme is now being implemented in all parts of the country.

VIII. Causes for Slow Progress

Mention may be made here of the findings of a research project completed recently by the Sri Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya Teachers College, Coimbatore, on the causes of resistance to basic education. Questionnaires were issued to a state-wide sample of headmasters of basic schools, non-basic schools, basic training schools, and inspecting officers. Answers were received from all these categories of persons numbering 250, 333, 33 and 50 respectively. A scale of public opinion was also administered to 1,081 persons. The research staff also visited a large number of basic schools and training schools and interviewed the teachers and others. Their findings throw interesting light on the reasons for the slow progress of basic education.

The areas of dissatisfaction fall mainly into three groups. First comes the belief that academic standards are lower in basic schools. Craft work is another area which meets with general resistance. The third area of dissatisfaction is want of facilities to do craft work and to conduct other aspects of school work efficiently. Closely connected with this is the slowness with which students from basic schools were recognised for admission into high schools. In many states, even today, students from post-basic schools are not eligible for admission to university courses.

According to the findings of this study, the alleged fall in academic standards in basic schools is 'a belief' rather than a scientifically established 'fact'. But it is important to realize that it is held, not only by the general public, but also by headmasters of high schools. The following specific reasons are advanced as to why academic learning is adversely affected in basic schools ; absence of text-books ; time is taken up by other activities ; the method of correlation is difficult ; sufficient number of guide books are not available ; practice in the 3 R's is less ; memorization is reduced ; there is no sequence in learning ; and basic education is not suited for home work. The public expect the school to give a formal academic type of education. They judge the school by the amount

of bookish home work given and by the pupils' carrying text-books to and from the school. They ask: How can they teach without books? It is also felt that many teachers are not competent enough to do without text-books. In spite of the introduction of some of the progressive elements in evaluation, the examination and promotion pattern have a large element of the tradition, and this, in turn, affects the spirit of the scheme. Many teachers find correlated teaching difficult. Imperfect and misunderstood correlation is another reason for fall in standards. It is, however, gratifying to note that many kinds of experiences are used for correlation; cultural festivals and social environment coming first, natural environment second, main craft and subsidiary crafts, third.

Coming to the other areas of resistance, it is felt that too much time is allotted to craft work and that it interferes with studies. A few even believe that there is nothing except craft work in basic schools. Many people feel that craft work is not necessary in the school. Fatigue in craft work is said to affect the pupils adversely. Dislike or disbelief in craft work is another reason operating with the elders.

One of the major problems with reference to craft relates to administrative implementation. There is a tendency to look up to the government for supplying the craft materials, tools and other accessories and to take care of the produce. Recently, in some states, a system of decentralization has been attempted through sanction of outright grants and holding the schools responsible for selling the product and continuing craft work. Even then, most basic schools have to get raw materials from a central craft store and they have to sell the hanks at the khadi stores. Many headmasters have complained that they have to make several trips spending a lot of money, passing through cumbersome administrative procedures, neglecting school work, selling hanks at reduced price and experiencing many technical difficulties. The Report adds:

It would be unfair to close an account of a study of these resistances without mention of the improvement that has taken place in schools after the introduction of basic education. Several good traits have been developed in children. The school programme has improved in several ways and has become more active. The celebrations of festivals in particular is said to be a very welcome feature. Several desirable changes in teachers have been noted. The training schools are buzzing with activity. The desirable changes may be said to out-

weigh the undesirable ones. There is also some evidence that the basic school programme has started influencing the non-basic schools.

A number of non-basic schools appear to give regular citizenship training. Many have already introduced one or other aspects of citizenship. Many of them devote at least some time for school cleaning.

The co-existence of basic education and traditional education is itself one of the serious obstacles against the progress of basic education. While basic education works for removing the gulf between manual work and intellectual work, traditional education stands for *status quo*. The sooner a single system of education on the basis of accepted social ideals is established, the better will it be for the country. The orientation programme suggested by the Assessment Committee is a step in this direction.²¹

IX. The Task Ahead

Reorganization of school education along basic lines has been a key programme since the First Plan. During the Third Plan, it is proposed to convert about 57,760 schools into basic schools, to orient the remaining schools to the basic pattern, to remodel all training institutions along basic lines, to establish basic schools in urban areas, and to link up basic education with the development activities of each local community.

Progress towards fully developed basic schools will inevitably be spread over a long period, since the number of elementary schools is large and the majority of the existing teachers have yet to be trained in the techniques of basic education. By way of preparation for conversion into basic schools, a programme for orienting all existing schools to the basic pattern has been initiated already. This aims at the adoption of a common syllabus in all basic and non-basic schools and the introduction of simple crafts and activities like social service, community living, and cultural and recreational programmes, which do not involve much expenditure or require teachers fully trained in basic education. With a view to implementing the process of orientation, it is proposed that schools should be given simple equipment needed for the purpose and teachers who have not been trained in basic education should be given short orientation courses.

Perhaps the most important measure for the expansion of basic education is the provision of large facilities for the training of teachers for basic schools and the reorganisation of existing training

²¹ Unpublished report of the study by the Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya, Teachers College, Coimbatore.

centres along basic lines. At the end of the Second Plan, elementary school teachers were being trained in 1307 institutions, of which 70 per cent were already organized on the basic pattern. By the end of the Third Plan, the number of training institutions will increase to 1424 and all of them will impart training on basic lines, the number of pupil teachers being about 200,000 as compared to 135,000 in 1960-61. For teachers who have not been trained in basic education, short-term courses of training in the simpler aspects of basic education are to be provided. A factor limiting the expansion of basic education is that it has been largely confined to rural areas. A number of experimental basic schools are, therefore, proposed to be set up in urban areas, so that the problems of basic schools in urban areas can be clearly identified and solutions found for them in cooperation with training colleges.

Basic education has been worked on a country-wide basis only at the junior and senior basic stages. The number of post-basic schools is very small. The principles underlying basic education have yet to make their impact on university education. That there is need for it was realised by the University Education Commission which said: 'There is a tendency in university circles to look upon alternating work and study, and also upon 'practical' courses, especially those calling for manual craftsmanship, as suited to inferior minds, while the professional courses are for intellectuals. This separation of skill of hand from skill of mind has greatly retarded the mastery of the physical world and has been a major cause of poverty, especially in India. Practical work should not leave the worker in a blind alley without continued opportunity for advancement. Like scholarship, it should be recognised with ascending grades of achievement and opportunity, so that a man who develops high ability with hand and eye may have scope to advancement equal to that of the purely intellectual worker. The starting of the Rural Institutes in the various parts of India is an attempt at building higher education on the above lines and on the underlying principles of basic education.

It is a good sign that the spirit of basic education is permeating society in various ways. To-day, emphasis is everywhere being laid on the importance of work involving manual labour. We see the National Cadet Corps digging many furlongs of drains, students

building school houses, college boys and girls constructing latrines, urinals, etc., and educated men and women organizing cleaning campaigns in the villages. These would have been unheard of in a previous generation and are in a large measure due to the message of Gandhiji. In the last decade or two, we see that ideas such as manual labour, service in villages and student self-government, which are essential features of basic education, are being accepted and followed in a much wider sphere. Besides, professional courses (which were previously only theoretical) are being revised with more practical work, as in Engineering and Agriculture. But these tendencies, good as they are, are not enough. The future of any country depends upon the quality of the work of its ordinary man and the technical ability which he brings to bear on his daily duties, in whatever sphere he may be placed. Besides individual excellence, the capacity to work together, in harmony with others for a common objective—a capacity which basic education tries to build up—is of the utmost importance. In the present age, success comes to those who can organize and inspire large masses of men for a common purpose. Skills and qualities, which will enable men to do this, are acquired only by long training. Our educational institutions have need to adapt themselves to a type of education which will build up these skills and the qualities essential for their successful exercise.

*Two Case Studies: Baroda and Kerala***I. Baroda**

The State of Baroda has a unique place in the history of compulsory education in India. In the closing decade of the last century, when the idea of compulsory education was anathema to the British bureaucrats, it was an enlightened ruler of this State, the late Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad III (1863-1939) who introduced compulsory education in his State and nursed the experiment carefully for nearly half a century. The history of this pioneer experiment and its experiences in enforcing compulsory attendance are of great interest to the students of compulsory education in India.

Early Developments: Maharaja Sayajirao had a great faith in compulsory education as a potent instrument for raising the standard of living of the masses and was determined to introduce it progressively in all the areas of his State. Soon after assuming the reins of office in 1881, he selected the Amreli Taluka—which was the most backward area of his State—for an experiment in compulsory education. In the beginning, intensive efforts were made to expand elementary education on a voluntary basis as a preliminary step to the introduction of compulsion and, in January 1893, compulsory education was introduced in all parts of the taluka as an experimental measure. A review taken 10 years later showed that the experiment was a great success. The school enrolment in 1904 included 5,201 children of the prescribed compulsory age and 539 children above the compulsory age (in a total population of 52,828 in the 52 villages of the Taluka). Of these, 3,934 were boys and 2,206 girls. Being satisfied with these results, the Maharaja extended compulsory education to the State as a whole in 1906.

Legislation for Compulsory Attendance: One of the most valuable contribution of the Baroda experiment is the light it throws on the nature of legislation needed in India for the enforcement of compulsory attendance. It is, therefore, proposed to examine the Baroda legislation in some detail.

The Baroda Compulsory Education Act was first passed in 1906 and modified successively in 1910, 1916 and 1926 in the light of experiences gained in the field. The principal features of these laws were the following:

(a) AGE-PERIOD OF COMPULSION: The Compulsory Education Act of 1906 fixed the lower and upper ages for compulsion at 7 and 12 for boys and 7 and 10 for girls and the standard to be completed at three. In 1910, the upper age for compulsory education for girls was raised to 11, and the compulsory standard for both the sexes to four. In August 1913, the compulsory age was again raised to 14 for boys and 12 for girls. At the same time, the age for the marriage of girls was raised to 12 under the Early Marriage Prevention Act and the standard to be completed was also raised to five for boys as well as girls. In 1915-16, the infant class was abolished and the first four elementary standards were treated as the compulsory education classes (the full elementary course had six classes at this time; but attendance in the fifth and sixth classes was voluntary). Later on, the compulsory age for boys as well as girls was fixed at 7-12.

(b) EXEMPTION FROM COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE: The early rules on compulsory education provided exemptions from compulsory attendance in the following cases only. (i) those who were receiving instruction at home; (ii) those who had completed standards prescribed for compulsory education; (iii) those who were incapacitated by illness; (iv) those who were living over a mile from any established primary school; (v) 'purdah' girls in whose case no special provision for instruction could be made; (vi) a child who happened to be the only son of a cultivator; and (vii) a girl whose mother had a nursing infant. In 1905-06, four more grounds for exemption were added; (viii) children whose parents or guardians had an annual income below Rs. 150 or any amount fixed by orders of the Maharaja from time to time; (ix) children of parents who were paying an assessment to the State below an amount to be fixed; (x) children with permanent physical infirmity or mental defect for acquiring instruction; and (xi) children who were necessarily required to stay at home by the bedside of aged or ailing parents. The Baroda Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1906, which extended compulsion to all parts of the State included one more

ground for exemption ; (xii) children who were the only earners in the family.

(c) **FINES FOR OFFENCES:** The Baroda Act initially provided for a fine of two annas for absence from school on the first occasion, to be raised gradually up to one rupee for a continuing offence. In the beginning, appeals against fines levied were allowed. These were later prohibited ; but a revision application could be made to a higher authority within sixty days of the order. In 1915-16, the law was amended to provide that the total absence of a child for 45 days or more in a period of three months should alone render the parent liable to prosecution (instead of 15 days as previously prescribed). This change was made to enable the children of agricultural parents to help their parents during the cultivating and harvesting season.

(d) **PREVENTION OF EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN OF COMPULSORY AGE:** The Baroda Education Commission (1909) suggested legislation for the prevention of employment of children of the school going age in mills, factories or in work of such a nature as would prevent their attendance at school. This recommendation was accepted and the employment of children up to the age of 12 in mills and factories was prohibited. The defaulting employers were made liable to prosecution and fine for every infringement.

Difficulties Experienced in the Enforcement of Compulsion in the Baroda State : Some of the difficulties experienced in Baroda in the enforcement of compulsion are worthy of note.

(a) **CENSUS:** The first step in the enforcement of compulsion is the preparation of the census of the children of compulsory age. The following were the most important difficulties experienced in this work. (i) It was always difficult to obtain information regarding girls. Especially, the Rajput and Muslim parents, who observed the purdah, resented any attempt to obtain information regarding the women inmates of their household. Besides, several families had an age old custom of withholding all information about the female members of the family. (ii) A constant complaint of the Education Department was that Revenue authorities did not take seriously to the work of enforcing compulsion and that their cooperation was often not available. (iii) The people themselves often tried to escape the scrutiny of census authorities by withholding the names

of their children whose services they wanted to utilise. (iv) The village Patel, on whom the burden of preparing the census mainly rested, was often too ignorant to compile a correct list. He was also swayed by the influence of his fellow-villagers and was generally unwilling to court their displeasure by enlisting the names of the children who were required to assist their parents. The census lists were, therefore, generally defective. The Baroda experience suggests that probably the best agency to prepare a correct census of school-going children is that of the primary teachers, assisted by the Revenue Officers.

(b) GRANT OF EXEMPTIONS: The next step in the enforcement of compulsion is the granting of exemptions in deserving cases. The experience in Baroda was that very few applications for exemptions were ever made, due partly to the ignorance of the law on the part of backward communities or illiterate adults ; and partly to the fact that, in the Baroda system, no individual notices were sent to parents. The census lists were 'published' in the sense that they were put up on the notice board of some office. This hardly reached the parents, most of whom were illiterate.

(c) PROSECUTIONS: The third step in the enforcement of compulsion is to prosecute the defaulting parents whose children are either not enrolled or who are unable to attend regularly after enrolment. This work was done very thoroughly in Baroda State. Headmasters were very regular in sending monthly reports about children whose names were not registered as also of those who did not attend regularly after registration. The punishing authorities, such as the Panchayats or Municipalities, imposed fines as the cases came up. It would be difficult to devise a better system for the purpose than that set up by the Baroda State.

(d) RECOVERY OF FINES: The weakest point of the Baroda system was not the failure to prosecute but the failure to recover the fines. Unfortunately, very few fines were recovered and heavy arrears went on accumulating from year to year. This non-recovery was due to two reasons. In some cases, the fines were not realized because no prompt measures were taken to collect them. In most cases, however, the fines were not realized because of poverty.

(e) SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES: The vested interests of the upper classes often came in the way of compulsory schooling.

Not infrequently, the upper classes, who employed the children of the backward classes, prevented them from attending schools and sometimes, even paid their fines. Similarly, the Harijans also had several difficulties. In places where schools were held in private buildings or temples, the 'forward' classes often objected to allow Harijan students to enter the school premises. In some cases, they even applied indirect economic pressure to prevent Harijans from sending their children to schools. It should be borne in mind that the Baroda experiment was tried out at a time when the custom of untouchability was still strong. The biggest problem, however, arose on economic grounds. Agriculturists required the help of their children in a number of ways, looking after an infant at home, or tending cattle, or helping in sowing and harvesting. In all such cases, compulsion became a hardship and attempts were made to evade it.

Achievements and Failures of the Baroda Experiment in Compulsory Education: No one claims that the Baroda experiment in compulsory education was a complete success. Its main contribution lay in the pioneering nature of the effort. Its achievements were nevertheless important. This can be seen by comparing the development of education in Baroda State with that in Bombay Province where the socio-economic conditions were similar. In 1881, the literacy in Baroda was less than that in the Province of Bombay. In 1941, the latest year for which separate figures are available, Baroda had a literacy of 35 per cent as against that of 20 per cent in the Province of Bombay.

Another significant achievement of Baroda was in the sphere of girls' education. In 1949, the number of girls enrolled in elementary schools was 38 for every 100 boys in Bombay and 70 for every 100 boys in Baroda. This strikingly favourable comparison was made possible partly by the enforcement of compulsory education and partly by the strict enforcement of the law for prevention of child marriage. Baroda had passed a Child Marriage Prevention Act long before the Sarda Act was passed in British India and had prohibited the marriage of boys under 18 and girls under 16. Unlike the Sarda Act, this Act was rigorously enforced and helped materially in promoting the education of girls.

Even admitting that greater progress was shown by Baroda as

compared to Bombay, the question still remains as to why Baroda could not liquidate its illiteracy in the period of about 40 years when compulsory education was enforced throughout the State. The answers are interesting. It is surprising but true that, in spite of its universal adoption of compulsory education, not every village in Baroda was provided with a school. In fact, a very large number of villages were without any schools whatsoever, right up to 1949. The State was opposed to the establishment of single-teacher schools on the ground that such schools were indifferent, and had laid down that a minimum number of 75 children should be in attendance if a new elementary school was to be established (this would make it possible to appoint at least two teachers). In practice, therefore, all small villages, with a population of less than 500, were left without schools. In 1937-38, only 1,644 villages of the State with a total population of 1.9 million (or 79 per cent) had schools while as many as 1,325 villages with a population of 495,000 (or 21 per cent) were without schools. The experience of the Baroda experiment underlines the need to secure adequate and effective 'physical coverage' in the provision of schooling facilities if universal education is to be achieved.

Another weakness in the Baroda experiment was the poor enforcement of the compulsory education law because of the inability to recover the fines imposed by the punishing authorities. It was generally found in Baroda that, of the total fines imposed, hardly 10 per cent could be recovered. For instance, from 1933-34 to 1937-38, the total amount of fines imposed (with arrears) was Rs. 1.9 million; and the amounts recovered during the same period came only to Rs. 218,000. Steps were taken every now and then to write off the fines. Compulsion can be effective only against a parent who *can* send his child to the school but *will* not. But where, however, a parent is economically unable to send the child to the school, the penal machinery obviously breaks down. The extreme reliance placed in Baroda on the penal provisions of the compulsory law thus led to a serious weakness in the programme as a whole.

The Baroda experiment clearly shows that an enforcement of a compulsory education law, however vigorous, is no substitute for (and is not even as effective as), a general attempt to educate the parents, to create consciousness among them about the significance

of education and their responsibility for educating their children, and the organization of general programmes of social and economic betterment. For instance, one of the most interesting comparisons in elementary education is between the results obtained in Baroda (where the first compulsory law was passed as early as in 1893) and Kerala (where a compulsory law was passed only as late as in 1945). The number of elementary schools, the enrolment of boys and girls of the compulsory age, and the percentage of literacy have all been much higher in Travancore, even without compulsion, than in Baroda where compulsory education was earnestly attempted. The reasons for this apparent paradox are to be found mainly in socio-economic factors. The large Christian population of Kerala gave it a leeway in the programme while the equally large backward class population in Baroda was a great handicap. The social status enjoyed by women in Kerala made for greater educational awareness. Kerala began its drive for education earlier, its voluntary agencies were more active, and the provision of schools made therein was more widespread, than in Baroda. But above all, there was much greater general awakening among the people in Kerala and this constituted the single most important factor responsible for its more rapid development of education. A comparative study of the developments in Baroda and Kerala leads to the conclusion that excessive reliance on the penal aspects of the compulsory law is a poor instrument for developing elementary education.

II. Kerala

The State of Kerala came into existence on the 1st of November 1956, through the integration of the erstwhile Travancore-Cochin State (excluding the four Tamil speaking taluks in the extreme south and parts of Shencottah taluk beyond the Ghats) with the District of Malabar and the Kaseragode taluk. It has the most advanced system of elementary education and, with the exception of the union territory of Delhi, the highest percentage of literacy in the country. How has Kerala, a densely populated and poor State, been able to make such good progress in elementary education and what can the other states learn from its experience in this field? These are questions which are most frequently asked and, in this case study, an attempt will be made to answer them, in the light of

the past history and present position of elementary education in the State.

General Background : Kerala forms a long and narrow coastal strip in the south-west corner of India, with a total area of about 15,000 sq. miles, and is the smallest state in the Union. It has a very large population of 16,875,000 persons, according to the 1961 census, and the highest rate of density—1,125 persons per sq. mile as compared to 313 persons per sq. mile in India as a whole. The rate of the growth of its population is also very high—it has been more than doubled in the last 40 years, increasing from 780,000 in 1921 to 1.69 million in 1961.

About 85 per cent of the population lives in villages. But the village system obtaining in the State is different from that in most other states of India. Kerala is a land of detached homesteads. The density of population in most of the towns is not very much higher than in some villages. In fact, there are some villages where the density of population is higher than in the neighbouring towns. There are only 25 municipal towns in the State with a population of more than 20,000.

Classified according to age, it is seen that, out of every 100 persons in the State, 39 are below 15 years of age, 53 are in the ages of 15 to 55 and 8 are above 55 years of age. The large proportion of children in the population indicates the high rate of the growth of population, with concomitant educational responsibilities. About 53.6 per cent of the total population depends on agriculture for its livelihood. Agricultural labour constitutes the most numerous single occupation with 21.1 per cent of the total population and 39.3 per cent of the agricultural classes. In all occupations, except in commerce and transport, women outnumber men. Among those who depend on agriculture for their livelihood, 17.5 per cent have non-agricultural subsidiary occupations; and out of those belonging to non-agricultural classes, 17.2 per cent have agriculture as the subsidiary source of income. Thus only 44.2 per cent and 38.4 per cent of the total population subsist entirely on agricultural and non-agricultural occupations respectively. Though 46.4 per cent of the population have been returned as dependent on non-agricultural vocations for their livelihood, it should not be inferred that the State has reached a high level of industrialisation. Of these, only 18.8

per cent are engaged in production (other than agricultural), 7.8 per cent in commerce, 3.2 per cent in transport, and 16.6 per cent in other services.

The religious composition of the population is: 61 per cent Hindus, 22 per cent Christians and 16 per cent Muslims. The scheduled castes and scheduled tribes form about 9 per cent of the total population.

The State is linguistically homogeneous, Malayalam being the mother-tongue of nearly 95 per cent of the people. Tamil, which comes next in importance, is the mother-tongue of about 3 per cent. Malayalam is the medium of instruction in schools at all the three stages—primary, middle and secondary. In some areas of the State, there are a few schools with Tamil as medium of instruction. In Kaseragode taluk, there are bilingual schools having Kannada and Malayalam classes. Parallel classes with English medium are also conducted in many schools in different centres in the State.

Provision of Schools: The first step in the programme of elementary education is to provide an elementary school within easy distance from the home of every child. In Kerala, steps were taken, from the very early days, to provide adequate schooling facilities. When the Education Survey of India was carried out, as on 31st March 1957, it was found that Kerala ranked very high among the Indian States in providing elementary schools. Of the total of 10,660 rural habitations in Kerala, 5,751 (or 53.9 per cent) had primary schools in them; 3,339 (or 31.3 per cent) had schools near them; and only, 1,570 (or 14.8 per cent) were without any educational facilities. In this respect, it stood second in India, Madras standing first with only 11.71 per cent habitations without educational facilities. In terms of population, 72.4 per cent of the total rural population was served by primary schools located in the habitations, 18.1 per cent by schools near the habitations and only 9.5 per cent of the total rural population was not served by a school. In this regard, Kerala stood fourth in India, the first three places going to Madras (5.4 per cent), Punjab (6.2 per cent), Mysore (8.3 per cent) and Bombay (8.4 per cent). It may be pointed out that Kerala has three natural divisions—the highland, the midland and the lowland. The highland takes up an area of 7,093 sq. miles forming about 47 per cent of the State. The average elevation of

the Western Ghats in this area is 4,000 feet. A series of uplands and plains of varying elevation make up the midland. They cover an area of nearly 4,900 sq. miles and form about 33 per cent of the State. The lowlands, which are the most densely populated, cover an area of about 3,000 sq. miles in extent and form nearly 20 per cent of the State. The provision of schools has been made on a 100 per cent basis in the lowlands. But in the mid- and highlands, physical difficulties such as small and scattered habitations make such provision difficult. The shortages of school facilities are only to be found in this area. At the middle school stage, Kerala had the best provision of school facilities—18.2 per cent of the habitations had schools in them, 68.5 per cent had schools near them and only 13.3 per cent were without this educational facility, the corresponding figure for the country as a whole being 49.7 per cent. The survey also showed that Kerala needed only 2,187 new primary schools (out of 103,288 for India as a whole) to reach the goal for universal provision of schools. A good deal of this work has already been done and Kerala will soon be able to complete this first stage of its expansion of elementary education in the very near future.

Enrolment in Elementary Schools : In enrolment of children in elementary schools, Kerala decidedly leads all the other states. In 1960-61, the total enrolment in classes I-V in Kerala was 2.34 million which is equal to about 108 per cent of the total population in the age-group 6-11 as against an all-India average of 61 per cent only. It includes 85 per cent of all children in the age-group 6-11, the rest being children below 6 or above 11. By the end of the Third Plan, therefore, it is expected to enrol almost all children in the age-group 6-11 as against an all-India target of about 76 per cent only. In fact, Kerala is the only state which would fulfil the original target proposed by the Education Panel of the Planning Commission, *viz.*, to enrol 100 per cent of the children in the age-group of 6-11 by 1965-66. Even in the age-group of 11-14, Kerala maintains the same lead. In 1960-61, the total enrolment at the middle school stage in Kerala was 544,000 or 50.3 per cent of the age-group 11-14 (as against 22.8 per cent for the country as a whole). The enrolment of girls, both at the primary and middle school stages, is far better in Kerala than in other states. This will be seen from Table 6.

TABLE 6: ENROLMENT OF GIRLS AT THE ELEMENTARY STAGE

Year	Enrolment at the primary stage			Enrolment at the middle stage		
	Boys	Girls	No. of girls for every 100 boys	Boys	Girls	No. of girls for every 100 boys
KERALA						
1955-56	1,027,888	884,704	86	215,082	159,803	74
1956-57	1,120,662	947,367	85	276,648	194,069	70
1957-58	1,171,570	971,754	83	283,434	198,646	70
1958-59	1,222,234	1,051,579	86	310,376	223,441	72
INDIA						
1955-56	17,024,645	7,486,686	44	3,830,784	992,560	26
1956-57	17,884,117	8,080,691	45	4,020,514	1,138,171	28
1957-58	18,812,890	8,557,321	45	4,235,890	1,262,581	30
1958-59	20,480,488	9,560,763	47	4,454,437	1,365,219	31

A significant aspect of the enrolment in Kerala is that wastage and stagnation are relatively small, probably the least in India. The diminution of enrolment from class to class is much less in Kerala than in the rest of the country (Table 8).

Teachers : In respect of elementary teachers, Kerala shows two distinct points of advance: the proportion of trained teachers is very high in Kerala; and it also employs a much larger proportion of women teachers than the rest of the country. This would be clear from the following table:

TABLE 7: ELEMENTARY TEACHERS IN KERALA

Year	Kerala			India		
	Total No. of elementary teachers	Percentage of trained elementary teachers	Percentage of women teachers to total no. of teachers	Total No. of elementary teachers	Percentage of trained elementary teachers	Percentage of women teachers to total no. of teachers
1956-57	59,748	91.1	38.4	876,702	61.8	17.4
1957-58	63,722	90.0	40.0	914,312	63.4	18.0
1958-59	68,745	89.4	41.5	960,465	64.3	18.5
1959-60	71,706	88.2	42.2	1,023,606	64.5	91.1

TABLE 8: TOTAL ENROLMENT IN CLASSES I-VIII IN KERALA AND INDIA DURING THE YEAR 1958-59

Class	Kerala				All-India							
	Enrolment in classes I-VIII		Percentage of enrolment in each class to total enrolment in classes I-VIII		Enrolment in classes I-VIII		Percentage of enrolment in each class to total enrolment in classes I-VIII					
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total			
I	327,350	293,107	620,457	21.4	23.0	22.1	7,884,430	4,114,593	11,999,023	31.3	37.5	33.1
II	274,460	241,724	516,184	17.9	19.0	18.4	4,498,197	1,132,094	6,630,291	17.8	19.4	18.3
III	238,351	202,107	440,458	15.5	15.8	15.7	3,506,227	1,541,553	5,047,780	13.9	14.0	13.9
IV	211,368	177,437	388,805	13.8	13.9	13.8	2,869,092	1,151,108	4,020,200	11.4	10.5	11.1
V	170,705	137,204	307,909	11.1	10.8	11.0	2,256,383	802,912	3,059,295	8.9	7.3	8.5
VI	125,915	93,008	218,923	8.2	7.3	7.8	1,681,377	526,446	2,207,823	6.7	4.8	6.1
VII	100,697	72,021	172,718	6.6	5.6	6.1	1,388,617	405,381	1,793,998	5.5	3.7	5.0
VIII	83,764	58,412	142,176	5.5	4.6	5.1	1,129,594	309,287	1,438,881	4.5	2.8	4.0
TOTAL	1,532,610	1,275,020	2,807,630	100.0	100.0	100.0	25,213,917	10,983,374	36,197,291	10.0	100.0	100.0

The scale of pay of teachers which, for a long time, was comparatively low now stands at Rs. 40-4-60-EB*-5-120. As compared to some other states in India, the remuneration of teachers in Kerala is rather on the low side, although the average emoluments of an elementary teacher in Kerala is higher than that in India as a whole.

Expenditure : Elementary education is free in the State. The local bodies had no responsibility for elementary education in the old Travancore and Cochin States. Only in the areas which came over from the Madras State were the local bodies charged with some administrative and financial responsibility ; but this has since been taken away. Consequently, elementary education in Kerala is administered direct by the State which also bears almost all its cost. This will be seen from the following table:

TABLE 9: EXPENDITURE ON ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN KERALA

	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60
I. Total direct expenditure on elementary education met from				
(i) Government Funds	43,249,798	57,308,203	73,186,998	81,138,047
(ii) Local Board Funds	3,163,575	2,228,266	5,451	5,399
(iii) Municipal Funds	335,907	542,370	..	603
(iv) Fees	37,631	26,278	62,230	82,778
(v) Other Sources ..	620,867	721,395	1,213,916	1,093,883
TOTAL ..	47,407,778	60,826,512	74,468,595	82,320,710
II Total educational expenditure ..	113,934,047	127,553,500	158,053,454	170,765,951
III. Percentage of total direct expenditure on elementary education to total educational expenditure ..	41.6	47.7	47.1	48.2

Taking India as a whole, the total direct expenditure on elementary education was about 39 per cent of the total educational expenditure in 1949-50 and this had fallen to 34 per cent by 1960-61. In Kerala, on the other hand, the proportion of the total direct expenditure on elementary education to total educational expenditure is

* EB stands for *Efficiency Bar* which the incumbent has to cross before he becomes eligible for further increments in the scale.

continuously rising. This shows the high priority accorded to elementary education in Kerala.

Ancillary Services : Another distinctive feature of elementary education in Kerala is the provision of good ancillary services. The State provides school meals to almost all necessitous children at the primary stage. Two-thirds of the cost involved is met by Government and the remaining one-third is raised through local contributions. About 1.7 million children are thus provided with school meals.

The production of textbooks at the elementary stage has been taken over by the State.

The State has also organized a good system of medical inspection and treatment. Under this scheme, which has been introduced in all primary schools, every pupil is to be examined once a year by a competent medical officer and will receive, if necessary, adequate medical attention in the nearest Government hospital or dispensary. The scheme has been put into operation through 200 medical inspection units distributed throughout the State. Each unit will cover the primary schools within a radius of five miles and will be staffed by a medical officer, from the nearest Government hospital or dispensary, on a part-time basis.

Compulsory Education : The progress in elementary education has been achieved in Kerala without any large recourse to a penal law. The Travancore Compulsory Education Act, which envisaged a scheme for the nationalisation of primary education, was promulgated in 1945 by the erstwhile Travancore Government and compulsory primary education was introduced in a few taluks of the State in 1946-47. It was later on extended to a few more taluks, stage by stage. When the erstwhile State of Cochin was integrated with Travancore, the Act was extended to Cochin also. With the integration of the State in 1956, some areas in the old Madras State where compulsory education had been introduced earlier under the Madras Elementary Education Act, 1920, were transferred to this State. By 1958-59, compulsion had been introduced in 18 towns and 185 villages only of the Kerala State and the total enrolment in compulsory areas was only 334,501. Moreover, hardly any penal action is taken under the compulsory law and reliance is placed mainly on persuasion and propaganda.

Reasons for and Implications of the Advance of Elementary Education in Kerala: What are the factors which have made Kerala the most advanced state in India in elementary education? A number of tentative answers can be suggested.

The social background in Kerala has been favourable to the rapid advance of education. In Kerala, women enjoy a high social status and there is hardly any prejudice against the education of girls. The population of the backward classes also is comparatively small. On the other hand, the large proportion of Christians—who are very education-conscious and among whom the education of women is greatly advanced—has been a distinct asset to the development of education in Kerala in more ways than one. The large density of population on the coastal strip with its almost continuous stretch of houses has made the provision of school facilities easier. These social and physical advantages have more than counter-balanced the economic handicaps of the people.

Kerala also began its drive for expansion of elementary education much earlier. It was towards the middle of the nineteenth century that both Travancore and Cochin began to expand education under the guidance of their enlightened rulers and able Dewans. They did not commit the mistake of the British administrators who neglected the indigenous schools. On the other hand, they started by assisting them and gave every encouragement to private enterprise. Consequently, both Travancore and Cochin led the whole of India in education and as early as 1901, they had the highest percentage of literacy. This lead, which they obtained 60 years ago, has never been lost.

There is another important point to be noted here. Kerala adopted a strategy of educational development which made rapid advance in elementary education possible. This strategy has two features. The first is the raising of the pupil-teacher ratio in the initial stages of expansion, with gradual reduction during the subsequent stage of consolidation. Table 10 on next page compares the pupil-teacher ratio in Kerala with that in India as a whole.

It will be seen that between 1949-50 and 1954-55, Kerala had a very high pupil-teacher ratio which enabled it to achieve expansion. This high ratio was reached because of the adoption of the shift

system. The classes under the shift system work for $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours per day for 200 days a year ; and the adoption of this system, therefore, helps to raise the pupil-teacher ratio. At one time, Kerala had adopted the shift system for all the first four classes and hence the high ratios of 50-55. But later on, as funds became available, the shift system was abolished from class IV ; it is also now proposed to be abolished from class III. A more favourable pupil-teacher ratio of 40:1 has also been adopted since 1958-59.

TABLE 10: PUPIL-TEACHER RATIO (1949-50 to 1958-59)

Year	Kerala			All-India		
	Primary School	Middle School	Elementary School	Primary School	Middle School	Elementary School
1949-50	.. 53	45	52	34	25	32
1950-51	.. 50	19	45	34	24	33
1951-52	.. 52	23	46	34	25	32
1952-53	.. 50	24	46	33	24	32
1953-54	.. 54	23	48	33	23	32
1954-55	.. 55	26	49	33	23	31
1955-56	.. 41	18	37	33	26	32
1956-57	.. 41	27	38	34	26	32
1957-58	.. 39	29	36	34	27	33
1958-59	.. 41	27	36	35	31	34

N.B.—From 1949-50 to 1954-55, figures pertain to Travancore-Cochin.

The second aspect of the Kerala strategy for the rapid development of elementary education was that it kept down the cost per pupil in the first stage of expansion. The growth of elementary education depends upon two main factors: the cost per pupil and the total expenditure on elementary education. If the largest expansion is desired, it is necessary to keep the cost per pupil down and/or to increase the total expenditure on elementary education. The strategy of Kerala, which combined both these methods, will be clear from the statistics shown in Table 11.

TABLE 11: COST PER PUPIL

	Kerala			All-India		
	1949-50	1954-55	1958-59	1949-50	1954-55	1958-59
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1. Average annual salary of a primary school teacher	333.7	473.1	1030.1	479.2	653.3	788.5
2. Pupil-teacher ratio (primary schools)	53	55	41	34	33	35
3. Annual cost per pupil (primary schools)	6.7	9.6	27.2	19.5	22.9	26.1
4. Expenditure on primary education per head of population	0.9	1.3	3.0	1.0	1.3	1.5

N.B.—The figures of 1949-50 and 1954-55 are those of Travancore-Cochin.

It will be seen that the cost per pupil was kept very low in Kerala in the early days of expansion, partly by keeping the salaries down and partly by raising the pupil-teacher ratio. This made expansion possible. Since 1957-58, the salaries have been raised and the pupil-teacher ratio has been brought down. Hence the rate of spending on elementary education in Kerala has risen to about twice that in the country as a whole.

Educational advance brings its own burdens. The lowering of the pupil-teacher ratio, combined with the rise in salaries, raised the expenditure on elementary education. The expansion of elementary education was followed naturally by expansion at the secondary and university stages. This increased the expenditure on higher education also. Consequently, the total educational expenditure increased by leaps and bounds and Kerala is now spending about 40 per cent of its total state revenue on education alone.

Of all the states in the Union, Kerala is in the most favourable position to reach the goal laid down in the Constitution by 1975: free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14 years.

SECTION TWO

Some Problems of Expansion

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Some Problems of Expansion

This section deals with some important issues involved in accelerating the expansion of elementary education. The first step in a programme of universal elementary education is to provide an elementary school within easy reach of every child. The problems involved in this task have been dealt with in Chapter 6. The second step in the programme is to enrol every child in the school and the implications of this have been discussed in Chapter 7. The third step is to see that every child enrolled makes adequate progress from class to class and is retained in school till he completes the elementary course or the compulsory age. The issues involved in this most difficult of all tasks of expansion are dealt with in Chapter 8. The difficulties and problems of special groups in respect of universal education are then discussed in the three following chapters: the education of girls (Chapter 9); the education of the backward classes (Chapter 10); and part-time education and education of handicapped children (Chapter 11).

CHAPTER 6

Universal Provision of Schools

The expansion of elementary education generally takes place in three well-defined stages. The first is the universal provision of schools when an attempt is made to provide an elementary school within easy walking distance of the home of every child so that any parent who desires to send his child to school has access to the necessary facilities in the second stage, *viz.*, universal enrolment, when an effort is made to enrol every child in school. This is essentially a stage of voluntary expansion, strengthened by educative propaganda and persuasion designed to induce parents to send their children to schools as soon as they attain the age prescribed for admission. In the third stage, *i.e.*, universal retention, an attempt is made to eliminate or reduce wastage and to see that every child enrolled in schools is retained there till he completes either the elementary course or the compulsory age. Legislation for enforcement of compulsory attendance plays a significant, although minor, part at this stage and the main effort has to be directed to increase the 'holding power' of the schools and to overcome the economic and other difficulties which tempt parents to withdraw their children from schools. In a given local area served by a single school, these three stages follow one another in the order mentioned above. But taking the country as a whole, they are not mutually exclusive. In fact, the second and the third stages begin long before the first is over and, in a sense, they all exist side by side. Nevertheless, it is convenient to discuss the programmes of the expansion of elementary education separately on the basis of these stages because each one of them raises distinct problems of its own.

In the present chapter, we shall deal with the first stage, *viz.*, universality of school provision. The remaining stages will be dealt with in the two subsequent chapters.

The Educational Survey of India (1957): The annual educational statistics collected in India reported the total number of elementary schools in the country. But it was not possible to deduce

from them the extent to which adequate educational facilities had already been provided or the additional effort that was needed to reach the goal of providing an elementary school within easy distance from the home of every child. There were several difficulties. The number of towns and villages served by schools could not be equated with the existing number of schools because some towns and bigger villages had several schools while some schools served more than one village and the data about these details were not available. Moreover, the term 'village' itself was ambiguous. It was not a unit of population, but of area. Some villages had a number of habitations (or clusters of populations, the educational needs of each of which had to be separately examined) and very often, they were quite a long distance apart. On the other hand, several villages had no population at all. The census gave only a list of 'villages' and there was no data available about the 'habitations'. Therefore, it soon became obvious that, unless a special effort was made to hold an educational survey of India, to identify and enumerate all the habitations separately, and to ascertain the extent to which they had already been provided with educational facilities, it would not be possible to prepare a realistic programme that would lead the country to its goal of universal provision of schools.

The need for an educational survey was stressed, as early as in 1911, by the Government of India;¹ but no serious notice was taken of the proposal. It was only in Madras that an educational survey of the entire Province was carried out in 1924 and a few districts were surveyed in Bombay. Things remained in cold storage till 1956 when a proposal for holding an educational survey of India was made by the Education Panel of the Planning Commission and endorsed by the Central Advisory Board of Education in January 1956. The Government of India thereupon decided to conduct an All-India Educational Survey in collaboration with the state governments. A survey unit was set up for the purpose in the Ministry of Education in November, 1956. All the state governments, except West Bengal, participated in the scheme and the survey was completed and its results published in 1959.² These are briefly summarized in the following paragraphs.

¹ *Progress of Education in India, 1907-12*, Vol I, pp. 134-35.

² *Report of the All-India Educational Survey*, Ministry of Education, New Delhi, 1960.

Identification and Enumeration of Habitations: The first step in the survey was obviously to identify and enumerate all the habitations. The census of 1951—the latest basic document with which the survey had to start—enumerated 546,463 villages and 169,190 hamlets (these were enumerated in four states only: Andhra Pradesh 5,413; Madhya Pradesh 6,951; Rajasthan 11,108; and Uttar Pradesh 145,718), thus making a total of 716,653 habitations. This figure had to be corrected by deducting the number of 'habitations' which had become uninhabited or which had since grown into urban areas, and by adding newly created habitations and all hamlets which had escaped enumeration in the 1951 census. The net result was to identify and enumerate 840,033 habitations in rural areas as shown in Table 12.

Of these 840,033 habitations, 525,363 were villages and 314,670 were hamlets. There were, therefore, about 60 hamlets to 100 villages. This average, however, conceals a very wide range of variations. A large number of villages had no hamlets at all. But a village in Bihar was reported to have as many as 229 hamlets; one in Rajasthan had 81; one in Andhra Pradesh had 40; and the maximum number of hamlets in a village in Maharashtra was 32. Though the hamlets were generally situated within a couple of miles of the main village, there were a large number of instances when they were far away from the parent village, the maximum distance noticed in one case being 24 miles. Though one expects hamlets to be small, at any rate smaller than the main village, several hamlets were bigger than their parent villages and a few hamlets with population over 2,000 were also noticed.

A minimum population of 200 is essential for justifying the establishment of a single-teacher school in a habitation. On this population, it will be possible to have 40 children in attendance if compulsory education for the age-group 6-14 is enforced and 25 children in attendance if compulsory education for the age-group 6-11 only is enforced. If this premise is granted, it will not be possible to establish separate schools in habitations where the population is less than 200. The number of such habitations is very large. It will be seen from the above table that there are 189,329 habitations (or 22.54 per cent of the total) which have a population between 199 and 100 and 254,071 habitations (or 30.25 per cent of

TABLE 12: DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL HABITATIONS ACCORDING TO POPULATION SLABS

States	Population Slabs										Grand Per- centage to total
	5,000 and above	2,000 to 4,999	1,000 to 1,999	500 to 999	400 to 499	300 to 399	200 to 299	100 to 199	below 100	Total below 500	
Andhra Pradesh	95	1,814	5,332	9,474	3,474	4,529	6,091	8,895	10,746	33,735	50,723
Assam	11	233	1,172	3,609	1,624	2,331	3,608	5,794	7,160	20,517	25,542
Bihar	56	1,186	5,274	14,663	6,955	10,331	16,051	26,010	29,310	88,657	1,00,836
Bombay	75	1,833	6,244	14,529	5,881	8,222	10,721	14,830	13,816	53,470	76,151
Jammu & Kashmir	6	69	296	1,115	565	895	1,428	2,461	4,003	9,352	10,838
Kerala	84	1,515	3,568	2,776	602	622	541	464	488	2,717	10,660
Madhya Pradesh	15	412	2,159	9,048	5,247	8,510	13,478	20,743	22,566	70,544	82,178
Madras	79	1,122	3,912	9,467	3,921	5,441	7,440	10,037	10,462	37,301	51,881
Mysore	25	692	2,356	6,078	2,805	3,945	5,399	7,909	11,128	31,186	40,337
Orissa	8	183	1,327	5,912	3,441	5,056	7,703	12,034	15,784	44,018	51,448
Punjab	42	860	2,544	4,865	1,906	2,433	3,397	4,853	6,976	19,565	27,876
Rajasthan	8	420	1,658	4,906	2,493	3,850	6,031	10,523	16,941	39,838	46,830
Uttar Pradesh	44	1,151	5,284	18,149	10,457	17,426	30,727	60,850	91,467	2,10,927	2,35,555
Delhi	..	19	60	85	24	30	27	19	25	125	289
Himachal Pradesh	..	..	9	98	100	222	650	2,507	9,187	12,666	12,773
Manipur	4	38	111	199	83	130	178	459	725	1,575	1,927
Tripura	1	16	80	249	122	173	320	941	3,287	4,843	5,189
TOTAL	553	11,563	41,386	1,05,495	49,700	74,146	1,13,790	1,89,329	2,54,071	6,81,036	8,40,033
PERCENTAGE	0.07	1.38	4.93	12.56	5.91	8.82	13.54	22.54	30.25	81.06	100.00

the total) which have a population of less than 100 and all these habitations would be without schools! It is this large number of very small habitations that presents a difficult problem in the provision of educational facilities. It must also be pointed out here that the survey did not enumerate small habitations of less than 25 persons. These exist probably in thousands and complicate the problem still further.

One important point to be noticed is that, although the number of habitations in the smaller population slabs is very large, their total population is relatively small. For instance, the habitations below a population of 200 number 443,390 or 52.8 per cent of the total; but their population is only 41.8 million or 14.6 per cent of the total rural population. This, as well as the distribution of the total rural population according to the different slabs, is shown in the following table:

TABLE 13: RURAL HABITATIONS AND POPULATION ACCORDING TO POPULATION SLABS (AS ON 31.3.1957)

Population slabs	Habitations		Population	
	Number	Percentage to total	Persons	Percentage to total
5,000 and above	553	0.07	3,538,611	1.2
2,000 to 4,999	11,563	1.38	31,775,052	11.4
1,000 to 2,000	41,386	4.93	55,572,121	19.9
500 to 999	105,495	12.56	72,600,618	26.0
400 to 499	49,700	5.91	22,097,073	7.9
300 to 399	74,146	8.82	25,476,222	9.1
200 to 299	113,790	13.54	27,672,808	9.9
100 to 199	189,329	22.54	27,057,876	9.7
Below 100	254,071	30.25	13,760,565	4.9
TOTAL BELOW 500	681,036	81.06	116,064,544	41.5
GRAND TOTAL	840,033	100.00	279,550,946	100.00

Existing Educational Facilities (Primary Stage): The next problem taken up by the survey was to enumerate the existing

primary schools and to examine the extent to which they meet the educational needs of the 840,033 habitations listed earlier. For this purpose, it was assumed that a child may be expected to walk one mile from his residence to attend the school and that, in a few exceptional circumstances, this distance may be raised to $1\frac{1}{2}$ or even 2 miles. It was found that 229,023 habitations (27.26 per cent of the total) had a primary school *in* them; 370,962 (or 44.16 per cent) habitations had a school *near* them (174,821 or 35.4 per cent) within half a mile; 176,999 (or 35.91 per cent) within one mile; 17,444 or 3.54 per cent within a mile and a half; and 1,227 (or 0.25 per cent) at a longer distance; and 240,048 (or 28.58 per cent) had no educational facilities whatsoever. The details of this will be seen in the following tables:

TABLE 14: RURAL HABITATIONS WITH EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AT THE PRIMARY STAGE (AS ON 31.3.57)

ALL-INDIA

Population slabs	Habitations served by a school					
	Number of habitations			Percentage of habitations with		
	in it	near it	neither	a school in it	a school near it	no school
5,000 & above ..	528	6	19	95.47	1.27	3.26
2,000 to 4,999 ..	10,911	272	380	94.36	2.35	3.29
1,000 to 1,999 ..	36,911	2,443	2,032	89.19	5.90	4.91
500 to 999 ..	75,984	15,658	13,853	72.03	14.84	13.13
400 to 499 ..	25,100	13,182	11,418	50.50	26.53	22.97
300 to 399 ..	27,274	25,891	20,981	36.78	34.92	28.30
200 to 299 ..	26,169	53,890	33,731	23.00	47.36	29.64
100 to 199 ..	19,339	1,07,532	62,458	10.21	56.80	32.99
Below 100 ..	6,807	1,52,088	95,176	2.68	59.86	37.46
TOTAL BELOW 500	1,04,689	3,52,583	2,23,764	15.37	51.77	32.86
GRAND TOTAL ..	2,29,023	3,70,962	2,40,048	27.26	44.16	28.58

TABLE 15: RURAL HABITATIONS WITH EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AT THE PRIMARY STAGE (AS ON 31.3.57)

STATE-WISE

States	Habitations served by a school					
	Number of habitations			Percentage of habitations with		
	in it	near it	neither	a school in it	a school near it	no school
Andhra Pradesh ..	22,708	14,757	13,258	44.77	29.09	26.14
Assam ..	11,001	7,507	7,034	43.07	29.39	27.54
Bihar ..	26,351	60,956	22,529	23.99	55.50	20.51
Bombay ..	40,528	20,212	15,411	53.22	26.54	20.24
Jammu & Kashmir	1,884	5,007	3,947	17.38	46.20	36.42
Kerala ..	5,751	3,339	1,570	53.95	31.32	14.73
Madhya Pradesh ..	20,824	24,974	36,380	25.34	30.40	44.27
Madras ..	17,979	27,827	6,075	34.65	53.64	11.71
Mysore ..	17,875	15,130	7,332	44.61	37.51	18.18
Orissa ..	15,032	24,310	12,106	29.22	47.25	23.53
Punjab ..	11,229	12,252	4,395	40.28	43.95	15.77
Rajasthan ..	8,933	15,117	22,780	19.08	32.28	48.64
Uttar Pradesh ..	26,168	129,297	80,090	11.11	54.89	34.00
Delhi ..	190	64	35	65.74	22.15	12.11
Himachal Pradesh	1,004	6,988	4,781	7.86	54.71	37.43
Manipur ..	671	484	772	34.82	25.12	40.06
Tripura ..	895	2,741	1,553	17.25	52.82	29.93
TOTAL ..	229,023	370,962	240,048	27.26	44.16	28.58

It will be seen that the percentage of habitations having no educational facility, even in the neighbourhood, goes on increasing from the higher to the lower population slabs. This is to be expected but there is a surprisingly large variation from state to state. The number of habitations that were without any facility for primary education, even within about one mile, was the highest in Uttar Pradesh (80,090 habitations). Madhya Pradesh came next

with 36,380 school-less habitations followed by Rajasthan (22,780 habitations) and Bihar (22,529 habitations). Considered with reference to the total number of habitations in the respective states, the percentage of unserved habitations was highest in Rajasthan (48.64 per cent) which was followed, in that order, by Madhya Pradesh (44.27 per cent), Jammu & Kashmir (36.42 per cent), and Uttar Pradesh (34.0 per cent). Comparatively, the position in Madras appeared to be the best as only 6,075 habitations (about 11.7 per cent) were unserved. This was the position as on the 31st of March, 1957. The situation has certainly improved substantially during the past six years as new schools are being opened in school-less villages every year and it is in the proper location of these new schools that the findings of the survey have proved particularly useful to the states.

Proposed Educational Facilities at the Primary Stage : The next task of the survey was to decide upon the location of new schools and to identify and enumerate the areas that would be served by these proposed schools. Location of a primary school was proposed, in the first place, in all school-less habitations with a population of 500 or more and then in all habitations with a population between 300 and 500 unless they already had, or would soon be having, a school at a very short distance, say, not more than half a mile away. After this was done, all the adjoining smaller habitations were tagged on to these proposed school habitations. An attempt was made to group together smaller habitations, round some suitable centrally situated habitation, and a 'group' school was proposed for them. On these principles, the survey proposed 'independent' schools in 45,488 habitations (5.41 per cent of the total) with a population of 24.3 million (or 8.69 per cent). They had, in their vicinity, no other habitation that could be tagged on to them according to the standards fixed. 'Group' schools were proposed in 50,840 habitations and it was found that they could serve 105,121 adjoining habitations as well. Thus 155,961 habitations were proposed to be served by group schools. For extremely small habitations which could not have either independent schools or group schools, it was proposed to work on the basis of the scheme of the 'peripatetic teacher schools' first introduced in the old Bombay State in 1953-54. Under this scheme, two habitations or

two groups of habitations, within a convenient distance of each other, but not so close as to have a group school, were selected to form one unit. The teacher moved from one place to the other (or from the central point in one group to the central point in another group) and conducted a part-time school in each. This school could be held in the morning at one place and in the afternoon at another, or on alternate days in the two places or for three consecutive days at each place every week, the day between the two periods being allowed for transit. As the scheme had worked with a fair degree of success in Bombay, it was decided to give it an extensive trial and the survey proposed 8,848 peripatetic teacher schools (inclusive of 1,888 existing ones) which would serve 13,602 habitations, with a total population of 1.7 million.

The survey thus envisaged 332,311 (or 39.6 per cent of the total) habitations to have a school in them and 480,366 habitations (or 57.2 per cent) to have it within easy walking distance, and only 27,356 (or 3.2 per cent) habitations with a total population of 1.96 million (or 0.7 per cent of the total) were left without any educational facilities in them. It is unfortunate that the survey could not succeed, in spite of all efforts, to include them in some school area or other.

The final position as it would be reached after implementing the proposals of the survey, is shown in Table 16.

Since the number of existing primary schools was 229,023 against the total requirement of 332,311, a total of 103,288 *new* primary schools was needed. Their break-up according to the type of schools and states is given in Table 17.

It will be seen from Table 16 that as many as 480,366 habitations are to be served, not by a primary school *in* them, but by a primary school *near* them. The details of the proposals in this regard, which have been given in Table 18 show that 236,016 habitations will have a school within half a mile; 219,397 will have it within a distance of half to one mile; 22,940 will have it within a distance of one to one and a half miles; and only 2,013 will have it at a distance of more than one and a half miles. It will also be seen that most of the habitations so grouped have a population of less than 200 each.

TABLE 17: NEW PRIMARY SCHOOLS PROPOSED IN THE EDUCATIONAL SURVEY

State	No. of new schools proposed			
	Independent	Group	Peripatetic Teacher	Total
Andhra Pradesh ..	2,243	2,220	678	5,141
Assam	2,163	1,028	..	3,191
Bihar	3,227	7,511	172	10,910
Bombay	5,213	3,063	496	8,772
Jammu & Kashmir ..	292	605	44	941
Kerala	1,848	303	36	2,187
Madhya Pradesh ..	4,030	8,406	2,458	14,894
Madras	564	1,225	64	1,853
Mysore	1,371	1,730	656	3,757
Orissa	1,848	3,793	697	6,338
Punjab	457	962	60	1,497
Rajasthan	2,529	5,444	867	8,840
Uttar Pradesh ..	19,567	13,447	455	33,469
Delhi	27	3	..	30
Himachal Pradesh ..	61	854	12	927
Manipur	39	48	105	192
Tripura	9	198	160	367
TOTAL	45,488	50,840	6,960	103,288

Existing and Proposed Middle Schools: Following the same broad procedure described above in respect of primary schools, the Educational Survey made proposals for the establishment of new middle schools as well. It adopted the following principles for the purpose:

- (i) Habitations having a minimum population of 1,500 should be provided with a middle school.

TABLE 18: RURAL HABITATIONS SERVED WITH EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AT THE PRIMARY
STAGE AFTER PLANNING
(Slab-wise and according to distance from the school)

Population slab	Number of habitations served by a school situated at a distance of						Total unserved	Grand Total
	Zero mile	Less than $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile	Between $\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 mile	Between 1 and $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles	More than $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles	Total served		
5,000 and above	..	547	4	1	..	552	1	553
2,000 to 4,999	..	11,434	106	21	..	11,562	1	11,563
1,000 to 1,999	..	40,485	692	203	3	41,383	3	41,386
500 to 999	..	98,361	5,011	2,051	46	105,471	24	105,495
400 to 499	..	39,362	7,509	2,661	147	49,681	19	49,700
300 to 399	..	51,794	15,462	6,431	400	74,098	48	74,146
200 to 299	..	43,990	32,834	33,151	2,699	112,903	887	113,790
100 to 199	..	34,613	70,086	71,384	7,178	183,864	5,465	189,329
Below 100	..	11,725	104,312	103,494	12,467	233,163	20,908	254,071
TOTAL	..	332,311	236,016	219,397	22,940	812,677	27,356	840,033

- (ii) For habitations with smaller populations, those within a walking distance of three miles from an existing middle school should be regarded as served by it.
- (iii) School areas for new middle schools to be opened should be planned in such a manner that habitations within a radius of three miles from the school and having a minimum total population of 1,500 or more are served by a middle school.

The survey found that, on the 31st of March, 1957, there were 26,267 middle schools. On the principles stated above, the total number of middle schools required for the country was estimated at 47,992. A total of 21,725 additional middle schools would thus be needed. When all these 47,992 middle schools proposed by the Educational Survey are established, they are expected to serve a total of 748,098 habitations (or 89.05 per cent of the total), and 91,935 habitations (or 10.95 per cent of the total) would remain without facilities for middle school education. The details of the additional middle schools required, as well as of the final position reached when all the middle schools proposed by the Educational Survey would be established, are given in Table 19.

Implementation of the Survey: These were briefly the main findings of the survey;* and even in the short period that has elapsed since its publication, it has become evident that it has served a very useful purpose.

In almost all states, the survey has been accepted as the basis for planning the location of new elementary schools since 1960. It is not claimed that it is perfect and flawless; no human endeavour can be that. But the orders issued generally are that the proposals of the survey should be followed in establishing new elementary schools and that, in all cases in which a change is felt to be necessary, the approval of the Director of Education should be obtained.

In one respect, the survey has proved ineffectual, namely, in its proposal for the establishment of peripatetic schools. In no state have they been established anew; and even in the State of Bombay, on whose experience they had been recommended, their popularity has waned and their number has gone down. This, however, makes

* The survey also dealt with the location of high schools. But that part of its findings is outside the scope of this volume.

TABLE 19: HABITATIONS WITH AND WITHOUT EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES AT THE MIDDLE SCHOOL STAGE AS ON 31.3.1957 AND AFTER PLANNING

State	Number of habitations with school in them (as on 31.3.57)	After Planning Position			
		Number of habitations with schools in them	Number of habitations with schools near them	Habitations without schools	
				Number	Percentage
Andhra Pradesh ..	1,116	3,161	39,034	8,528	16.81
Assam ..	1,309	1,721	17,933	15,888	23.05
Bihar ..	3,294	4,385	103,926	1,525	1.39
Bombay ..	5,484	10,250	49,406	16,495	21.66
Jammu & Kashmir	262	530	4,380	5,928	54.70
Kerala ..	1,941	2,172	8,228	260	2.44
Madhya Pradesh ..	1,388	3,868	56,899	21,411	26.05
Madras ..	1,782	2,372	45,777	3,732	7.19
Mysore ..	3,526	4,704	34,119	1,514	3.75
Orissa ..	778	1,811	39,571	10,066	19.57
Punjab ..	1,303	2,166	25,322	388	1.39
Rajasthan ..	714	3,110	41,296	2,424	5.18
Uttar Pradesh ..	3,008	6,943	218,212	10,400	4.42
Delhi ..	59	80	209	..	..
Himachal Pradesh	152	418	11,271	1,084	8.49
Manipur ..	75	100	768	1,059	54.96
Tripura ..	76	201	3,755	1,233	23.76
TOTAL ..	26,267	47,992	700,106	91,935	10.94

only a marginal difference in the result of the survey because they served only 13,602 habitations (1.6 per cent of the total) with a total population of 1.7 million (or 0.6 per cent of the total).

It is also necessary to revise the survey in the light of the 1961 census. The most difficult part of the survey was the identification

and enumeration of all habitations and the delimitation of school areas. As this basic work is still very largely useful, the revision will not take a long time nor involve heavy expenditure. But it would provide a basic policy document till the next census in 1971.

The Problem of the Small Habitations: The survey highlighted the problem of the small habitations. It postulated that a single-teacher school can be established in every habitation with a population of 300 or more. In some states, this limit has already been lowered to 200. If compulsory education is to extend to the age-group 6-14, this would, of course, be quite feasible. But even then, the total number of rural habitations with a population of less than 200 is as large as 443,390 (or 52.8 per cent of the total) and their population is 41.8 million (or 14.6 per cent of the total rural population)! This is a number substantial enough to justify the devising of special measures to meet the educational needs of these habitations. The problem is not unique to India. It has been faced in several other countries and, in the light of their experience, we can have some guidance in attempting a solution. Some of the solutions attempted elsewhere are too costly to be adopted, *e.g.*, the American experiment of central schools with transport for children, or the Swedish experiment of central children's homes established by the State. It may, however, be possible to try out the experiment of the peripatetic teacher school, based on the Australian half-time school, or the itinerant school of Iceland which works in a place for six months a year. If such experiments have to succeed, a good deal of adjustment would be necessary. The schools will have to admit grown-up children, say of 7 or 8 years; the curriculum will have to be simplified; more suitable teaching methods will have to be evolved; and a convention would have to be established that teachers of these schools will be young persons at the threshold of their service and that they would be transferred and posted in a bigger school at the end of five years of service. With such modifications, the experiment has a chance to succeed. What is emphasized here, however, is *not* a particular solution so much as the need to evolve a satisfactory solution to this problem of small villages through proper research and experimentation.

CHAPTER 7

Universality of Enrolment

The establishment of an elementary school in a given locality creates only an opportunity for the parent to send the child to school. Whether the opportunity would be availed of and the child sent to school depends, to a considerable extent, on parental attitudes to education and on their economic condition. The universality of school provision is thus a necessary first step in a programme of universal enrolment. But it is not generally enough; and in developing countries, special efforts are needed to see that every child is enrolled in the school at the right time.

What are the factors which prevent the enrolment of *all* children in schools? Where the general level of literacy is low, the dominant factor appears to be the apathy of the parent, his indifferent and, at times, even hostile attitude to education, and his failure to see the 'good' of sending his child to school. This is reinforced by certain social customs such as the traditional unwillingness to educate girls. In a fair percentage of cases, the economic factors also come into play and the child is not sent to school because he is required to work at home or to earn a little money to add to the family income. Programmes of universal enrolment should take account of these and similar causes of non-enrolment, with a view to adopting suitable measures to overcome them.

Mass Literacy Campaigns: A very effective method of increasing the enrolment in elementary schools would be to liquidate mass illiteracy. The normal tendency of a parent is to give a better deal to his children than he himself had. A literate parent, and especially a literate mother, sees to it that his (or her) child attends a school. A mass literacy (or better still, a mass social education) campaign can, therefore, be the best ally of a programme of universal elementary education. Wherever mass literacy campaigns have been organized, the enrolment of children in elementary schools has necessarily increased. Moreover, when the parents become literate, they begin to take greater interest in the education

of their children. Mass literacy campaigns thus lead, not only to increased enrolment in schools, but also to a reduction in wastage and stagnation. These programmes deserve high priority in educational planning, partly on account of their own inherent significance, and partly on account of the assistance they render to a programme of universal education for children.

The importance of organizing mass literacy campaigns has been increasingly stressed since 1921. The Sargent Plan gave it a very high priority and, although its total programme of educational development was spread over 40 years, it recommended that mass illiteracy should be liquidated in a period of 25 years (of which the first five should be devoted to preliminary measures), and suggested that an amount of about one per cent of the total educational expenditure be earmarked for programmes of adult education.¹ Unfortunately, these recommendations have not been implemented. A few attempts were made, since 1947, to organize mass literacy campaigns, particularly in Madhya Pradesh and Bihar. But these were not sustained, nor did they spread to other areas. The programme of literacy or social education has become the Cinderella of all the Five-Year Plans, securing little attention and less resources. It is, therefore, still awaiting its own recognition as a factor in general development and in universalising education.

Enrolment Drives : Another useful programme for increasing enrolment in elementary schools is the organization of enrolment drives. Although the idea is not new, it was only during the Second Five-Year Plan that large-scale and systematic enrolment drives were organized by a number of states. For instance, Bihar has organized enrolment drives on a State-wide basis, since 1959. The responsibility for the successful organization of the programme was squarely placed on the Education Department. But it was really a concerted activity of the State Government as a whole and the officers of all Departments participating in the drive. Before the drive began, detailed and careful plans were prepared in advance ; a series of meetings of the Departmental officers were organized in order to orientate them to the campaign ; and full co-operation of the press and the leaders of the public was secured.

¹ *Report on Post-war Educational Development in India*, 1944, pp. 38-47.

During the drive itself, public meetings were held in almost all villages and towns, in which the importance of education and the need of sending all children to school was stressed; children's rallies, in which parents and the public were also encouraged to participate, were organized almost everywhere; the teachers went from house to house preparing lists of children of school-going age who were not attending schools and persuading their parents to enrol them; and the assistance of the students and teachers of all high and higher secondary schools and training institutions was also obtained to arouse the interest of the public and to intensify the drive. The results were almost spectacular and the enrolment in elementary schools shot up by several thousands.

The enrolment drive in Bihar had two special features. The first was the attempt made to break down the traditional prejudice against the education of girls in general and against co-education in particular. Parents were exhorted to send their daughters to school and also to accept co-education at the elementary stage. It was in this sector that very good results were obtained and the number of girls enrolled in elementary schools, and particularly in co-educational schools, increased very considerably. Its second significant feature was the attempt made to induce the local communities to take greater interest in their schools and to assist in a programme of school improvement. This appeal met with tremendous response and donations were received in the form of land, school buildings, equipment and cash grants.

Similar large-scale enrolment drives were organized in the states of Orissa, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh and the results obtained were equally outstanding. In fact, it may be said that, by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan, the organization of state-wide enrolment drives became an accepted method for increasing enrolment in elementary schools, for stimulating local community interest in education and for securing local support for school improvement. During the Third Five-Year Plan also, it has continued to play a significant role. In Uttar Pradesh, a state-wide enrolment drive organized during 1961-62 brought 800,000 children to school in one year; in the Punjab, the enrolment drive in 1961-62 enrolled 400,000 children; and taking India as a whole, about 3.5 million children were enrolled in schools in one

year as against an original target of 2.2 million. What is even more important, these enrolment drives seem to have stimulated public opinion so effectively that the enrolment is now being accelerated even when a drive is not organized. It, therefore, appears that the original target of the Third Plan, *viz.*, to increase the enrolment of the age-group 6-11 in primary schools from 6.1 per cent in 1960-61 to 76.4 per cent in 1965-66 is very likely to be exceeded.

One special feature of these enrolment drives deserves notice. When the drive is organized in the beginning of the school year, the enrolment shoots up very considerably. But not all children enrolled during the drive stay in the schools to the end of the year—there is a drop of about 25 to 30 per cent in the next six to eight months. This is in a way not unexpected. In spite of this drawback, the enrolment drives are useful because 70 to 75 per cent of the children enrolled in the first flush of excitement do remain in schools and the programme can be taken a step further in the next year when a second enrolment drive is organized.

The Initial Cohort : The significance of the fact that fresh enrolment of non-attending children can only take place in class I is not often realized. It is open to the administrator to organize enrolment drives or mass education campaigns and to provide educational facilities on any scale he desires. But these will enable him to enrol additional children in class I only and not in any higher classes. Once the child is enrolled in class I, it is left to the child, and to the efficiency of the educational system, to see that he progresses from class to class in an orderly fashion. The expansion of elementary education is thus the result of two different processes: (a) to enrol all children of the prescribed age (*i.e.* 6-7) in class I, and then (b) to retain them at school till they complete the prescribed age (14 years) or the elementary course (classes I-VIII). The first of these processes means the formation of a good initial cohort and will be discussed in this chapter. The second implies the prevention of stagnation and wastage and will be discussed in the next.

It has to be pointed out that the best results in elementary education are obtained only if the initial cohort, *i.e.*, the group of children who begin their march up the educational ladder, has the

right size and character. In *size*, it should be about 110-120 per cent of the total population in the age 6-7 because this cohort would consist of (1) almost all children of 6 plus who should be enrolled in schools, (2) some children of lower age who might seek admission on a voluntary basis and might be found fit for admission, and (3) a few stragglers of 7 plus who somehow escaped enrolment during the earlier year. In *character*, it must have a homogeneous composition and should consist of children whose average age would be six plus with variations from five plus to seven plus at the most. Both these aspects of the initial cohort are very important and need some examination in detail.

In India, the *size of the initial cohort*, i.e. the enrolment in class I, has always been large in comparison with the other classes. In relation to the total population in the age-group 6-7, however, its size, which was comparatively small in the past, has expanded considerably in recent years. This will be clear from the following statistics:

	1916-17	1956-57
1. Total enrolment in classes I-VIII ..	6,789,572	31,123,493
2. Total enrolment in classes I-V ..	6,404,200	25,964,808
3. Total enrolment in class I ..	2,932,953	10,282,811
4. Percentage of (3) to (1)	42.9	32.8
5. Percentage of (3) to (2)	46.2	38.5

The enrolment in class I should be about one-eighth of that in classes I-VIII put together, on the assumption that the children enrolled in all the eight classes of the elementary school are equally distributed. Since this never happens and there is some inevitable diminution from class to class, we may assume that in a properly organized system of elementary education, the enrolment in class I should form 15 to 20 per cent of the total enrolment in classes I-VIII. It will be seen from the above figures, however, that the enrolment in class I was as high as 42.9 per cent of the total enrolment in classes I-VIII in 1916-17 and that, in the last 40 years, it has only been reduced to 32.8 per cent! If the enrolment in class I is compared, not to the total enrolment in classes I-VIII, but to the total enrolment in classes I-V, the picture

is not much changed. In a properly organized system, the enrolment in class I should be about 25 per cent of the total enrolment in classes I-V. We find, however, that the enrolment in class I has been reduced from 46.2 per cent of the total enrolment in classes I-V in 1916-17 to only 38.5 per cent of the total enrolment in classes I-V in 1956-57! There is thus considerable scope for further improvement and this can be done by reduction of wastage.

There is another way of looking at this problem. What is the proportion between the size of class I and the total number of children in the age-group 6-7 to which it corresponds? The following statistics provide an answer:

	1916-17	1956-57
1. Total number of children in the age-group 6-7 (Estimated)	6,344,549	10,360,974
2. Total enrolment in class I	2,932,953	10,282,811
3. Percentage of (2) to (1)	46.2	99.2

It will be seen that, in 1916-17, the total enrolment in class I was about 46.2 per cent of the total population in the age-group 6-7 and that this has increased to 99.2 per cent in 1956-57. This is really good progress, although there is still room for an increase in the total size of class I by about 30 per cent.

Coming to the *character of the initial cohort in India*, we find that it is extremely heterogeneous. Children of all ages, from less than five to even 17 or 18, are found attending class I. The position in this respect will be seen clearly from the statistics appearing in Table 20.

It will be seen that children in the age-group 6-7, who ought to form about 90 to 95 per cent of the total enrolment in class I, were only 23.9 per cent of such enrolment in 1916-17 and that this proportion increased only to 31.8 per cent in 1956-57. It will also be seen that the children of the age-group 6-7 enrolled in class I formed only 11 per cent of the total population in the age-group in 1916-17 and that this proportion increased only to 31.6 in 1956-57. We have, therefore, a very long way to go if this heterogeneity is to be eliminated and the composition of class I made homogeneous so as to include 90 to 95 per cent of the children in the age-group 6-7.

TABLE 20: AGE-COMPOSITION OF THE INITIAL COHORT IN INDIA
(1916-17 and 1956-57)

Age-groups	1916-17		1956-57	
	Number of children	Percentage to total	Number of children	Percentage to total
Below 5	146,569	5.0	97,286	0.9
5- 6	543,174	18.5	2,295,174	22.3
6- 7	700,420	23.9	3,270,736	31.8
7- 8	603,210	20.6	2,266,888	22.1
8- 9	402,994	13.7	1,244,326	12.1
9-10	248,693	8.5	628,600	6.1
10-11	132,736	4.5	297,207	2.9
Above 11	155,157	5.3	182,594	1.8
Total enrolment in class I ..	2,932,953	100.0	10,282,811	100.0
Total estimated population of children in the age-group 6-7	6,344,549	100.0	10,360,974	100.0
Children in the age-group 6-7 enrolled in class I to total estimated population in the age-group 6-7	700,420	11.0	3,270,736	31.6

Causes of Heterogeneity of the Initial Cohort in India : The main problem in India in regard to the enrolment in class I is not so much the total size of the enrolment as its composition—the heterogeneity of age-groups which it reveals at present. This is due to two main factors. The first is that, while enrolling new entrants to class I, no conscious effort is made to enrol every child of the age-group 6-7. In the advanced countries, birth and death registers are maintained accurately so that educational planners can anticipate the approximate number of children who will complete six years of age at the opening of a given school year. Preparations are then made, well in advance, to admit all children of the right age and a conscious and intensive effort is made to enrol as many of them as possible in class I. Once this is done, there is no problem, except in a few stray cases of older children trying to seek admis-

sion to class I. The initial cohort in this class thus becomes homogeneous with an average age range of 6-7 and includes about 97-99 per cent of the children in the age-group and a small minority of children (about 10 per cent) who are below or above the age-group. In India, the conditions are very different. Our birth and death registers are inadequate. New schools are being opened continuously in school-less villages and, whenever this is done, children of all ages flock into class I and have to be admitted. There is also no awareness of the problem among teachers and administrators and there is no deliberate effort to develop a homogeneous cohort in class I to enrol most children of the age-group 6-7 in class I. Consequently, the composition of class I becomes extremely heterogeneous.

The second reason for this heterogeneity is the large extent of stagnation in class I. At present, less than half the students who join in class I are promoted to class II at the end of the year. On an average, a child takes a little more than two years to complete class I, and some children are detained in the class for as long as four or five years. Such stagnation would make a class heterogeneous, even if it was quite homogeneous to start with.

The measures that have to be taken to overcome the second difficulty will be discussed in the next chapter. To overcome the first, three important steps are needed. The teachers and administrators have to appreciate the significance of making class I homogeneous and enrolling most children of age-group 6-7 therein. Similarly, every school should be required to hold annually a census of children of school-going age within its area. The appropriate time for the census would be about three or four months before the new school year begins and it could be organized easily, and without cost, through the teachers. The school should then prepare a register of all children in the age-group 6-7 who are, and are not, enrolled. The preparation of such registers should then be followed by an action programme. In the first month after the reopening of schools, an attempt should be made to enrol as many of these non-attending children as possible, by educative propaganda among the parents. If a programme of this type is sustained for about 5 to 6 years in every school, class I will enrol the vast bulk of the children in the age-group 6-7 and a proper

foundation for the development of elementary education will have been laid.

Enrolment of Children in the Age-group 6-14 : So far we have discussed the enrolment in class I and of the age-group 6-7. We shall now consider the enrolment of children of the higher age-groups.

What percentage of children in the age-group 7-14 are actually enrolled in schools? The answer to this question is given in Table 21.

It will be seen from this table that there has been considerable improvement in the enrolment of children in all the age-groups between 6 and 14. Taking the age-range as a whole, only 9.54 per cent of the children were enrolled in 1911. This percentage increased to 28.46 in 1951 and 40.10 in 1961. This is a great advance in itself. Looking to the individual age-groups, however, we find even better progress at some levels and notice some significant factors. The best enrolment has been possible only in the three earlier age-groups, namely, 6-7, 7-8 and 8-9, the total enrolment in these three age-groups being 47.34, 54.51 and 51.19 per cent respectively in 1961. At the age of 9 or thereabouts, the child becomes economically useful and is required to work, either in the family or outside it. The enrolment, therefore, begins to fall from the age of 9 onwards. The fall is rather steep in the first three succeeding years, viz., 9-10, 10-11 and 11-12, the enrolment in these age-groups in 1961 being only 46.08, 39.53 and 31.83 per cent respectively. The fall continues even in the two later age-groups; but it is not so steep, the enrolment in the ages 12-13 and 13-14 in 1961 being 25.64 and 20.0 per cent respectively.

There is another aspect of the problem which has to be noted. It is not enough to enrol an adequate number of children in the age-group 6-14. It is also necessary to see that the children enrolled in each class belong to the appropriate age-group. For instance, the children in the age-group 6-7 should form at least 80 per cent of the total enrolment in that class. Even assuming that such a target cannot be reached very soon, it would indeed be a very modest demand to expect that the children in the age-groups 5-6, 6-7 and 7-8, taken together, should form about 90 per cent of the

TABLE 21: ENROLMENT OF CHILDREN IN THE AGE-GROUP 6-14 (1911, 1951 and 1961)

Age-group	1911			1951			1961		
	Total number of children in the age-group	Number of children in the age-group enrolled	Percentage of (3) to (2)	Total number of children in the age-group	Number of children in the age-group enrolled	Percentage of (6) to (5)	Total number of children in the age-group	Number of children in the age-group enrolled	Percentage of (9) to (8)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
6-7	6,608,900	835,178	12.64	9,310,800	3,209,554	34.47	10,836,100	5,130,118	47.34
7-8	6,458,300	855,699	13.25	9,100,200	3,372,332	37.06	10,596,000	5,775,987	54.51
8-9	6,310,200	722,155	11.44	8,892,200	3,231,117	36.34	10,347,900	5,295,689	51.19
9-10	6,164,600	655,614	10.64	8,686,600	2,819,517	32.46	10,115,800	4,661,211	46.08
10-11	6,021,600	557,767	9.26	8,483,100	2,409,667	28.41	9,875,700	3,903,505	39.53
11-12	5,881,100	450,108	7.65	8,284,500	1,926,635	23.26	9,643,610	3,069,573	31.83
12-13	5,740,700	338,375	5.89	8,088,600	1,482,705	18.33	9,419,500	2,414,655	25.64
13-14	5,605,300	238,702	4.26	7,896,200	1,111,766	14.08	9,195,500	1,838,256	20.00
TOTAL	48,790,700	4,653,598	9.54	68,742,200	19,563,293	28.46	80,030,110	32,089,994	40.10

enrolment in class I. Similar targets could be adopted for other classes also as shown below:

TABLE 22: TARGET FOR ENROLMENT AND AGE-GROUPS

Class	Corresponding age-group	Target for enrolment of the children of the corresponding age-group in the class	Three corresponding age-groups	Target for enrolment of the three corresponding age-groups in the class
I	6-7	80	5-6 , 6-7 , 7-8	90
II	7-8	80	6-7 , 7-8 , 8-9	90
III	8-9	80	7-8 , 8-9 , 9-10	90
IV	9-10	80	8-9 , 9-10, 10-11	90
V	10-11	80	9-10, 10-11, 11-12	90
VI	11-12	80	10-11, 11-12, 12-13	90
VII	12-13	80	11-12, 12-13, 13-14	90
VIII	13-14	80	12-13, 13-14, 14-15	90

On the above assumptions, the statistics for the year 1958-59 have been compiled and given in Table 23. They indicate the extent of the task that has still to be attempted.

This Table indicates the leeway that has yet to be covered. The enrolment of children of the appropriate age-groups in their corresponding classes varies, at present, from only 22.2 per cent in class VIII to 30.9 in class I as against a target of 80 per cent. Even the enrolment of three corresponding age-groups in the appropriate classes, taken together, varies only from 60.5 per cent in class VIII to 69.6 per cent in class II as against a target of 90 per cent. For the next few years, therefore, the expansion of elementary education should aim at two policies: (1) to enrol not less than 80 per cent of the children in the age-group 6-7 in class I which is the core of the problem of universal enrolment; and (2) to secure that the children enrolled in class I remain in school till they complete the age of 14 and also go up regularly from class to class, which is essentially the problem of reducing wastage and stagnation.

TABLE 23: ENROLMENT IN CLASSES I-VIII IN RELATION TO CORRESPONDING AGE-GROUPS (1958-59)

Class	Total enrolment in the class	Corresponding age-group	Enrolment of children of the corresponding age-group to the total enrolment in the class		Three corresponding age-groups		Enrolment of children of the three corresponding age-groups in the class	
			Number	Percentage			Number	Percentage
I	..	6-7	3,708,961	30.9	5-6	6-7	7-8	63.0
II	..	7-8	1,817,344	27.4	6-7	7-8	8-9	69.0
III	..	8-9	1,280,873	25.4	7-8	8-9	9-10	66.1
IV	..	9-10	960,400	23.9	8-9	9-10	10-11	63.9
V	..	10-11	717,475	23.5	9-10	10-11	11-12	62.9
VI	..	11-12	508,903	23.0	10-11	11-12	12-13	61.9
VII	..	12-13	417,047	23.2	11-12	12-13	13-14	61.4
VIII	..	13-14	319,148	22.2	12-13	13-14	14-15	60.5

CHAPTER 8

Stagnation and Wastage

It was the Hartog Committee which first drew pointed attention to the widespread prevalence in the system of elementary education, of wastage, stagnation and lapse into illiteracy. Using the latest statistics then available, it pointed out that, of the 533,878 pupils who were studying in class I in 1922-23, 161,228 reached class II in 1923-24 ; 86,846 reached class III in 1924-25 ; 55,794 class IV in 1925-26 ; and only 33,588, or 18 out of every 100 that had entered the school five years previously, reached class V in 1926-27. This reduction, the Committee pointed out, was due mainly to two causes: wastage and stagnation. 'Wastage' was defined by the Committee to mean *'the premature withdrawal of children from school at any stage before the completion of the primary course'* and 'stagnation' was defined to mean *'the retention of a child in a class for a period of more than one year'*. The Committee also pointed out that, while these two evils prevented all but a few pupils from becoming literate, it was not possible to say, with any confidence, that many of those who did attain some type of literacy, would 'not rapidly relapse into illiteracy'.¹ The Committee, therefore, concluded that waste and ineffectiveness in the system of elementary education, 'which should be designed to produce literacy and the capacity to exercise an intelligent vote', was 'appalling' and recommended that it would be wiser to concentrate on a policy of 'consolidation and improvement', with a view to reducing these evils, than to go ahead with 'indiscriminate expansion' which would tend to accentuate them.

Ever since the Report of the Hartog Committee was first published more than thirty years ago, the three problems of wastage, stagnation and lapse into illiteracy have been discussed almost

¹ This became evident when an attempt was made to correlate the census statistics of literacy with those of school attendance. For instance, the number of literates in the age-group 10-15 in the census of 1921 was approximately only half the number of pupils in the age-group 5-10 at school five years previously. Such a large diminution could not be explained on assumptions of wastage and stagnation alone.

continuously and a number of significant issues have been raised. What is wastage? How can it be measured? What is the precise extent of wastage—is it as large as the Hartog Committee made it out to be? What are the causes of wastage and what programme of action can be devised to reduce or eliminate the evil? In view of the larger extent of wastage in elementary education, would it be desirable to go ahead with still further expansion or would it not be better to concentrate on a programme of consolidation and improvement? These and other allied problems have dominated the discussion of elementary education during the last thirty years. Unfortunately, they have not been supported, either by the necessary research or by an action programme to eradicate these evils; and in spite of all the learned disputations, wastage and stagnation will continue to dominate the scene.

I. Wastage

What is Wastage?: The idea of wastage is relative in the sense that it depends upon the minimum target of attainment in elementary education. For instance, if we decide that a child must reach class V or VIII, every child who is withdrawn from school before reaching class V or VIII is a case of wastage. This determination of the level of attainment necessarily involves a consideration of objectives.

One objective of elementary education is that it should produce effective literacy. The question to be answered, therefore, is this: At what stage in elementary education does a child attain effective literacy, *i.e.* literacy which is not lost in after years? Shri R. V. Parulekar attempted to answer this question by correlating statistics of school enrolment with those of literacy given in the Census of 1921 and 1931 and came to the conclusion that the completion of class II (this meant three years of schooling because, in those days, there was an infant class which preceded class I) is enough to impart effective literacy.² In Baroda State, a number of studies were conducted into the problem of lapse into illiteracy and it was found that a person attained effective literacy after four years of schooling.³ In an investigation of the problem made by

² R. V. Parulekar: *Literacy in India*, 1939.

³ *Progress of Education in India*, February 1941, p. 377.

the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, Shri D. R. Gadgil came to an identical conclusion and found that 'as a minimum, it is necessary for a pupil to complete a 4-year course at school in order to ensure the retention of literacy through all his later life'.⁴ It may, therefore, be assumed that, if literacy were to be the objective of elementary education, a child must spend about four years in the school and that a child who leaves before reaching class IV may be treated as a case of wastage. There also appears to be a general agreement on this issue because statistics of wastage, which are being collected and published since 1930, generally classify children who leave school before reaching class IV as cases of wastage.

It would not, however, be proper to regard literacy as *the* aim of elementary education. Elementary education should prepare a child to be a useful and a responsible citizen of the country and we should, therefore, expect him to spend not less than 7 or 8 years at school, which is the minimum period considered necessary for reaching this objective. Moreover, Article 45 of the Constitution lays down that every child shall be provided with free and compulsory education till he completes 14 years of age. The second and a larger objective of elementary education should, therefore, be to enrol every child in school at the age of 6 or 7 and to retain him in school till he completes the age of 14. From this point of view, we should regard every child who leaves the school before completing the age of 14, or reaching class VIII, as a case of wastage.

It will, however, take some years before this larger objective of elementary education is realized. For the time being, therefore, it would be desirable to concentrate attention on retaining every child in school for a period of at least four years and consider the problem of wastage mainly on that basis. For presenting a complete picture of the problem, however, we shall incidentally examine wastage with reference to the larger objective also.

Extent of Wastage : The quantitative measurement of wastage is not a problem of great significance to the practical administrator. But a good deal of research on the problem has been devoted to the

⁴ D. R. Gadgil and V. M. Dandekar: *Primary Education in the Satara District*, p. 67.

evolution of techniques for the scientific measurement of wastage. The reason was purely historical. The British administrators of education were generally inclined to magnify this evil while the leaders of Indian opinion were of the view that wastage was not as large as it was made out to be. Controversies of this type naturally raised the issue: What is the correct method of measuring wastage?

The earliest method used for this purpose and also the simplest—was to assume that, in any given year, the enrolment in classes I-VIII would be equitably distributed and then to compare the enrolment in all classes with that in class I, concluding that *all* diminution from one class to another represents 'wastage'. This method has its obvious limitations, especially because class II of the year is *not* the result of class I of the same year but that of class I in the earlier year when the enrolment was much less. The same argument applies to other classes also. The method is useful only as a rough and ready measure.

The second method, which is obviously an improvement over the first, follows a cohort. That is to say, instead of taking the enrolment in classes I-VIII in the *same* year, it begins with a given cohort in class I and follows it up to class VIII through eight successive years. The measure of wastage obtained through this method is less than that obtained through the first. But even here, the effects of 'stagnation' are mixed with those of wastage. For instance, a child reaching class VIII in nine or ten years is classified as a case of wastage though obviously he is not. Moreover, the enrolment in class I does not consist wholly of fresh entrants (which is the assumption made in this method) but also includes a large proportion of repeaters. So does the enrolment in all the subsequent classes and hence the diminution from class to class does not really indicate the real wastage. In spite of these drawbacks, however, this method is most commonly adopted, mainly on account of the ease with which it can be used and its greater accuracy.

The third method follows a cohort on a strictly scientific basis. It begins with a group of children who are fresh entrants in class I and then follows their career till they either complete the elementary course or leave the school. The number of children who leave the school before completing the prescribed course is thus definitely

determined and the percentage of 'wastage' is calculated from the proportion of these drop-outs to the initial cohort. This is obviously the best method to measure wastage; but unfortunately, very few studies on these lines have been carried out so far.

The statistics covering the period 1911-61 (Table 24) show the diminution from class to class on the basis of the first method described above to which the available statistics lend themselves for analysis more conveniently.

It will be seen that, as between 1911 and 1951, there has been considerable reduction in wastage. In 1911, for every 100 children enrolled in class I, there were about 20 children enrolled in class IV and about 3 children enrolled in class VIII while the same proportion increased respectively to about 38 and 12 in 1951. In 1961, there appears to be a slight increase in wastage as the proportion of class IV goes down to 33. This increase is, however, more apparent than real and is mainly due to the fact that the enrolment in class I has increased suddenly on account of the enrolment drives which were organized in almost all parts of the country. As this method of measuring wastage is not accurate, these figures should not be taken to indicate the exact magnitude of wastage at these different periods but only the relative magnitude of wastage at these different periods. The conclusion that the extent of wastage has been decreasing progressively between 1911 and 1961 is borne out by these figures.

One special point deserves mention. Between 1911 and 1961, elementary education has expanded very considerably and elementary schools have now been established in remote rural areas, in small and scattered habitations and even in the hills and forests. Moreover, children from the poorest sections of the community are now coming into elementary schools. Under these conditions, one expects wastage to increase rather than to decrease. If due allowance is made for this change in the social background of the average child reading in elementary schools, it will be evident that the 'real' decrease in wastage during the last 50 years is much greater than the 'apparent' decrease revealed in the above statistics.

The data for analysis according to the second method are available from the quinquennium 1921-26 and are reproduced in Table 25.

TABLE 24: WASTAGE IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (1911-61)

Class	1911-12		1931-32		1950-51		1960-61	
	Enrolment (in thousands)	Percentage to enrolment in class I	Enrolment (in thousands)	Percentage to enrolment in class I	Enrolment (in thousands)	Percentage to enrolment in class I	Enrolment (in thousands)	Percentage to enrolment in class I
I ..	2,717	100.0	5,281	100.0	6,948	100.0	13,393	100.0
II ..	1,062	39.1	2,111	40.0	4,332	62.3	7,512	56.7
III ..	757	27.9	1,496	28.3	3,353	48.3	5,879	42.5
IV ..	545	20.1	1,016	19.2	2,623	37.7	4,594	33.2
V ..	324	11.9	628	11.9	1,898	27.3	3,609	26.9
VI ..	167	6.1	377	7.1	1,246	17.9	2,727	21.6
VII ..	119	4.4	301	5.7	1,023	14.7	2,220	15.7
VIII ..	76	2.8	229	4.3	851	12.3	1,756	12.3

TABLE 25: WASTAGE IN CLASSES I-IV (1921-61)

Year in which the cohort begins	Size of the initial cohort	Percentage of children enrolled in each class in relation to the initial cohort				
		I	II	III	IV	
1922-23						
Boys ..	3,453,046	100.0	35.3	26.0	19.0	
Girls ..	533,878	100.0	30.2	16.3	10.5	
TOTAL ..	3,986,924	100.0	34.6	24.7	17.8	
1933-34						
Boys ..	3,863,319	100.0	45.0	35.2	27.7	
Girls ..	1,508,453	100.0	32.3	22.2	14.3	
TOTAL ..	5,371,772	100.0	41.4	31.6	23.9	
1955-56						
Boys ..	6,659,637	100.0	60.8	50.0	43.1	
Girls ..	3,298,468	100.0	55.3	43.0	34.9	
TOTAL ..	9,958,105	100.0	59.0	47.7	40.4	

The percentage of wastage, as calculated in this method, is the proportion of the number of children who drop out from schools before reaching class IV to those enrolled in class I, four years previously. It will be seen that the percentage of wastage was as high as 82.2 for the cohort starting in 1922-23 and that it declined to 59.6 for the cohort of 1955-56. There has thus been a considerable reduction of wastage during the last 40 years, although the extent of wastage is still large.

The statistics for boys and girls have been given separately in the above table. They show that the percentage of wastage among girls has all along been greater.

Information on the basis of cohorts starting in class I and reaching class VIII in eight succeeding years is available only from 1949-50. Table 26 shows the wastage in two initial cohorts—the first beginning in 1949-50 and the second in 1952-53:

TABLE 26: PROGRESS OF INITIAL COHORTS IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION—1949-50 to 1956-57 and 1952-53 to 1960-61

Year	Class	Total enrolment for cohort starting in 1949-50	Year	Class	Total enrolment for cohort starting in 1952-53
		(In thousands)			(In thousands)
1949-50	I	6,901	1952-53	I	7,395
1950-51	II	4,332	1953-54	II	4,700
1951-52	III	3,534	1954-55	III	3,780
1952-53	IV	2,886	1955-56	IV	3,216
1953-54	V	2,240	1956-57	V	2,635
1954-55	VI	1,597	1957-58	VI	1,990
1955-56	VII	1,436	1958-59	VII	1,794
1956-57	VIII	1,232	1959-60 (Provisional)	VIII	1,533
Wastage	I-VIII	82.15%			79.27%

It will be seen that, in the post-independence period, the wastage in classes I-VIII has been reduced from 82.15 per cent for the cohort of 1949-50 to 79.27 per cent for the cohort of 1952-53. It is obvious, therefore, that there is a definite reduction in wastage from year to year, although the rate of such reduction is small and the percentage of wastage still continues to be high. Of every 100 children who join class I, only about 20 reach class VIII eight years later.

Only two studies using the third method, are available, both from Maharashtra State. Their results have been summarised below:

(1) SATARA STUDY: An investigation conducted by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics in the Satara District⁵ showed that, of every 10,000 students entering class I, 6,388 passed class IV and the remaining 3,612 left the school before completing this course. Of these, 1,932 left in class I, 706 in class II, 504 in class III, and 470 in class IV. This gives a wastage percentage

⁵ D. R. Gadgil and V. M. Dandekar: *Primary Education in Satara District*, pp. 1-83.

of 36.12 while the first and the second methods would give much higher percentages.

(2) POONA STUDY: Another investigation conducted in the Poona District⁶ showed that, of every 1,000 students entering class I, 414 left before completing class IV—183 in class I, 118 in class II, 88 in class III and 25 in class IV. This gives a wastage of 41.4 per cent. Although this percentage of wastage is higher than that found in the Satara study, it is still much lower than the results given by the first and second methods.

It is unfortunate that there is no all-India study of this problem nor any study of the entire duration of the elementary course covering classes I-VIII. But the Maharashtra data may be taken as fairly representative of the situation in the country as a whole. It shows that wastage in classes I-IV may be taken at about 40 per cent.

Causes of Wastage : What are the causes of this wastage which afflicts our system of elementary education? This enquiry is of great significance to the administrator because it is on the findings of such a study alone that a programme for action for the reduction of wastage can be devised. Unfortunately, most of the enquiries made so far have attempted, as stated above, to determine the *extent* rather than the *causes* of wastage. The only enquiry which throws light on the problem is that of Shri J. P. Naik when he investigated 10,000 cases of wastage with special reference to their causes.⁷ Its main findings show that the causes of wastage are economic, social, and educational.

ECONOMIC: About 65 per cent of the cases of wastage are economic in origin. The child is willingly sent to school between the ages of 6 and 9. After 9, he becomes an economic asset to the family because he (or she) can work at home, or on the family farm, or outside the family and assist in adding to the family income directly or indirectly. The child is, consequently, withdrawn from school long before he completes the elementary course.

The only remedy for the situation is to improve the general economic condition of the people. Assuming that a family consists

⁶ Indian Journal of Educational Administration and Research, Autumn 1960, pp. 8-15.

⁷ Report on Stagnation and Wastage in Primary Schools: Provincial Board of Primary Education, Bombay, 1941.

of five persons—man, wife and three children—the average earnings of the man and his wife should be adequate to support at least two adults and three children. It is only when this point in economic development is reached that the parents will be able to send children to school on a whole-time basis and also to keep them there till they reach the age of 14. At present, the average income of the parents is so low that they can hardly maintain themselves. Children are thus required to maintain themselves to some extent and child labour in some form or the other becomes inevitable.

SOCIAL: Social causes are very important particularly when one is considering the question of wastage among girls. Betrothal or marriage, unwillingness of parents to send grown-up girls to a mixed school, lack of appreciation for the education of girls and lack of women teachers are some of the causes of this wastage. The fact that a girl is more useful at home than a boy adds to the difficulty further so that wastage among girls is generally greater than among boys. To remedy this situation, it may be necessary to adopt the system of part-time instruction on an even larger scale than in the case of boys. In addition, steps will be necessary to educate public opinion, to provide separate girls' schools, wherever possible, or at least for girls in the age-group 11-14, and to increase the supply of women teachers.

EDUCATIONAL: The educational causes of wastage are equally important and it has been estimated that they operate to the extent of 30 per cent. These include: (a) existence of incomplete schools which do not teach the full course; (b) large prevalence of stagnation which discourages children from staying longer at school; (c) dull character of most of the schools and their poor capacity to attract students and to retain them; (d) absence of ancillary services like school meals and school health; and (e) failure of the average parent or child to see the 'good' of attending schools. The sovereign remedy for all these problems is the qualitative improvement of elementary education, supplemented by an intensive programme of parental education.

II. Stagnation

Extent of Stagnation: Unlike the measurement of wastage, that of stagnation is comparatively simple and has aroused little

controversy. The Satara study was the first to point out that stagnation was a greater evil than wastage and that large numbers of students repeated the same class year after year. Its findings, on the basis of a cohort of 10,000 students entering class I, were the following:

TABLE 27: EXTENT OF STAGNATION: NUMBER OF ATTEMPTS NEEDED TO PASS A CLASS

Class		One attempt	Two attempts	Three or more attempts	Total
I	..	4,152	2,121	1,405	8,068
II	..	3,477	1,953	1,932	7,362
III	..	2,514	1,954	2,390	6,858
IV	..	1,810	1,768	2,810	6,388
TOTAL	..	11,953	7,796	8,537	28,676

For measuring the extent of stagnation, the usual method adopted is to use the formula

$$\text{Index of Stagnation} = 100 \left\{ 1 - \frac{\text{Total Optimum Years}}{\text{Actually Used Years}} \right\}$$

The expression 'optimum years' is used to denote the total number of years required for a given cohort to complete the prescribed course on the assumption that every child will make normal and regular progress from year to year. For example, for a cohort of 100 children entering class I, the 'optimum years' required to complete the elementary course of four years would be 400. The 'actually used years' are, however, calculated by counting every year spent in school by every child in the cohort. In practice, every cohort of students will be found to remain in the school for a period longer than what is denoted by the 'optimum years'. For example, in the Satara study quoted above, the 8,068 students who completed class I actually used 12,609 years,^{*} instead of 8,068 years which were 'optimum' for them. The fraction $\frac{\text{total optimum years}}{\text{actually used years}}$ is, always

* Only 4,152 students passed the class in one year and used 4,152 years; 2,121 students passed the class in two years and used 4,242 years; and 1,405 students passed the class in three years and used 4,215 years; thus making a total of 12,609 years in all.

less than 1 and it is equal to 1 under ideal conditions when stagnation would be equal to zero. The formula given above, therefore, is a very useful tool for the measurement of stagnation and it takes several factors into account simultaneously: the size of the initial cohort; the number of students remaining in the class after each successive year of the course; the number of trials taken by each student for passing a class; and the total time spent by the class as a whole to complete any given year of study or the entire course. It also makes statistical comparisons possible between one year and another, between one class and another, and even between one school and another.

Causes of Stagnation : The chief causes of stagnation are poor attendance, inefficient teaching, defective method of examinations and faulty curriculum. Irregularity of attendance is due to the indifference of parents, and also to the failure of the school to adjust its hours and vacations to local needs. For lack of proper orientation and training, most of the elementary teachers use unsatisfactory methods of examination and evaluation. The syllabi are generally over-crowded with inert matter and unrelated to the immediate interests and needs of children and poor teaching does little to animate them.

III. Lapse into Illiteracy

It has now been established that the incidence of lapse into illiteracy was somewhat exaggerated by the Hartog Committee which estimated it at about 50 per cent. The Satara investigation into the problem showed that the total extent of lapse into illiteracy is very small, only 6.6 per cent. It is highest among those who leave school in class II—15.6 per cent; among those who leave school in class III, it is only 4 per cent; and among those who leave school in class IV, it is about 1 per cent only. Literacy has to be attained before it can lapse. The assumption made in the calculation of wastage is that a child attains literacy on reaching class IV. Children who leave school in class II or III cannot, therefore, be regarded as having 'lapsed' into illiteracy as such; and true cases of lapse are only of those children who leave school after reaching class IV. In their case, however, the extent of lapse is negligible.

Studies in the problem of lapse into illiteracy have been, in a way, very useful. They have exploded the bogey of a mass lapse into illiteracy which was raised at one time. But they have made two other distinct contributions to the thought on the problem. The first is to establish the stage at which effective literacy is attained and thus provide a rational basis for the measurement of wastage. The second is to invite attention, not to the problem of lapse which hardly exists on a significant scale, but to that of the non-use of the literacy acquired. After all, literacy is imparted for use ; and if it is not used as it should be, the mere retention of literacy has no practical significance. As the Satara study pointed out—

A feature of the situation brought out by this investigation which appears to be even more important than the extent of lapse is the large current non-use of ability or skill acquired at school. It appears that in the majority of instances reading and writing habits are neither developed nor maintained and that the educational effort is effectively wasted even though there is no actual lapse into illiteracy. It is to be noted that a small proportion of even those who have passed the 4th standard examination, report no current use at all of reading ability and that a very substantial proportion of them report no use of it other than that required in domestic correspondence. This indicates that the problem is not one to be met by mere increase of standards of years at school. Similarly, it would appear that mere provision of passive agencies such as libraries could not materially affect the results. The percentages of lapse among those belonging to 7th standard schools, and among those inhabiting villages with a population of 2,000 and above and among those who have stayed at cities like Bombay, make it clear that mere increase in facilities or equipment would not solve the problem. If the abilities acquired at school are to be used and to prove fruitful, their constant utilization must be stimulated by some active external efforts. These considerations are further emphasized by the fact that the incidence of lapse into illiteracy is specially high among the so-called intermediate and backward classes, among agriculturists and agricultural labourers and among the very poor. A further intensification of educational effort will increase the proportion of students in the primary school system belonging to the above categories. It is highly unlikely that such persons will of themselves take steps to prevent a lapse or a non-use of abilities acquired at school. Therefore, in order to ensure that expenditure incurred on the system of primary education is not wasted, the authorities must also accept the responsibility of providing for the stimulation and continued use of powers attained during a pupil's career at school. Our investigation indicates that a lapse into illiteracy, when it takes place, does so within a comparatively early period after leaving school. The efforts intended to be supplementary to the school system must, therefore, be planned to begin almost immediately after the pupil's leaving school. The work aimed at preventing non-use of ability acquired at school will thus have two aspects

(i) some type of continuation work in the period immediately after a pupil leaves school, and (ii) actively aiming at stimulation and maintenance of reading and writing, etc. habits among adult ex-pupils. The continuation work should obviously be in the nature of extension of the work of the school itself. . . The second type of effort mentioned above would mean the branching out of adult education into aspects other than the mere imparting of literacy. Special classes for adults could, of course, be conducted and adult education also must, in any event, be linked on to the work of the rural school. Activities such as special classes for adults might not, however, be administratively or financially possible in all areas and localities. It would, therefore, be of the greatest help if the aim of the stimulation of reading and writing ability is constantly borne in mind in all the activities of the State. All kinds of rural development programmes might, if properly directed, help towards this end. What is really most required is that there should constantly flow into the village a stream of literature of the casual sort, circulars, notifications, leaflets, broad-sheet, etc. printed in an attractive manner, in bold type, containing material that would really interest the rural adult. It might even be suggested that this aspect of the stimulation of reading might be borne in mind even in the drawing up and printing of ordinary official notices publicly exhibited. . . And it should be defined as the business of some agency, preferably of the rural school, to get as large a bulk of the population as possible interested in the literature so made available*.

IV. A Programme of Action

We have now examined the concepts of wastage, stagnation and lapse into illiteracy and also summed up the main findings of the research carried out so far to measure their extent or to ascertain their causes. We shall now turn to the consideration of the two main issues raised in this context: (1) would it not be better to concentrate on a programme of 'consolidation and improvement' which would reduce these evils rather than go ahead with indiscriminate expansion which accentuates them? ; and (2) what concrete programme of action can we suggest to reduce these evils to the minimum, if not to eliminate them altogether?

Wastage vs. Expansion : The issue of priorities that is often raised between expansion and reduction of wastage is not very real. A number of assumptions are generally made in such discussions, e.g. (1) the extent of wastage is very large ; (2) wastage is increasing ; (3) inordinate or indiscriminate expansion is the order of the day ; and (4) that a programme of qualitative improvement must necessarily be based on a strict control of quantity. These

* Dr. Gadgil and V. M. Dandekar, *Primary Education in the Satara District*, pp. 67-9.

assumptions, which were first made by the Hartog Committee, have continued to figure in our thinking as historical relics. But the studies into the problem have shown that none of them is valid at present. The extent of wastage is not as large as it was made out to be at one time and is steadily on the decrease. In fact, expansion and the increase in the rate of expansion have gone along with a progressive decline in the incidence of wastage till it is now about half of what it used to be 30 years ago. There is also little justification to assume that there has been anything like 'inordinate expansion' in primary education. Table 28 shows the rate of increase in enrolment at the primary stage since 1931.

It will be seen that the average annual rate of increase of enrolment at the primary stage has only been about 2.1 per cent between 1931 and 1947—just enough to keep up with the normal growth of population. This rate has increased largely—to about 9-10 per cent in 1958-59 and 1959-60, due mainly to the organization of enrolment drives. But taking the post-independence period as a whole, the average annual rate of increase in the enrolment at the primary stage has been about 6 per cent which cannot, by any means, be described as inordinate or indiscriminate. In fact, it is much lower than the rates of expansion at the secondary and higher stages of education in India and may even be described as disappointingly low in comparison with what has been achieved in several other developing countries during the same period.

Lastly, it may be observed that the proposal to restrict expansion is mainly a negative approach to the problem of reducing wastage. This policy was, in fact, adopted by the Education Departments in India between 1931 and 1937; and the only result was a slowing down of the pace of expansion without any tangible improvement of quality or reduction in wastage. The proposal is advocated generally on financial grounds. But it is precisely on financial grounds that it does not succeed because the cost of the programmes of consolidation—which are recommended as an alternative to expansion—is generally far higher than that of any practicable programmes of expansion.

Two other factors, one sociological and the other educational, have to be remembered in this context. In a stratified society like the one we have in India, expansion of elementary education helps

TABLE 28: EXPANSION OF PRIMARY EDUCATION (1931-61)

Year	Total enrolment at the primary stage (in thousands)	Increase during the period (in thousands)	Average annual rate of increase (per cent)
1931-32 ..	10,428	..	..
1936-37 ..	11,466	1,038	2.0
1941-42 ..	13,106	1,640	2.9
1946-47 ..	14,105	1,001	1.5
<i>Post-Independence Period</i>			
1949-50 ..	17,754	..	..
1950-51 ..	18,678	924	5.2
1951-52 ..	19,299	621	3.3
1952-53 ..	19,802	503	2.6
1953-54 ..	21,206	1,404	7.1
1954-55 ..	22,622	1,416	6.7
1955-56 ..	24,511	1,889	8.4
1956-57 ..	25,965	1,454	5.9
1957-58 ..	27,370	1,405	5.4
1958-59 ..	30,041	2,671	9.8
1959-60 ..	31,904	2,782	9.3
1960-61 ..	34,721	1,517	4.6
Average annual rate of growth for 1936-47	..	..	2.1
-do- 1950-61	..	..	6.2

to bring into the school children from those sections of society which have not been brought under any educational influence so far. It would be wrong, therefore, to look for immediate ideal results and, in the first years of this expansion, wastage necessarily increases; but it is an indispensable condition for further advancement. The incidence of wastage in the educational system due to this cause should not be interpreted as a sign of its weakness. On

the other hand, it is a sign of its strength, of its effect to create equality of educational opportunity and to give social justice to the weaker sections of society.

From the educational point of view, it may be pointed out that the very efforts to improve quality also tend to increase expansion. The net result of all programmes of qualitative improvement at the elementary stage is to increase the 'attracting and holding power' of the schools; and the moment they begin to be effective, the enrolments begin to rise because more children are drawn to the schools and every child that is enrolled tends to stay longer. Programmes of qualitative improvement thus become inevitably intermixed with those of expansion.

Viewing the problem as a whole, it appears that restricting expansion to reduce wastage is an untenable approach to the problem. During the last 12 years, elementary education in India has expanded at about 6 per cent per annum. The Third Plan assumes an annual rate of increase of about 9-10 per cent. But once this initial spurt is over, it may not be essential to maintain this rate of increase. The total enrolment in elementary education is estimated to be 60 million by 1965. If free and compulsory education is to be provided for every child by 1975, this enrolment will have to be increased to about 120 million. This implies an annual rate of increase of 7 per cent only. Universal education does not, however, mean 'straining after the last truant' and the emphasis on expansion disappears when about 85 per cent of the total population of school-going age is enrolled. On this assumption, universal education may be had by 1975 with an annual rate of increase of about 6 per cent only and this is precisely the rate of increase that has been maintained between 1949-50 and 1960-61. It will not be either desirable or practicable to go below this rate. The best policy in elementary education for the next 10-15 years, therefore, seems to be to plan on the assumption of a 6-7 per cent annual increase in elementary school enrolments as the minimum desirable target and to seek the remedies for the reduction of wastage elsewhere than in any further reduction of expansion.

Programmes for the Reduction of Wastage: When it is suggested that a minimum rate of expansion in elementary education is both desirable and inescapable, it does not mean that the

problems of wastage, stagnation or lapse into illiteracy are to be ignored altogether. On the contrary, it is felt that these programmes should have high priority. A poor country can ill-afford to waste funds ; and no programme can have higher priority in the future development of elementary education than those designed to reduce these evils. All that is suggested is that this reduction cannot be obtained through the negative approach of merely trying to restrict expansion.

What programme can we then adopt for the successful reduction of these evils? The most frequent suggestion put forward for the reduction of wastage is the rigorous enforcement of compulsory attendance laws. This suggestion has been before the country for nearly 30 years, but it has not been found possible to work it out in practice. It is a very costly programme and implies the enrolment of all children of school-going age. The idea of 'partial compulsion'—under which no child is forced to come to a school but a child who is enrolled on a voluntary basis is prevented from leaving the school before attaining the minimum standard, has also been tried, particularly in Mysore ; but the results have not been very encouraging. The basic fact is that the penal provisions of a compulsory education law cannot set at naught the operation of a whole multitude of social and economic factors. The problem of wastage is essentially social and economic in origin and it arises from the attempt to take education to social groups which are poor and culturally under-developed. Unless a broad attack is launched on these two fronts, the problems of wastage do not become amenable to treatment. This is amply proved by the experience of the Baroda State in enforcing compulsory attendance laws rigorously. A reference has already been made to this in Chapter 5.

The most effective programme to reduce wastage in the elementary school is improvement in the general economic condition of the people. A programme of free and compulsory education for all children in the age-group 6-14 cannot be super-imposed on a background of abject poverty. In fact, this programme is a fine index of economic development itself and it can succeed only if the average parent can afford to feed and clothe his children, to provide them with the necessary educational equipment, and to keep them at school till they reach the age of 14. This implies that the

average wage of a man (and of his wife, if necessary) should be enough to maintain him, his wife and a family of three children. Today, more than 50 per cent of our adult population is not able to do so and that is why the help of the children is enlisted to add some amount, however small, to the family income. So long as this economic necessity continues, children will continue to be withdrawn from school and, as the studies into the problem have shown, about 65 per cent of the cases of wastage are due to economic reasons alone. It is, however, obvious that such improvement in the general economic condition of the people would take a fairly long time. In the meanwhile, the only alternative is to provide a system of part-time education, particularly to children in the age-groups of 9-14 or 11-14, so that they would be able to work in or for their families and also receive education. This is a very important problem by itself and has been discussed separately in Chapter 11.

Another programme, which can effectively assist in reducing wastage, is that of adult or social education. It is unfortunate that programmes of social education have received a low priority in our Five-Year Plans. They really need a very high priority and a larger financial allocation on several grounds, and especially because no urgent plan of economic or social reconstruction can ever be put across except through an intensive programme of re-educating the adults. It may be pointed out, however, that programmes of mass education incidentally result in reducing wastage effectively because an educated parent, and especially an educated mother, is the best insurance for the proper education of his (or her) children. If only we can make the adults appreciate the value of education and awaken them to their sense of duty and responsibility to the rising generation, not only problems of enrolment, but those of wastage, stagnation and lapse into illiteracy would also be solved to a considerable extent.

The third most effective programme for the reduction of wastage, and particularly of stagnation, is to increase the 'attracting and holding power' of the schools through the provision of better teachers. Given a good teacher, nearly 90 per cent of the problems in elementary education get satisfactorily solved. He contacts the parents and educates them in their responsibilities.

He makes the school so interesting that the children are attracted to it on its own merits and are most unwilling to leave it. Under him, they make such good progress that the parents feel proud of them and are encouraged to make that little extra effort which is needed to give them this opportunity to have a better start in life. Programmes for the improvement of teachers, for increasing their remuneration, for betterment of their training, for provision of better service conditions—these have, therefore, a high priority in elementary education, even above expansion. Unfortunately, these have not received due attention so far, not even in the post-independence period ; and one welcome change in our educational policies would be to concentrate on a programme of improving the general education, training, professional and social, status, remuneration (including welfare services and old-age provision) and general service conditions of elementary teachers. This single programme will achieve the best results in making the teaching in elementary schools more effective ; and to the extent we succeed in this endeavour, the extent of wastage and stagnation will be automatically reduced.

The First Year Class : Before closing this discussion, one important suggestion can be put forward: it would be very desirable to begin the drive for the reduction of wastage with class I. The one undisputed and significant fact which has emerged from the studies made so far is that both wastage and stagnation are very high in class I which thus becomes the problem class of the elementary stage. For instance, the Satara study shows that, of the total of 3,612 cases of wastage in classes I-IV, as many as 1,932 were in class I only. In the Poona study also, out of a total of 414 cases in classes I-IV as many as 183 were in class I only. Moreover, the diminution in enrolment between classes I and II is the highest in the entire system of elementary education and shows, not only a high incidence of wastage, but also of stagnation. Consequently, the total enrolment in class I is very high, being about 40 per cent of the total enrolment in classes I-V and 33 per cent of the enrolment in classes I-VIII so that an improvement of class I is equivalent to the improvement of one-third of all elementary education. The problems of class I, therefore, deserve special notice.

Why is it that wastage and stagnation are so high in class I? There are several answers.

(a) **HETEROGENEITY:** Reference has already been made* to the heterogeneity of the age-groups found in class I. Since the age of admission to primary schools is 5 or 6, one would expect that most of the children in class I would be in the age-range 5-7 with an average age between 6 and 7. Unfortunately, this is not so and the actual ages of children in class I vary from below 5 to over 25. This heterogeneity is due to two main reasons: (1) Instead of admitting children of a fixed age, say 6 *plus*, to class I, children of all ages are indiscriminately admitted. In rural areas especially, several children start their schooling late and children of 8, 9 or even 11 will often be admitted as freshers to class I. (2) Even when children of the proper age are admitted, owing to the large extent of stagnation, several of them stay in class I for two, three, four or even five years. This again makes the group heterogeneous. It is very difficult in practice to manage a heterogeneous group of this type. The quality of teaching in class I is, therefore, adversely affected and very soon, a vicious circle is set up everywhere: the group becomes heterogeneous because of the large extent of stagnation and the extent of stagnation increases because of the heterogeneity of the group.

(b) **ADMISSIONS MADE THROUGHOUT THE YEAR:** Another reason which adds to the heterogeneity and difficulty of class I is the practice of admitting children at all times of the year and *not* at the beginning of the school year only. Consequently, new children join the class every month and when one comes towards the end of the school year, one finds that class I consists of 8 or 9 groups all of which are at different stages of attainment!

(c) **IRREGULARITY OF ATTENDANCE:** By far the most important reason for the poor attainments in class I is irregularity of attendance. When a child is newly enrolled in school, he is at first unwilling to attend. The atmosphere in most rural homes is such that it does not generally create school-mindedness. Our schools also have very little attractive power. Consequently, the natural unwillingness of the child to leave the play in the street and go to the school is strengthened still further. The usual experience in

* See Chapter 7, pp. 125-128.

rural areas is that an average child takes about 6 to 8 months for what is called 'being accustomed to attend school'. In this transitional period, his attendance is very irregular and most children really begin studies in class I in the second year of their enrolment.

(d) **LACK OF BOOKS AND SLATES:** The children in class I are often without books and slates, especially in rural areas, either because the parents are slow to purchase and supply them or because they are often deliberately destroyed by the unwilling children. This adds further to the tuitional difficulties.

(e) **SIZE OF THE CLASSES:** The average pupil-teacher ratio in India is 34:1 (classes I-V). But since enrolments in higher classes are small, the size of class I becomes very large. It is not unusual to come across divisions of class I with 50, 60, 70 or even 100 children. Adoption of the shift system would be a better alternative under these conditions; but that is not always done. Inordinately large classes are more common in class I than what one imagines and they constitute a very important reason for fall of standards at this stage.

(f) **DEFECTIVE CURRICULA:** Still another reason for the stagnation in class I is the heavy curriculum that is generally prescribed for the class. A close study of the curricula of class I in different areas will show that they tend to be over-crowded even for a normal child. This is due to three factors: (1) lack of proper studies in curriculum; (2) desire to make the syllabus comparable to that of class I in advanced countries, forgetting the fact that most of the children in advanced countries do attend pre-primary schools; and (3) working the syllabus downwards from matriculation rather than upwards from class I. In fact, no area in curriculum-making is as sadly neglected as that of class I.

(g) **NO TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN SPECIAL METHODS OF TEACHING:** Teaching in class I needs special methods of teaching, particularly in teaching reading and the concept of numbers. But these subjects are neglected in our training institutions and the average teacher is not adequately prepared to handle class I.

(h) **ABSENCE OF FUNDAMENTAL RESEARCH IN READING:** The teaching of reading is the most important part of the syllabus in class I. This is an area in which immense research has been done

in Western countries and is still being done. But so little research is done with the Indian languages and our methods of teaching reading are still very inadequate. The absence of this research also leaves much to be desired in the standard of textbooks for class I.

(i) **WRONG PLACEMENT OF TEACHERS:** Teaching in class I needs a carefully trained, senior teacher, preferably a woman. The methods to be adopted are half-way between the play-way of the nursery school and the formal teaching in a primary school. What often happens in practice, however, is that a young, weak and very often untrained teacher is put in charge of class I because the status of a teacher is correlated with that of the class he is teaching. Our wrong ideas of the status of a teacher thus result in giving this most difficult of assignments to the weakest member of the staff!

(j) **STIFF EXAMINATIONS:** In class I, it would ordinarily be wise to promote even a student who is a little weak, because he can then make up for his weakness in class II. Psychologically, a weak child deliberately promoted to the higher class makes better progress than the one who is detained. But this healthy principle is often forgotten and the annual promotion results of class I are as stiff as those of the S.S.L.C. or the matriculation examination. This has a very disheartening effect on young children many of whom just leave school or stagnate even further.

(k) **BOGUS ATTENDANCE:** There are also several cases where bogus attendance is marked, especially in class I. The name of the child is enrolled ; but he never comes to school. Still the name is continued on the school registers, sometimes in a desire to improve 'statistics' and sometimes in the hope that the child may come one day. At last the name is removed, sometimes after months of waiting, and in order to justify its continuance on the registers, some bogus attendance is also marked. Thus 'names' come and go from the school registers ; but such paper-work has obviously no reference to anything in the real life situation.

The analysis of causes given above also suggests the necessary programme of reform. An intensive effort to reduce stagnation and wastage is long overdue ; and there is no better vantage point to launch it in than class I.

CHAPTER 9

Education of Girls

Significance of the Problem

The education of girls is the most significant problem in the expansion of primary education. At the end of the Third Plan, 90.4 per cent of the boys in the age-group 6-11 would already have been enrolled in schools ; but the corresponding proportion of girls enrolled will be only 61.6. The obvious implication is that most of the future expansion of primary education will be concerned with the enrolment of girls. By 1976, the total number of boys and girls in the age-group 6-11 will be 41.1 millions and 38.9 millions respectively. By 1966, the total number of boys enrolled in classes I-V will be 30.1 millions and that of girls, 19.5 millions. During the Fourth and Fifth Plans, therefore, we shall have to enrol only 11.0 millions of boys as against 19.4 millions of girls, if the goal of universal education is to be realized. The National Committee on Women's Education (1958) was, therefore, right in pointing out that the problem of providing universal primary education in India was almost identical with that of expanding the education of girls and that the utmost emphasis would have to be laid during the Third, Fourth and Fifth Plans, on increasing the enrolment of girls in primary schools.

The position at the middle school stage is also somewhat similar. By the end of the Third Plan, 40 per cent of the boys in the age-group 11-14 would have been enrolled in classes VI-VIII and this would rise to 60 per cent by 1976. By the end of the Second Plan, the enrolment of girls in classes VI-VIII was only 1.46 millions or 10.8 per cent of the total population of girls in the age-group 11-14 ; and, by the end of the Third Plan, this is expected to rise to only 2.74 millions or 16.5 per cent. By 1976, the total number of girls in the age-group 11-14 would be 20.7 millions and, on the basis of the present rate of increase, it may not be possible to enrol more than 30 per cent of this population in schools by 1976. In the age-

¹ Report of the National Committee on Women's Education, 1958, Chapter V.

group of 11-14, therefore, much has still to be done for the universal education of boys. But the effort needed to enrol girls of this age-group would be far greater and more difficult.

It would thus be evident that the problem of providing universal elementary education in India is essentially a problem of expanding the education of girls and of bridging the wide gap, which exists at present, in the elementary education of boys and girls.

Historical Factors

The reasons for this gap in the education of boys and girls arise from social and historical factors. Among the Vedic Aryans women had equality of status and educational opportunity with men. Unfortunately, this high level of status and culture was lost in the course of the succeeding centuries. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the social status of women had sunk low. This depressed social status was accompanied by an almost total lack of educational opportunities. This is evident from the few official surveys of indigenous education conducted at this time. In Madras, Munro reported that only 5,480 girls attended the indigenous primary schools as against 1,78,630 boys (1822). In Bombay, no girls were reported to be attending the public indigenous schools (1824-29); but there is some evidence to show that a few girls of the aristocratic families received education at home. In Bengal, Adam reported that the girls were never sent to school (1835). Punjab showed a better picture and reported the existence of women teachers and a small number of girls attending schools (1849). But even after full allowance is made for all such exceptions, the conclusion becomes inescapable that the education of girls was almost totally neglected at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

During the last 160 years, this picture has greatly changed, both in social status as well as in education. *Sati* and female infanticide have disappeared. The average age of marriage has risen very considerably. Monogamy has been accepted and women have been given rights in marriage and divorce. They have also obtained economic rights of great significance. *Purdah* has almost disappeared. Women have been given franchise and equality of

opportunity in public services. They are no longer confined to the home. Thousands of women are pursuing useful and independent careers and a number of them have distinguished themselves in public life, in legislatures, in the public services, and in literature and arts. Finally, the Constitution has given women absolute equality with men and Article 15(1) of the Constitution provides that 'the State shall not discriminate any citizen on grounds only of sex', and Article 16(1) provides equality of opportunity for all citizens, men as well as women, in employment or appointment to any office under the State.

Social status and education of women are interdependent ; the spread of education leads to improvement in their status which, in its turn, leads to still further educational development. During the last 160 years, therefore, there has been considerable expansion in the education of women also. The lead in this matter was taken by the missionaries who established the first girls' schools in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The movement soon received the support of Indian social reformers and began to spread. On grounds of religious neutrality, however, Government did not assist the education of girls till 1850 when Lord Dalhousie first gave it official support—an act which was confirmed by the Court of Directors in their Despatch of 1854.

During the next hundred years, the need to expand the education of girls was highlighted in each review of education, and by Commissions and Committees. The Despatch of 1859 reiterated the recommendation of the Despatch of 1854 to emphasize the expansion of the education of girls. Similar proposals were made by the Indian Education Commission of 1882, Government Resolutions on Educational Policy, 1904 and 1913, the Calcutta University Commission (1917-19), the Hartog Committee (1928) and the National Committee on Women's Education (1958). Each Quinquennial Review of Education, while recounting the advance already made, advocated a policy of still greater emphasis on girls education. Partly because of this continuous official support and partly because of the rising status of women and the change in public opinion, the enrolment of girls at all stages of education expanded very rapidly after 1854. In 1854 the education of women had just begun. Madras, for instance, reported 256 girls' schools

with a total enrolment of about 8,000 ; Bombay 65 girls' schools with a total enrolment of 6,500 ; Bengal 288 girls' schools with an enrolment of about 6,900 ; and North West Province 17 girls' schools with an enrolment of about 400 pupils. By 1882, the total enrolment of girls at all stages of education had risen to 127,066, but as the Indian Education Commission pointed out, even in the most advanced province of India, 98 per cent of the female children were out of school and in the country as a whole, only about 340,000 girls and women were either under instruction or literate in a total population of 99.7 million.¹ By 1901-02, however, the picture had improved to some extent and the total enrolment of girls at all stages of education stood at 356,413. In the twentieth century, the tempo of expansion became faster still. By 1921-22, the total enrolment of girls at all stages increased to 12,24,128 and by 1946-47 to 41,56,742. In the post-independence period, the education of girls made an unprecedented progress and in 1960-61, their total enrolment at all stages of education was estimated at 135,82,652.

We are concerned here mainly with the progress of the education of girls at the elementary stage—primary and middle. The earliest detailed statistics available are those for 1881-82. In that year, the total number of girls enrolled in primary schools was only 119,647 or 6 girls for every 100 boys enrolled. By 1960-61, the total number of girls enrolled in primary schools had increased to 8.35 millions or 46 girls for every 100 boys enrolled. The gap in the education of boys and girls thus exists and is still very wide. It will, however, be noticed that it has been considerably bridged during the last 80 years. At the middle school stage, the earliest separate statistics are those for 1901-02. In that year, the total number of girls reading in middle schools was 34,386 or 11 girls for every 100 boys enrolled. Here too, the gap between the education of boys and girls is almost of the same order as at the primary stage.

Unequal Level of Development

The all-India statistics about the enrolment of girls at the elementary stage cover a very wide range of variations from state to state. At one end, the most advanced state in this regard is

¹ *Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1883*, p. 584.

Kerala. Here, the enrolment of girls in classes I-V is already 99.7 per cent of the total population of girls in the age-group 6-11. At the other end are states like Uttar Pradesh, where the enrolment of girls in classes I-V in 1960-61 was only 19.9 per cent (and is expected to rise to only 41.9 by 1965-66) or Rajasthan where the enrolment of girls in classes I-V was only 15.3 per cent in 1960-61 (and is expected to rise to only 48.4 per cent by 1965-66). By and large, it may be said that the primary education of girls is fairly advanced in Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Madras, Maharashtra, Mysore, Punjab and West Bengal, while it is under-developed in the states of Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. The following table shows the enrolment of girls in classes I-V in 1960-61 and 1965-66 (projected).

TABLE 29: ENROLMENT OF GIRLS IN THE AGE-GROUP
6-11 (1960-61 and 1965-66)

State	Enrolment in classes I-V		Percentage of population in the age-group 6-11 (estimated)	
	1960-61 (In millions)	1965-66	1960-61	1965-66
Andhra Pradesh ..	1.021	1.880	46.2	72.7
Assam ..	.385	.609	48.0	66.9
Bihar ..	.637	1.800	26.00	54.7
Gujarat ..	.236	1.101	57.03	71.9
Jammu & Kashmir ..	.037	.078	21.0	34.2
Kerala ..	.845	1.233	99.7	99.7
Madhya Pradesh ..	.368	1.000	19.3	43.8
Madras ..	.942	2.200	58.0	93.1
Maharashtra ..	.643	2.170	56.6	75.3
Mysore ..	.468	1.536	50.1	88.1
Orissa ..	.427	.550	23.9	44.3
Punjab ..	.306	.786	36.3	55.2
Rajasthan ..	.155	.710	15.3	48.4
Uttar Pradesh ..	.788	2.150	19.9	41.9
West Bengal ..	.946	1.352	48.4	60.7

The variations in the development of the education of girls at the middle school stage are also as wide in range. Kerala leads with an enrolment of girls in classes VI-VIII equal to 41.3 per cent of their total population in the age-group 11-14. At the other end come states like Orissa with an enrolment of 2 per cent or Rajasthan with an enrolment of 4.1 per cent. The states in which the middle school education of girls is comparatively under-developed are Andhra Pradesh (due mainly to the under-development of girls' education in the Telengana area), Bihar, Jammu & Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh. The following table gives the enrolment of girls at the middle school stage in 1960-61 and 1965-66 (projected).

TABLE 30: ENROLMENT OF GIRLS IN THE AGE-GROUP
11-14 (1960-61 and 1965-66)

State	Enrolment in classes VI-VIII		Percentage of population in the age-group 11-14 (estimated)	
	1960-61	1965-66 (In millions)	1960-61	1965-66
Andhra Pradesh ..	.115	.145	7.2	10.4
Assam ..	.065	.105	16.0	24.5
Bihar ..	.140	.185	4.2	10.7
Gujarat ..	.551	.221	13.8	27.6
Jammu & Kashmir ..	.013	.016	9.0	13.0
Kerala ..	.343	.258	41.3	37.3
Madhya Pradesh ..	.087	.080	5.5	6.7
Madras ..	.419	.279	18.3	21.5
Maharashtra ..	.863	.325	15.5	21.2
Mysore ..	.413	.198	13.1	21.2
Orissa ..	.016	.034	2.0	5.2
Punjab ..	.094	.201	16.3	26.4
Rajasthan ..	.070	.075	4.1	9.8
Uttar Pradesh ..	.104	.160	5.0	5.9
West Bengal ..	.063	.372	10.7	29.4

In addition to these regional inequalities in the development of the elementary education of girls, three other types of unequal development are noticed. In the urban areas in all parts of the country, the education of girls has made comparatively more rapid advance, and the gap between elementary education of boys and girls has been very considerably reduced. But in the rural areas, the prejudices against girls' education are still strong, especially in states like Uttar Pradesh or Rajasthan. The general poverty of the people is also greater. Consequently, the gap in the education of boys and girls in rural areas is by far the largest. From the social point of view, the education of girls of the upper and middle classes is almost as highly advanced as that of boys. But in the lower economic groups the gap still continues to be wide, partly because of traditional prejudices and partly because of poverty. It may be said, therefore, that expansion of the elementary education of girls is needed, by and large, in the less advanced states of Bihar, Jammu & Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh ; in the rural areas in most parts of the country ; and amongst the lower and poorer sections of society.

Factors Impeding Progress

What are the factors which impede the progress of the education of girls and create this gap between their education and that of the boys? Here are some of the more important of them :

Traditional Prejudices : By and large, the traditional prejudices against the education of girls still operate to a great extent. This is particularly so in the rural areas and in the lower and poorer classes of society.

Absence of Separate Schools : In several areas of the country the public is not prepared to send girls, even in the age-group 6-11, to mixed schools and demands separate primary schools for them with women teachers in charge. This prejudice against mixed schools becomes stronger at the middle school stage and a larger proportion of parents are not prepared to educate their daughters unless separate middle schools in charge of women teachers are provided. The State Governments are trying their best to meet such demands, but the main difficulty arises from an

acute shortage of women teachers, which severely limits the scope of expansion.

Lack of Women Teachers : The traditional prejudice of the people against girls' education would be more readily overcome if women teachers could be provided. At present, however, there is an acute shortage of women teachers in rural areas. The girls born and brought up in rural areas are not educated enough to be qualified as teachers. The urban girls are qualified but are generally unwilling to go out to work in rural areas. Separate schools for girls with women teachers are demanded most in rural areas and it is in them that the shortage of women teachers is most keenly felt.

Household Work : Another important reason which prevents girls from being sent to schools is their greater utility at home, especially in assisting the mother in the household chores—cooking, washing clothes or utensils, fetching water, etc. These are generally regarded as 'women's jobs' and even if there are younger boys at home, they are not generally asked to do such tasks. On the other hand, a girl is expected to attend to these things, partly as a necessity and partly as training for her future life. Girls are, therefore, required to work at home and to assist the mother in cooking, washing, cleaning and in minding the younger children.

Poverty : Poverty of the parents is another important reason. It compels them to use the labour of the children, either at home or in household agriculture and industry. Poverty also implies that, unless the parents make a special effort, they would not be able to feed and clothe their children and send them to school on a wholetime basis.

Attitude of Men : The general attitudes of men exercise a large influence over the education of girls. Historically, girls began to be sent to school in larger numbers when men began to expect educated wives. This attitude is now universally developed in the middle and the upper classes but not in men of the lower economic groups.

Child Marriages : Although child marriages have now become rare, the age of marriage in the rural areas, and among the lower classes, is still relatively low and girls are often married at about the age of 15. Even if the marriage actually does not take

place, the betrothal is often arranged at an early age. It is not generally considered proper for a girl to attend school after betrothal or marriage and this very often prevents a girl from attending or continuing in school.

Distance from Home : When there is no school in the village itself, children walk to the nearest school in some neighbouring village. Sometimes they have to walk a distance of one to three miles to reach a primary school and of three to five miles to reach a middle school. Parents generally have no objection to sending their boys to a school outside the village, but not girls. It is, therefore, found that, when children have to walk to a school situated at some distance from the village, the attendance of girls shows a very sharp decline. It has not yet been possible to provide a primary school in every village and only a small percentage of villages have middle schools. The attendance of girls, therefore, gets reduced at the primary stage and still more so at the middle stage.

Failure to Pay Attention to Special Needs of Girls : Another difficulty is the failure to pay adequate attention to the special needs of girls in mixed schools, which, by and large, they are required to attend. The girls do not generally get a good share in the co-curricular activities of the schools—which usually tend to be monopolised by the boys—and this happens particularly at the middle school stage when girls find it awkward to mix with the boys. The curriculum and textbooks are generally planned with predominant attention to the needs of boys and they do not, therefore, interest the girls to the same extent. In fact, the ordinary mixed school—whether primary or middle—does not have a great attraction or holding power for girls.

Programme of Action

The programme of action to expand the education of girls and to bridge the gap between their education and that of the boys can be easily inferred from the preceding analysis. The more important aspects of this problem have been briefly mentioned below.

Educative Propaganda : One of the most effective measures to expand the education of girls is to carry on educative propaganda amongst the parents to overcome their traditional prejudices and

to induce them to send their daughters to schools and to retain them there till they complete the elementary course. This educative propaganda can be organized in a number of ways. One of the most effective methods is the organization of enrolment drives in the beginning of each academic year in all parts of the country, and especially in rural areas. Such enrolment drives have been organized in the Second Five-Year Plan, in Bihar, Rajasthan and Orissa and the results have been good. Recently, they have been organized with equal effectiveness in Uttar Pradesh. It has also been suggested that a Women's Education Week should be observed every year, especially in the less advanced states and the occasion utilized for educating public opinion with regard to the equality of women and the need to provide them with equal educational opportunities.

Co-education : Another effective programme would be to popularise co-education, particularly at the primary stage. Madras has now abolished separate primary schools for girls altogether and all its primary schools are mixed institutions, very often with a mixed staff, open to boys and girls alike. Kerala has reached almost the same point, although it still has a small number of separate schools for girls. Recently, Punjab has adopted co-education at the primary stage with great success. In a situation where separate schools are maintained for boys and girls, the utilization of staff is not fully effective. The adoption of co-education enables the Department to rationalise the appointment of teachers and effect an overall saving in expenditure while improving standards of education. It is, therefore, desirable to adopt co-education universally at the primary stage.

It is realized that public opinion is not equally ready to accept co-education at the primary stage in all parts of the country and that, in some areas, separate primary schools for girls will still have to be provided or continued. There should, therefore, be no hasty attempt at introducing the reform which has to keep pace with the advancement of public opinion. But an endeavour should continuously be made to carry on an intensive propaganda in favour of co-education and separate schools should be gradually abolished at the primary stage, during the Fourth and at the latest, the Fifth Plan.

At the middle school stage, the resistance to the adoption of co-education would ordinarily be greater. Opinion in the country is also sharply divided on the desirability or otherwise of adopting co-education at this stage. There cannot, however, be any absolute rule either way. The situation has to be met pragmatically.

An analysis of the statistics of enrolment of girls at the elementary stage indicates that the trend in favour of adopting co-education at the elementary stage is steadily becoming stronger. At the primary stage for instance, 66.7 per cent of the total girls enrolled were reading in separate schools in 1881-82. By 1921-22, the proportion of girls studying in separate primary schools was reduced to 61.5 per cent and by 1959-60, it had gone down still further to 18.8 per cent. At the middle school stage, 80 per cent of the total girls enrolled were reading in separate schools in 1901-02. By 1959-60, however, this proportion had fallen to 33.2 per cent. It will thus be seen that co-education has been accepted, by and large, at the primary stage, and that it will not be long before it can be universally adopted. At the middle school stage, the demand for separate schools is obviously greater and stronger. But even here, the trend is clearly in the direction of a greater acceptance of co-education. As a system of co-education at the elementary stage is the best way to provide equality of educational opportunity to girls, it should be adopted as the general policy at the elementary stage with, probably one exception; wherever possible, separate middle schools may be provided for the daughters of parents who have a conscientious objection to co-education at this stage.

The main weakness in the present system is that the existing mixed schools at the primary and middle stages are not properly organized. It is this lack of proper organization from the point of view of girls that indirectly strengthens the demand for separate schools. If difficulties of this type could be overcome, if all mixed primary and middle schools were to have a mixed staff, and if special steps were taken to see that the educational and emotional needs of girls attending mixed schools are properly taken care of, the demand for separate schools would be considerably reduced. Improvement of the existing mixed schools on these lines,

therefore, would be the most effective method of popularising co-education.

Women Teachers: By far, the most important programme for increasing the enrolment of girls would be to provide women teachers. It is now universally agreed that women make better teachers than men at the primary stage. Even in the interests of the education of boys, therefore, it is necessary to increase the proportion of women teachers in primary schools. We should look forward to the day when, as in the advanced countries of the West, the profession of primary teachers would be very largely taken up by women. At the middle school stage, a mixed staff of men and women teachers is needed; but even here it is necessary to increase the proportion of women teachers to half or even more.

While this thesis is generally accepted, the number of women teachers is still very small. In primary schools, the total number of teachers in 1959-60 was 731,474 of which only 125,184 or 17 per cent were women. In the middle schools, the total number of teachers in the same year was 292,132 of which only 70,024 or 24 per cent were women. This shows that we have yet a long way to go.

Two reasons are responsible for this low proportion of women teachers. In certain areas, qualified women teachers are available. But the recruitment policies are not favourable to their selection and men teachers still continue to be appointed in larger numbers in primary and middle schools. What is needed in such cases is a change of policy. It should be laid down that a certain proportion of women teachers should be appointed every year so that their number in the total cadre of teachers would increase rapidly. Such areas, however, are few. By and large, it may be said that the number of women teachers is small for the simple reason that qualified women teachers are not available. This is a situation which has to be faced in most rural areas and in the less advanced states. Steps have, therefore, to be taken to increase the output of women teachers. The first and probably the most important is to enlarge the pool of girls under instruction at the middle and secondary stages. Special facilities such as hostels and stipends would need to be considerably increased, particularly for those who indicate their desire to enter the teaching profession on

completing their education. The number of training schools for women teachers has also to be increased and they should be provided stipends in adequate amounts to undergo training for the teaching profession.

As stated earlier, qualified women teachers are available in urban areas and it is in rural areas that their shortage is acutely felt. This problem is being tackled on two fronts. The first is to provide inducement and facilities to the urban girls to go to work in rural areas. For this purpose, village allowances are provided in some states, and quarters for women teachers are being constructed in others. The difficulties of a rural life, however, are so great for an urban girl that it is not possible to induce her to go and work in rural areas, even with such inducement and facilities. That is why the problem is being tackled on a second front and a programme is being devised to train up rural women as teachers. For this purpose, selected rural girls are induced to continue their education at the middle and secondary stages through grant of scholarships and stipends.

The Central Social Welfare Board has started a programme of condensed courses for adult women under which women, who had left their education incomplete in childhood but who are now prepared to complete it and work as teachers, are prepared for the middle school or matriculation examination in a period which varies from 2 to 3 years. This scheme has been very successful and it is providing, in the shortest time possible, a group of mature women to work in rural areas, not only as teachers, but in several other capacities as *Dais*, midwives, health visitors, family-planning social workers, etc. The ultimate solution of the problem obviously lies in this endeavour to train up rural girls as qualified teachers.

If it is not possible to provide women teachers in sufficient number, it has been suggested that a programme of appointing school mothers may be taken up. A school mother is generally a local woman, mature and understanding, who looks after the welfare of the girls attending elementary school. Not being qualified, she does not work as a teacher, but her presence on the school staff assists in making the girls feel at home in school. Good results have been obtained through the appointment of school mothers in West Bengal and Rajasthan.

Inducements

Yet another programme for expanding the education of girls is directed to overcoming the handicaps of poverty or household work. If free books and educational materials, clothing and school meals are supplied to all needy girls, the attendance will increase very substantially. It has also been suggested that primary schools should have crèches attached to them so that girls, many of whom have to look after younger children, can leave their charges there while attending to their own studies. On account of its cost, this programme has not been tried out on a large scale. But where it was tried as an experimental measure, as in the Vikasvade conducted by Smt. Tarabai Modak, the results were very good. The grant of attendance scholarships, preferably in kind, is also of help and has been tried with success.

School Facilities

As stated earlier, girls are unwilling to walk long distances to attend primary or middle schools. Attempts should, therefore, be made to provide primary and middle schools within easy accessible distance from the home of every child.

Allowances to Teachers

If intensive propaganda is to be done in rural areas and among the poorer sections of society for popularising the education of girls, steps will have to be taken to create a suitable agency for the purpose. One way would be to enlist non-official workers, particularly women. We might appoint committees of non-officials at the district level and the block level and their members may move about for this propaganda. Where a system of village school committees exists, local women who are interested in education may be appointed as members and charged with the special responsibility of popularising girls' education. In the cadre of inspecting officers, a fair number of seats should be reserved for women and both men and women inspecting officers may be required, as part of their duties, to carry on propaganda in favour of girls' education.

It has also been suggested that attendance allowance may be given to teachers working in a school on the basis of the total

enrolment of girls in that school. All said and done, it is the teachers in the school who come most intimately in contact with the parents. If a monetary interest is created for the teachers in bringing more girls to schools, they would certainly exert their utmost to educate the parents and to persuade them to send their daughters to school. This programme would not be very costly and may be a useful method of increasing the enrolment of girls in rural areas.

Curricula and Textbooks

In the early days, public opinion demanded almost a watertight system of education for girls with separate schools, women teachers and separate curricula and textbooks. With the passage of time, this demand in its extreme form is no longer operative. Co-education is receiving acceptance and it is now realized that, in the interests of maintaining standards, boys and girls should study the same curricula and use the same textbooks at the elementary stage. There is, however, a feeling and not without grounds, that the existing textbooks and school programmes are not sufficiently attractive to girls. There is need for textbooks and illustrations to be so prepared that they reflect the activities and interests of both girls and boys. Much greater emphasis has to be given in the textbook and in the whole school programme to developing in boys and girls proper attitudes towards each other.

Less Advanced States

It was pointed out earlier that the problem of the elementary education of girls is acute in the six less advanced states of Bihar, Jammu & Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. The total population of these six states is 44.26 per cent of the total population of India (1961 census). At the primary stage, it has been estimated that, at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, these six states alone will have 7.489 millions of non-attending girls (which is about 63 per cent of the total of 11.872 millions of non-attending girls in this age-group in the country as a whole). Of these, Uttar Pradesh alone will have 3.042 millions, Bihar 1.486 millions, Madhya Pradesh 1.305 millions, Rajasthan .759 million, Orissa .706 million and Jammu & Kashmir .191 million. It may,

therefore, be concluded that about two-thirds of the total problem of enrolling girls in the age-group 6-11 is in these six states only.

At the middle school stage, the less advanced states are still at a disadvantage, although the difference between them and the advanced states is not so conspicuous as at the primary stage. At the end of the Third Plan, the total number of non-attending girls in the age-group 11-14 in the country as a whole would be 13.759 millions. Of these, as many as 6.577 millions, or 47.8 per cent of the non-attending girls in the country as a whole, would be in these six states alone. Of these, there would be 2.531 millions in Uttar Pradesh, 1.533 millions in Bihar, 1.101 millions in Madhya Pradesh, .671 million in Rajasthan, .609 million in Orissa and .125 million in Jammu & Kashmir. The less advanced states thus have a larger backlog to carry, even in this age-group.

These states have, therefore, a much larger effort to put in if all the non-attending girls are to be enrolled within a specified time. They will also have to invest a much larger amount in this programme than the advanced states. They find it difficult to do so, partly because their resources are limited (their backwardness is not limited to elementary education alone), and partly because there are equally competing demands from other sectors. The problem, therefore, appears to be almost insoluble, unless some form of a special central assistance could be made available to them.

The National Council of Women's Education made a careful study of this problem and suggested that special central assistance should be made available to all states until 80 per cent of the girls in the age-group 6-11 are enrolled. The amount of the assistance should be calculated partly on the basis of non-attending girls in this age-group and partly on the basis of the girls of the same age-group actually enrolled in schools. For instance, 75 per cent of the funds available may be distributed to the states on the basis of 'non-attending girls' and 25 per cent on the basis of 'girls enrolled'. There would thus be substantial assistance to the less advanced states and the advanced states also will get some credit for the effort they have already put in.

Whatever the ultimate solution of the problem may be, one thing is certain: the education of girls in the less advanced states

will not make rapid progress and the problem of universal education will not be quickly and satisfactorily solved unless some form of special assistance from central funds is made available to them to clear off their backlog. This is a major problem for central assistance during the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans.

The Role of the Centre

The National Committee on Women's Education has rightly pointed out that the programme of universal elementary education becomes almost identical with that of expanding the education of girls. It, therefore, recommended that the education of women be regarded as a major and special problem in education for a good many years to come, and that a bold and determined effort be made to face its difficulties and to close the existing gap between the education of men and women in as short a time as possible. It also suggested that the highest priority should be given to the programmes of expanding the elementary education of girls and that the funds required for the purpose should be considered to be the first charge on the sums set aside for educational development. Since such a major national policy in planning can only be determined by the Centre, the Committee made the following significant recommendations to implement this suggestion:

The problem of the education of women is so vital and of such great national significance that it is absolutely necessary for the Centre to assume more responsibility for its rapid development. This responsibility will be three-fold:

- (i) It should be a responsibility of the Centre to see that parity between the education of boys and girls is reached as early as possible, and also to see that the education of girls and women is developed evenly in all parts of the country ;
- (ii) The Centre should prescribe targets to be attained and also guide the states in preparing comprehensive development plans for the education of girls and women in their areas ;
- (iii) The Centre should assist the states financially in implementing the approved plans.

This recommendation has been opposed in certain quarters on the ground that education is a state subject and that the net effect of this recommendation would be to transfer responsibility for the elementary education of girls from the states to the Centre. A little closer analysis will show that this criticism is not quite justified. Under article 46 of the Constitution, the Centre has a responsibility

for the weaker sections of the people. Women definitely constitute a 'weaker section' and are thus entitled to claim some measure of central assistance as a matter of right. Besides, the Union Government has a responsibility to see that an equitable standard of social service is maintained in all parts of the country and that equal educational opportunity is provided in all areas. It would, therefore, be quite in order to suggest that the Centre should assume special responsibility for the education of girls, just as it has assumed a large measure of responsibility for the education of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

A Challenge and an Opportunity

The education of girls is even more important than that of boys because 'to educate a man is to educate an individual, while to educate a woman is to educate a whole family'. This unique significance of the problem and its immense magnitude as shown in the opening paragraphs, make the universalisation of elementary education of girls a great challenge for us all. Like all other sectors of education, it will need a much larger allocation of funds for its development; but this is a sector where money is of less importance than devoted social work. The education of girls will not advance by providing funds or constructing buildings or supplying equipment, though all these programmes are essential. It needs the creation of a devoted band of competent women teachers who are willing to work in rural areas. It implies the re-education of men: the changing of attitudes of millions of illiterate men and making them appreciate the basic equality of women and the need to play fair with them by providing equality of educational opportunity to boys and girls. It also means the awakening of millions of women to a keener awareness of their own selves and of the need to seek a larger way of life through education. In this sector, therefore, these psychological and social changes are of far greater significance than financial outlays, and they can be brought about only through the work of inspired and devoted individuals, men and women.

Education of the Backward Classes

From the social and economic point of view, the education of the backward classes stands next in order of importance to that of girls and women, and unless its problems are squarely faced and satisfactorily solved, it will not be possible to provide universal elementary education. The term 'backward classes' includes scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, denotified tribes, nomadic tribes and other backward classes. Of these, the 'scheduled castes' include all those castes amongst Hindus which were traditionally regarded as 'untouchable'. The 'scheduled tribes' include all the aboriginal and hill tribes of India. The 'denotified' tribes are those which, prior to independence, were designated as 'criminal tribes' because most of them indulged in anti-social activities as a way of life. The 'nomadic tribes' are those which have no permanent home and which roam in the country from one area to another in search of food or employment. The 'other backward classes' are a group of miscellaneous castes which are economically poor and socially and culturally backward for some reason or the other. The delimitation of this group varies from state to state and is a little amorphous. It is, therefore, proposed to exclude it from this study and to discuss only the problems of elementary education of the other groups.

I. The Scheduled Castes

The scheduled castes, according to the census of 1961, numbered about 64.5 millions or 14.7 per cent of the total population of the country. Having been regarded as 'untouchables' for centuries, they were socially segregated and denied all opportunities of education. Consequently, they became the poorest and the most backward group in society. In the system of indigenous education, which prevailed in the country at the beginning of the nineteenth century, no pupils from these castes were found to be attending schools. Their social amelioration and educational advance are

thus an essentially modern phenomenon due to the renaissance in Hindu society which came in the wake of its contact with the West.

Government Schools are Thrown Open to the Scheduled Castes (1858): Perhaps the first and the most crucial step taken in the education of the scheduled castes was to throw the Government schools open to them. The earlier official schools established by the British Government did not admit the children of scheduled castes because the policy of Government was to educate only the upper classes, and culture was supposed to 'filter down' from them to the lower classes. Moreover, if any such children were admitted, the upper classes, who were the only school-minded classes of the day, would have boycotted the schools completely. Even the teachers, who were mostly Brahmins, would have refused to teach the scheduled caste children. Government was unwilling to fight such prejudices on grounds of religious neutrality. The scheduled caste pupils, therefore, received their first education in the mission schools, but these were few and far between and the problem of their education could not have been solved except by admitting them to Government schools.

The battle to throw the Government schools open to the children of the scheduled castes had, therefore, to be fought and won as the first landmark in the education of this unhappy social group. The honour of fighting it goes to an unknown Harijan of Dharwar who, as early as 1856, applied for admission of his son to the local government school. His application was not granted. The matter, however, was sent up to the Government of India and even to the Court of Directors who ultimately decided that the educational institutions of Government must be open to all classes and communities. The story of this historic fight is thus narrated by the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, in his Report for 1856-57:

The only case as yet brought before Government in which the question as to admission of pupils of the lowest castes into Government schools has been raised, was that of a Mahar boy, on whose behalf a petition was submitted to the Government in June 1856, complaining that, though willing to pay the usual schooling fee, he had been denied admission to the Dharwar Government school. On this occasion, Government felt that great practical difficulty attended the adjudication of a question in which was involved the general feeling of the mass of natives for whose enlightenment, to the greatest possible extent, the Government Educational Department has been established; and it

was decided, though (as will appear from the Resolution passed at that time) with some hesitation, that it would not be right for the sake of a single individual, the only Mahar who had ever yet come forward to beg for admission into a school attended only by pupils of caste, to force him into association with them, at the probable risk of making the institution practically useless to the great mass of natives.

These proceedings of the Government were noticed, in the following terms, by the Government of India in their letter No. 111, dated 23rd January, 1857:

It appears that a boy of the Mahar caste applied for admission to the Government school at Dharwar, and was rejected on the ground of caste, and on that alone. Having appealed in vain to the authorities in the Education Department, he petitioned the Government. The Government referred his petition to the Director for report; and Mr. Erskine, though admitting that the petitioner has reason and justice on his side, begged that the practical question might not be pushed to a decision immediately, being apprehensive that the admission of low caste boys to the Government schools might do more harm than good. The Government acquiesced in the Director's views, and informed the petitioner that they could not at present interfere in his behalf. The Governor-General in Council thinks it very probable that the Bombay Government have acted wisely in this matter; but he desires me to say that the boy would not have been refused admission to any Government school in the Presidency of Bengal.

The matter did not rest here. In its letter of the 20th of May, 1857, the Government of India submitted the entire correspondence on the subject to the Court of Directors, who passed the following orders in their Despatch No. 58, dated the 28th of April, 1958:

The educational institutions of Government are intended by us to be open to all classes, and we cannot depart from a principle which is essentially sound, and the maintenance of which is of the first importance. It is not impossible that, in some cases, the enforcement of the principle may be followed by a withdrawal of a portion of the scholars; but it is sufficient to remark that those persons who object to its practical enforcement will be at liberty to withhold their contributions and apply their funds to the formation of schools on a different basis.

Developments Between 1858 and 1921: On receipt of these orders, all the Education Departments in India adopted a rule to the effect that children from the scheduled castes shall be admitted to all government schools. It was not, however, immediately practicable to enforce it rigorously and several cases are on record where the entire school was deserted because of admission of a scheduled caste student. In order to meet these difficulties, two methods were usually adopted: (1) separate

government schools for the scheduled caste children were established, wherever possible ; and (2) special encouragement was given to missionary institutions to undertake the education of the scheduled castes. But the progress was very slow and the Indian Education Commission found, in 1881-82, that the education of the scheduled castes was almost totally neglected. It, therefore, examined the problem in some detail and made two recommendations: (i) the establishment of special schools or classes for children of scheduled castes should be liberally encouraged in places where there are a sufficient number of such children to form separate schools or classes and/or where the schools maintained from public funds do not sufficiently provide for their education ; and (ii) every institution, maintained by or receiving aid from public funds, whether provincial, municipal or local, should not refuse admission to a child of the scheduled castes on the ground of caste alone. The second of these recommendations is important, mainly because it threw open aided schools also to the scheduled castes. This was a great step ahead, especially as most of the secondary and higher education was provided by private enterprise. Both these recommendations were accepted by Government with the result that there was much better progress in the education of the scheduled castes in subsequent years.

Between 1882 and 1921, the Education Departments tried to promote the education of the scheduled castes in two ways. The first of these was to continue and to expand the old practice of establishing separate schools for the scheduled castes. These were generally established, either in the scheduled castes' localities or very near to them. In the initial stages, teachers could only be found with great difficulty because the caste Hindus, as a rule, were not prepared to work in these institutions. But very soon, the scheduled caste boys were assisted, through scholarships and stipends, to complete their middle school education and to become teachers. At a time when the traditional prejudices about untouchability were very strong, this method served a very useful purpose of bringing education to the scheduled castes. But it did very little to cut down the rigours of untouchability. Moreover, it did not make much headway because, in spite of all that could be done, the number of separate schools organized for the scheduled castes

was very small, mainly because the availability of teachers was limited.

A more common method now adopted to educate them, however, was to admit the scheduled caste children to the common schools. But since untouchability was still strong, and it was no responsibility of an 'alien' Government to fight for its eradication, several uneducational practices were permitted or connived at. For instance, the scheduled caste children generally sat apart and did not mix with other children. If the school happened to be held in a temple, they were compelled to sit outside. Very often, even the teachers refused to touch them and when the need to punish them arose, they were usually required to punish each other in accordance with the directives of the teacher. The Department connived at such practices and even the school regulations merely provided that the scheduled caste children should have 'due protection from the sun, wind and rain' and should receive 'an adequate share of the instruction provided by the school'. In spite of these difficulties, however, the desire for education among the scheduled castes began to grow and the number of children attending common schools continually increased. The following statistics of 1921-22 show the enrolment of scheduled castes at different stages of education:

TABLE 31: ENROLMENT OF SCHEDULED CASTES (1921-22)

	Total enrolment of all communities		Enrolment from scheduled castes		Percentage of scheduled castes to total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
College Stage ..	57,610	1,227	322	2	0.5	0.2
High Stage ..	212,788	5,818	2,892	40	1.3	0.7
Middle Stage ..	410,255	24,555	7,082	454	1.7	1.8
Upper Primary Stage ..	495,784	50,682	16,479	1,206	3.3	2.4
Lower Primary Stage ..	5,103,720	1,246,961	429,981	64,587	8.4	5.2
Special Schools ..	121,140	11,599	2,105	566	1.7	4.9
Private Institutions	561,545	77,580	11,017	1,521	1.9	1.9
GRAND TOTAL ..	6,962,842	1,418,422	469,878	68,376	6.7	4.8

The scheduled caste population was about 15 per cent of the total population of India at this period. The above statistics will, therefore, show how underdeveloped the education of the scheduled castes was at this period. Even at the lower primary stage, where about 90 per cent of the scheduled caste children were enrolled, the proportion of their enrolment to the total was only 8.4 per cent for boys and 5.2 per cent for girls. Owing to poverty and failure to appreciate the advantages of education, the extent of wastage was extremely large and the enrolment of pupils fell very sharply at each succeeding stage. The enrolment at the secondary and collegiate stages was extremely poor, particularly amongst girls. In spite of these meagre enrolments and the large prevalence of wastage, however, it may be said that the education of the scheduled castes made a fair beginning by 1921-22.

Developments between 1921 and 1961: A new era in the history of the education of the scheduled castes began with the transfer of education to Indian control in 1921. It was now realized that the problem of the social amelioration and education of the scheduled castes was inextricably bound up with the abolition of untouchability and that an attempt had to be made to abolish untouchability itself if the education of these castes was to be placed on a proper footing. The policy of religious neutrality which had prevented the British Government from attacking the problem on this bold front did not bind the Indian Ministers of Education. They, therefore, initiated a new policy which led to a much faster tempo of development.

The cardinal principle of this new policy was to abolish all distinctions of caste and creed in elementary schools. On the one hand, the earlier policy of encouraging separate schools was abandoned. Experience had shown that these schools tended to increase segregation and that they were not particularly efficient. It was also very difficult to obtain suitable teachers for them. Moreover, a large majority of the scheduled caste students was already reading in mixed schools and the separate schools had come to occupy a minor role in the programme. Between 1921 and 1947, therefore, separate schools for the scheduled castes were gradually reduced. On the other hand, more vigorous attempts were made to assimilate the scheduled caste students with others in the

common elementary schools. Teachers were forbidden to practise untouchability in schools and it was laid down that all students of the elementary schools, irrespective of caste, should mix together freely and share the schools' programme of curricular and co-curricular activities in common. Scheduled caste teachers were appointed in increasing numbers in the mixed schools to tone down the rigours of untouchability still further. The common elementary schools were also encouraged to enrol more and more of scheduled caste students and, wherever possible, they were also brought under the compulsory education laws. These administrative decisions were fundamentally sound; but they made slow progress, mainly because public opinion had not been sufficiently changed to accept them. What was needed was a great social movement for the abolition of untouchability because it is only against such a background that educational reforms of the above type could be successful.

This social and moral leadership was provided by Mahatma Gandhi, and his crusade against untouchability is one of his greatest contributions to the development of modern India. He went on a whirlwind tour of the entire country to preach the abolition of untouchability. 'I would rather see Hinduism die', he said, 'than untouchability live.' At this instance, thousands of temples were thrown open to the scheduled castes; they were allowed to draw water from common wells; public facilities like restaurants were thrown open to them on terms of equality; and the Hindu community as a whole was made to strive hard to abolish the evil. These efforts were further strengthened by the work done by great leaders of the scheduled castes themselves among whom mention may be made of the late Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. After assumption of office by the Congress under the provincial autonomy, several states passed laws making the observance of untouchability an offence. When the Constitution was adopted in 1950, this principle was generalised and Article 17 of the Constitution declared that 'untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law.' All this legislation and the continuous activity of national leaders to educate public opinion has had tremendous effect and untouch-

ability may now be said to have almost disappeared, except to a certain extent in some rural areas. Needless to say, it was this direct campaign for the liquidation of untouchability that created the necessary social background for the proper development of the education of the scheduled castes.

Simultaneously, programmes for expanding their education were also taken in hand. Free education was provided for them at all stages of education. A large number of scholarships were instituted to enable the scheduled caste students to avail themselves of middle, secondary and higher education. Hostels were set up in all parts of the country and scheduled caste students were provided with free board and lodging to enable them to pursue their studies at the secondary and higher stages. Grants-in-aid for purchase of clothes, books and educational materials were also made available. Jobs under the Government were reserved for the educated young men and women from the scheduled castes. Since 1945, liberal scholarships have been provided for all scheduled caste students to study at the university stage. As a result of these measures, the education of the scheduled castes progressed immensely between 1921 and 1961, the tempo of expansion increasing markedly after 1937 and still further after 1947. The latest available statistics for the education of the scheduled castes are for 1960-61 and these have been summarised in Table 32.

The proportion of scheduled caste population varies considerably from state to state—it is only 5.6 per cent in Maharashtra as against 20.9 per cent in Uttar Pradesh, the average for the whole of India being 14.7 per cent. In Maharashtra (and this applies to Gujarat also), the New Buddha movement has led to large-scale conversions of scheduled castes to Buddhism and consequently, the proportion of scheduled castes in the total population has fallen.

The progress of primary education also varies considerably from state to state. For our purpose, however, it would be enough to compare the progress of the scheduled castes with that of the total population in the state and this has been done in columns 4, 6 and 8 of Table 32 by comparing the enrolments of the scheduled caste children in primary, middle and elementary schools with corresponding enrolments for the total population. It will be seen therefrom that the advance made by the scheduled castes in

TABLE 32: ENROLMENT OF SCHEDULED CASTES (1960-61)

State	Proportion of scheduled castes to total population (%)	Enrolment of scheduled castes in					
		primary schools		middle schools		Total	
		Enrol- ment	% to total	Enrol- ment	% to total	Enrol- ment	% to total
Andhra Pradesh	13.8	4,28,119	16.0	32,325	9.2	4,60,444	15.2
Bihar ..	14.1	2,66,396	9.8	61,423	7.6	3,27,819	9.3
Gujarat ..	5.7	43,379	6.1	1,04,234	6.8	1,47,613	6.6
Kerala ..	8.4	1,96,212	10.9	65,235	8.5	2,61,447	10.2
Madhya Pradesh	13.1	1,57,087	9.3	39,446	8.1	1,96,533	9.1
Madras ..	18.0	4,24,175	17.0	1,29,037	11.6	5,53,212	15.3
Maharashtra ..	5.6	1,78,086	10.0	2,48,196	10.2	4,26,282	10.1
Mysore ..	13.2	1,34,326	10.5	73,305	6.3	2,07,631	8.5
Punjab ..	20.4	1,22,004	12.3	29,297	9.2	1,51,301	11.6
Rajasthan ..	16.7	38,659	4.4	11,248	3.6	49,907	4.2
Uttar Pradesh ..	20.9	5,65,822	14.3	67,197	12.2	6,33,019	14.0
West Bengal ..	19.9	4,59,803	17.4	27,490	12.2	4,87,293	17.0

primary education exceeds that of the total population in Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Kerala and Maharashtra. The gap in the enrolment of the scheduled castes and the total population is not wide in Madras or West Bengal. But it is wide enough to be serious in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and particularly in Rajasthan. It may, therefore, be concluded that in some states, such as Gujarat or Kerala, the children of scheduled castes attend primary schools to the same (or even greater) extent as the total population; that in most of the states, the scheduled castes are behind the total population in primary education, but the gap is not very wide; and that in a few areas, such as Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh or Punjab, the gap between the scheduled castes and the total population is still disturbingly wide and intensive efforts to bridge it quickly are indicated.

At the middle school stage, the picture is slightly different. It may be mentioned here that, in these statistics, the enrolment in middle schools also includes that in the primary departments attached to them. In Maharashtra and Gujarat, every middle school has primary departments (with generally large enrolments) so that the total enrolment in middle schools appears to be even larger than that in primary schools. If these two cases are excluded, it will be seen that it is only in Kerala that the enrolment of the scheduled castes in middle schools is equal to that of the total population. In all other areas, the enrolment of scheduled castes in middle schools falls sharply and its proportion to total enrolment in middle schools is much lower than that of the scheduled caste population to total population. The obvious conclusion is that poverty prevents several scheduled caste children from continuing their education at the middle school stage, although they might have been enrolled in primary schools. It may be mentioned in passing that this drop becomes greater at the secondary stage and still greater at the collegiate stage.

Taking primary and middle schools together, it may be said that the scheduled castes, except in a few areas, are behind the total population in availing themselves of the facilities provided for elementary education. This handicap becomes more pronounced at the middle school stage. One hundred and sixty years ago, untouchability was the main cause for the educational backwardness of this group. But today, untouchability plays a very minor role and the main cause of the educational backwardness of the scheduled castes is poverty. The general measures for the spread of elementary education among the poorer classes of society such as provision of school meals, free supply of uniforms and textbooks, grant of attendance scholarships, etc., will largely cover the needs of the scheduled castes also. But special efforts will still be needed, especially in areas like Punjab, Uttar Pradesh or Rajasthan.

II. The Scheduled Tribes

The Dhebar Commission points out that the largest concentration of tribal people anywhere in the world, except perhaps in Africa, is in India. According to the 1961 census, the total population of the scheduled tribes was 29.88 millions or 6.8 per cent of the

total population of the country. Most of the tribal people are concentrated in 9 states—Madhya Pradesh (6.68 millions); Bihar (4.204 millions); Orissa (4.219 millions); Gujarat (2.75 millions); Rajasthan (2.38 millions); Assam (2.07 millions); Maharashtra (2.396 millions); West Bengal (2.06 millions); and Andhra Pradesh (1.32 millions). The number of the tribes is legion; but those which number more than .5 million include Gonds (3.2 millions); Santhals (2.73 millions); Bhils (2.33 millions); Oraons (1.12 millions); Khonds (.74 million); Mundal (.706 million); and Boro Kacharis (.594 million).*

Early Beginnings: The modern system of education in India may be said to have begun in 1813. For several years, however, very little was done to educate the scheduled tribes, mainly because their education presented very difficult problems. Most of the tribes lived in remote, inaccessible and forest areas. Their poverty was extreme. The villages in which they lived were generally small and widely separated from each other. There were no educated tribals who could be appointed as teachers and non-tribals usually had no knowledge of the tribal dialects and were reluctant to live in the difficult terrain occupied by the tribes. The immense variety of their dialects, none of which had a script, was another formidable obstacle. It is, therefore, no surprise if the Education Department did not turn their attention to the education of the scheduled tribes for a very long time.

A beginning in this sector, as in most others, was made by the missionaries who lived among the tribal people, studied their languages, wrote them down with the help of the Roman script, prepared grammars, dictionaries and literature in a number of tribal dialects, and carried on an ameliorative and educative programme meant for their uplift. When the Indian Education Commission examined the problem in 1882, the missionaries were the most significant, if not the sole, agency for spreading education amongst the scheduled tribes. In Bombay, the total number of scheduled tribes children was only 2,738 in all classes in schools. In Bengal and Assam, the total enrolment was 13,078 of whom 464 read in secondary schools, 195 in normal schools and 26 in industrial schools. In the Central Provinces, the total enrolment of scheduled

* The statistics relate to 1951 census.

tribes was 1,055, of whom only 7 were in schools. In other provinces, hardly any beginning had been recorded. The Commission, therefore, came to the conclusion that Government had failed to give education to the aboriginal races of India and that special measures were required to overcome the difficulties which surround the question'.*

The Indian Education Commission and After : The Indian Education Commission examined the problem of the education of scheduled tribes in some detail and made several recommendations. They suggested that tribal children might be exempted from payment of fees and also that additional grants might be given to private schools on account of the tribal children attending them. In view of the fact that the missionaries were doing very useful work for the education of the tribals, the Commission suggested that 'bodies willing to undertake the work of education among aboriginal tribes be liberally assisted on the basis of abstention from any interference with religious teaching'. They also recommended that educated tribals should, wherever possible, be appointed as teachers in special schools established within or on the border of the tribal areas.

The Commission also gave some attention to the development of tribal dialects. They were of the opinion that, in order to reach the minds of the tribals, it was necessary to teach them in their mother-tongue, and suggested that any tribal dialect which had independent vitality should be reduced to writing and utilized as the medium of instruction. They felt that a good deal could be achieved in this direction through private effort and recommended that Government should freely aid and cordially recognize the efforts made by missionaries or others to reduce the tribal dialects to writing and to compile their grammars and vocabularies. Where the dialect could not be reduced to writing or was otherwise unsuitable, the Commission suggested the adoption of the language of the neighbouring population as the medium of instruction. Where the tribals had already adopted an Indian language from the neighbouring population, the Commission was of the view that instruction should be given in the medium of such Indian language and that no attempt should be made to go back on a change which

* Report, p. 509.

was obviously beneficial. Where such a change was in process, the Commission suggested that the education of a tribal child should begin in his spoken dialect and gradually advance to the study of the Indian language which was in the course of adoption.

These recommendations of the Commission formed the basis of the policy underlying the subsequent development of tribal education in India till 1947. But on account of the difficult problems involved, the overall progress was very slow. For instance, the following statistics of the education of the scheduled tribes are available for 1901-02:

TABLE 33: STATISTICS OF THE EDUCATION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES

Province	No. of pupils	No. of literates per thousand	
		Males	Females
Madras	4,534	47	1
Bombay	7,663	105	2
Bengal	30,203	89	4
Central Provinces	2,980	40	2
Assam	16,094	89	13
Berar	296	18	2

In respect of these, the Quinquennial Review of the progress of education in India, 1897-1902, observes:

Unsatisfactory as these figures are, they would be far worse but for the education given in the mission schools. It is among the aboriginal races that the missionaries have found the most fruitful field for their labours, and numerous mission societies send their agents to dwell among the homes of these wild tribes, where they supply an educational organization, which it would not be possible to create in any other manner. Chhota Nagpur, the Santhal Parganas, Madras, and the hills of Burma and Assam are the localities which have formed the chief theatre of mission labour.*

The latest statistics available for the pre-independence period are those for 1936-37. In that year, Madras had 15,603 tribal children reading in all classes of institutions. In Bombay, the number stood

* Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in India (1897-1902), p. 384.

at 29,105 of whom 1 was in college, 86 in secondary schools, 10 in training institutions, 340 in special schools and 28,668 in primary schools. Besides, 333 tribal teachers were working in the schools. The statistics of Bengal are not available ; but it was reported that excellent work was being done by several mission organizations. In Bihar, the total enrolment of the tribal children was 82,733 of whom 14,564 were girls. In the Central Provinces, the total enrolment was 25,597 of whom 3 were in arts colleges and 48 in high schools. In Assam, the total enrolment in secondary schools was 6,827 and that in primary schools, 34,097. In Orissa, the total enrolment was 18,675 of whom 1,614 were girls. Of these, 5 were in the collegiate stage, 256 in the secondary stage and 18,140 in the primary stage. Compared to the large population of the tribal people, these enrolments must be regarded as very disappointing. On the eve of the attainment of independence, therefore, it may be said that very little had been done to develop education among the scheduled tribes. It was only in Assam that good results had been obtained, mainly owing to the work of the missionaries. In the rest of India only a beginning had been made.

The Post-Independence Period : It was only after 1947 that determined efforts began to be made to ameliorate the social and economic conditions of the scheduled tribes, and as a part of this broader programme, to develop the education of the tribals. During the First Five-Year Plan, the State Governments spent an amount of 51 millions for the pre-matric education of the tribals, in addition to the award of scholarships made by the Government of India to all scheduled tribe students reading at the university stage. The main achievements of this plan were: (1) the establishment of 4,000 schools in tribal areas ; (2) the opening of about 650 Sanskar Kendras, Balwadis and community centres ; and (3) the grant of financial assistance to 450,000 tribal students by way of scholarships, grants for books, hostel fees, etc. During the Second Plan, the total expenditure on the education of scheduled tribes increased to Rs. 72.3 millions (excluding the scholarships provided by the Government of India). The main achievements of this Plan were the opening of 3,187 schools, 398 hostels and the award of scholarships and other concessions to about 300,000 tribal students. It may also be mentioned that in 1948-49 the number of post-matriculation

scholarships awarded by the Government of India was only 84 (at a total cost of Rs 45,986). In 1960-61, their number rose to 6,877 (at a total cost of Rs. 3,095,814).

In spite of these efforts and this unprecedented advance, the overall situation is still far from satisfactory. The latest available statistics for the education of the scheduled tribes are those for 1960-61 and these have been briefly summarised below:

TABLE 34: ENROLMENT OF SCHEDULED TRIBES (1960-61)

	Proportion of scheduled tribes to total population	Enrolment of scheduled tribes					
		Primary schools		Middle schools		Elementary stage	
		Enrol- ment	% to total	Enrol- ment	% to total	Enrol- ment	% to total
Andhra Pradesh	3.7	61,694	2.3	2,383	0.8	64,077	2.1
Bihar ..	9.1	235,584	8.7	60,113	7.4	295,697	8.4
Gujarat ..	13.3	87,935	12.4	114,523	7.5	202,458	9.0
Kerala ..	1.2	9,839	0.5	3,355	0.4	13,194	0.5
Madhya Pradesh	20.6	207,189	12.3	31,627	6.5	238,816	11.0
Madras ..	0.7	12,268	0.5	1,353	0.1	13,621	0.4
Maharashtra ..	6.1	117,524	6.6	53,350	2.2	170,874	4.1
Mysore ..	0.8	9,157	0.7	8,173	0.7	17,330	0.7
Punjab ..	0.1	1,036	0.1	417	0.1	1,453	0.1
Rajasthan ..	11.5	19,901	2.3	2,781	0.9	22,682	1.9
West Bengal ..	5.9	92,657	3.5	7,246	3.2	99,903	3.5

As in the case of the scheduled castes, the population of scheduled tribes also varies greatly from state to state. It is unfortunate that statistics from Assam and Orissa, which have large concentrations of scheduled tribes, are not available. But the general trend in the country can still be seen from the statistics of the 11 states which have been given in the preceding table.

At the primary stage, the enrolment of scheduled tribes is generally lower than that of the total population. The difference

between the two is not wide in Bihar, Gujarat, Madras and Mysore ; and in Maharashtra, the proportion of the enrolment of tribal children is a little higher than the proportion of scheduled tribes population to the total. In the remaining areas, such as Madhya Pradesh or West Bengal, the gap between education of scheduled tribes and the total population is wide and the position appears to be serious in Rajasthan where the enrolment of scheduled tribes in primary schools is only 2.3 per cent while the scheduled tribes population is 11.5 per cent of the total population in the state.

At the middle school stage, the enrolment of scheduled tribes shows a sharp decline which is even sharper than that among the scheduled castes. Even in Maharashtra, where the enrolment in primary schools may be considered satisfactory, the enrolment of scheduled tribes in middle schools is far from satisfactory, and in Rajasthan, the enrolment of scheduled tribes in middle schools is only 0.9 per cent.

Taking the primary and the middle school stages together, therefore, it may be said that the elementary education of the scheduled tribes still presents a major problem and that, by and large, the enrolment of the scheduled tribes in primary and middle schools is much lower than that of the total population. The causes are mainly three: (1) lack of adequate educational facilities in the remote and inaccessible areas where these tribes generally live ; (2) poverty ; and (3) the failure to develop the major tribal languages adequately. The problem of the elementary education of scheduled tribes, therefore, will have to be given considerable emphasis and attention during the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans.

Recommendations of the Dhebar Commission : This problem, therefore, received the close attention of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission (Dhebar Commission) whose report was published in 1960-61. The Commission pointed out that it had not yet been possible to evolve the right type of education needed for tribal children and recommended that this problem should be examined by the Ministry of Education. In so far as the elementary stage was concerned, the Commission found that residential Ashram Schools, which were organized in the post-independence period for the education of tribal children, had proved very effective

and successful. In these schools, education is generally imparted up to the primary standard. They are mostly situated in the midst of hills and valleys in the tribal areas and thereby genuinely appeal to the scheduled tribes children who love hills and forests. They emphasize community life and provide a bias for agricultural work. They are not only schools and hostels, but also real cultural centres for the tribal children and have taken a lead in reviving and encouraging tribal dances, folk songs and festivals. At present there are 2 Ashram Schools in Andhra Pradesh, 1 in Kerala, 2 in Madhya Pradesh, 54 in Maharashtra and Gujarat, 151 in Orissa, 12 in Punjab, 21 in Rajasthan and 5 in Himachal Pradesh. There is no doubt that these institutions will continue to provide good educational service to the scheduled tribes.

The Commission also made a number of other useful recommendations regarding the development of elementary education among the scheduled tribes. These include:

(1) Where about 30 children of school going age are available in one locality, the primary school should not be located at a distance of more than one mile from the tribal dwellings. In no case should a child be required to walk for more than two miles to go to a school. The needs of widely scattered hamlets should be met by providing schools with hostels attached.

(2) In order to overcome the handicap of poverty from which the tribals suffer, adequate provision should be made for providing midday meals, clothing, free books and stationery to all tribal children in areas where education has not made sufficient headway.

(3) In all tribal schools, emphasis should be on a craft or technical bias.

(4) The school buildings should be kept clean and in good repair. They should be provided with adequate equipment.

(5) The teaching of drawing and art should be emphasized and the tribal children should be given full opportunity to satisfy their creative urges. Similarly, the teaching of folk songs, stories and riddles should not be ignored. Tribal games and archery as well as tribal music and dances should be organized as a part of the school curriculum.

(6) The teacher in the tribal areas must have a thorough

knowledge of tribal life and culture. He must speak the tribal language.

(7) Residential accommodation should be provided to teachers working in tribal areas and they should also be given additional allowances.

(8) Tribal boys and girls who pass the middle school should be trained as teachers and posted to schools in tribal areas.

(9) Training centres should be located in tribal areas so that non-tribal teachers become familiar with the surroundings in which they have to work.

The Commission laid particular emphasis on the development of the tribal languages and on their use as media of instruction at the primary stage. It suggested that, in the first two years of the school, lessons should be invariably given in the tribal dialects so as to make them understandable to the tribal children. Further, the Commission suggested that the major tribal languages should be utilized as media of instruction and that necessary textbooks should be prepared in them. 'If it has been possible for the NEFA Administration', said the Commission, 'to produce in five years well over a hundred textbooks in thirteen different languages, it should certainly be possible to have textbooks in Saora, Kui and Kondi. If it is possible for the same Administration to produce alphabet charts in Devanagari for several tribal languages, to prepare health posters for a dozen different tribes and to produce small books of folk tales and folk songs in the local tongues, it should be possible for any state to do so. In Assam, the mother-tongue is used in education up to quite a high standard and several of the main tribal languages are recognized for examination purposes by the University of Gauhati which has also recognized the Abor language used in NEFA. In Nagaland, while textbooks are lagging behind, the local languages are commonly used for instruction. The interest in their own tongue is vividly illustrated in the Mizo Hills where the Mizos buy several hundred rupees worth of books in their language every day of the year. Difficulties are admittedly great, but they can be overcome by sincere effort and imagination. There seems to be little understanding of what his own language means to a tribal. It is to him a vital element in his culture. He

feels at home in it and there is little doubt that by encouraging it we definitely assist the process of integration. Every tribal school also teaches the national and regional language from a certain standard onwards. Knowledge of these greater languages and even of English is of course essential. Simultaneously, the greater tribal languages should not be forgotten.'

These are very important recommendations and if action is taken on these lines, there is no doubt that the education of the tribal people will advance more rapidly.

Compulsory Education : The question of compulsory primary education for the tribal children is very often discussed. Some social workers are very enthusiastic in this regard and suggest that compulsory primary education should be immediately introduced in tribal areas. This view, however, is not shared, either by the Dhebar Commission or by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In the opinion of the Commissioner, the time is not yet ripe for the introduction of compulsory primary education in tribal areas and he feels that any hasty steps in implementing such legislation would do more harm than good. He has, therefore, suggested that, during the Third Five-Year Plan, emphasis should be laid on persuasion and propaganda and on creating the necessary background for the enforcement of compulsory primary education. He suggests the following measures for adoption:

- (1) A proper survey should be undertaken to find out the places where schools should be located and steps should be taken to prepare an adequate number of teachers to work among the tribal people.
- (2) Educational facilities should be adequately provided in all areas.
- (3) Schools with hostels may be established for those children of the scheduled tribes who live in inaccessible areas.
- (4) School hours and vacations should be adjusted according to the needs of the agricultural seasons in the locality.
- (5) School meals, free clothing and free books should be provided to encourage children to attend schools.

- (6) An annual census of children of school-going age should be held in each school area and teachers should be encouraged to develop contacts with the parents and to educate them on their responsibility towards their children.
- (7) Intensive propaganda in favour of compulsory primary education may be carried out and public opinion prepared for it.

When intensive work on these lines has been done for some years and the ground is adequately prepared, compulsory primary education may be introduced. Even then, the penal clauses of the law should not be over-emphasized because the levy of fines is likely to discourage parents and create a distaste for compulsory education. Moreover, it would be an advantage not to entrust the police officers with the enforcement of compulsory law and these powers may preferably be vested in the officers of the Education Department.

These suggestions of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been accepted by the Government of India and the State Governments and it is on these lines that elementary education among the tribal people is being developed at present.

III. Denotified Tribes

This group of people include a few tribes which, prior to 1950, were known as 'Criminal Tribes' because their hereditary occupation was thieving, in particular cattle-lifting and house-breaking. For obvious reasons, most of these tribes are nomadic.

Efforts at the education of these people began rather late. In this sector also, the lead was taken by the missions, particularly by the Salvation Army. Government began to show interest in the early decades of this century. A Criminal Tribes Act was passed in 1950, and Government was empowered to settle any 'notified' criminal tribe in a definite locality where attempts could be made to convert the settlers and the children into good citizens. Gradually settlements were established in most of the British Indian Provinces and compulsory education was provided for all children

in the settlements. In addition, boarding schools were established, wherever possible, for the children of these tribes. Grants were also made available to the missionaries or similar agencies which undertook the work of providing education for their children.

The most important policy decision taken in the post-independence period was to 'denotify' these tribes and to repeal the Criminal Tribes Act. It was felt that it would not be proper to call any group of persons as 'criminal' merely on the basis of birth. The ameliorative measures for the improvement of these tribes have, however, been continued and greatly intensified. The major programmes adopted at present include the training of adults in useful vocations and provision of education for the children, mainly through boarding schools.

IV. Nomadic Tribes

There are a few nomadic tribes in India. Their main problem, as in any other country, is that they have no permanent home and that they roam about in the country in search of livelihood. Their children have to move with the parents and cannot, therefore, attend schools. There are only two ways in which education can be provided to these children: (1) by establishing residential schools; or (2) by providing mobile schools which will move with the tribes.

Very little had been done for these people during the pre-independence period. But now some attention is being paid to solve their problems. Efforts are directed mainly to their settlement in fixed localities as this basic approach would solve all problems of education. However, the process is difficult and slow, and hence mobile schools are being established, as a transitional measure. Wherever possible, an enthusiastic teacher, preferably belonging to the tribes themselves, is selected and is required to move with the tribe and to provide education to the children. The progress, however, is rather slow.

In Jammu & Kashmir, the problem of nomadic tribes is of an appreciable size. Owing to climatic conditions, several tribes move up the mountains during summer and come down the valleys in winter. The only way to educate the children of these tribes is to provide mobile schools. At present the State Government conducts

53 mobile schools. The teacher is usually a person belonging to the tribe itself.

V. General

It will be seen from the foregoing discussion that, among all the backward classes in the society, numerically the most important are the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. In so far as the scheduled castes are concerned, however, the special problem of their education and social amelioration is much nearer solution. But the leeway to be made in the education of the scheduled tribes is still very great. In respect of the denotified and nomadic tribes, not much has been done so far ; but the problem is numerically very small.

Universal elementary education implies the provision of equality of educational opportunity for all. In order to reach this goal, the problems of educating the backward classes, some of which have been outlined above, will have to be faced squarely for the next 10-15 years.

CHAPTER 11

Other Special Problems of Expansion

I. Part-time Education

It is universally recognized that poverty is the most important single factor which reduces equality of opportunity at every stage of education, including the elementary. At present, children from rich or middle class families are almost fully enrolled in elementary schools. A large number of children from the poor classes have also been enrolled and it is only children from the very poor families of landless labourers or other economically handicapped groups that are mostly out of schools. It may be pointed out, however, that such non-enrolment is not the only result of poverty. Several poor children are enrolled in schools at the age of 6 or 7 when they are not able to work in or for their families. As soon as they become older, say, 9 or 10 years of age, they begin working at home or outside and are withdrawn from school. This leads to wastage, and it was pointed out in Chapter 9 that about 65 per cent of the wastage at the elementary stage is due mainly to poverty.

The Misrod Study: These general conclusions are borne out in an interesting recent study on 'the problems of elementary education in the area served by the Government Middle School, Misrod, District Sehore, Madhya Pradesh', conducted by the National Institute of Basic Education in July 1962. This study covered about 11 villages/habitations in all and included a total population of 391 boys and 314 girls in the age-group 6-14. It was found that only 59.8 per cent of the boys and 4.8 per cent of the girls in this age-group were enrolled in schools. The non-enrolment of girls is very large and the reason for it is obviously social rather than economic. But in so far as boys are concerned, it was found that their enrolment was directly proportional to the economic condition of the family. This will be seen from Table 35.

TABLE 35: BOYS IN THE AGE-GROUP 6-14 ATTENDING SCHOOLS
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ECONOMIC CONDITION

Per capita annual income in family	Age- group popu- lation	6-11 attend- ing school		Age- group popu- lation	11-14 attend- ing school		Age- group popu- lation	6-14 attending school	
		No.	%		No.	%		No.	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Rs.									
0 — 150	157	92	58.6	61	25	41.0	218	117	53.7
151 — 300	80	54	67.5	46	26	56.5	126	80	63.5
301 — 450	22	16	72.7	11	9	81.8	33	25	76.6
451 — 600	6	4	66.7	3	3	100.0	9	7	77.8
601 — and above	5	5	100.0	0	0	..	5	5	100.0
All groups	270	171	63.3	121	63	52.1	391	234	59.8

It will be seen that the enrolment (53.7 per cent) is the least in the lowest income group (less than Rs. 150 per head per year), that it increases continuously as the income per head increases and that in the income group of Rs. 601 or more per head per year, the enrolment is 100 per cent.

The following statistics show the relationship between enrolment of boys and their age:

TABLE 36: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ENROLMENT AND AGE

Age	Total no. of boys enumerated in the study	No. attending schools	Percentage of enrolment
6 — 7	72	36	50.0
7 — 8	59	36	61.0
8 — 9	51	36	70.6
9 — 10	40	30	75.0
10 — 11	48	33	68.7
11 — 12	33	21	63.7
12 — 13	46	27	58.7
13 — 14	42	15	35.7

It will be found that the enrolment is at its best in the age-groups 7-8, 8-9 and 9-10, where it rises continuously from 61.0 per cent in the age-group 7-8 to 75 per cent in the age-group 9-10. Then it begins to drop rather sharply and reaches 35.7 per cent in the age-group 13-14. These figures are slightly different from the all-India pattern of enrolment which is given below:

TABLE 37: ENROLMENT OF CHILDREN IN THE AGE-GROUP 6-14

Age	1951			1961		
	Total no. of children in the age-group (census)	No. of children in the age-group (enrolled)	Percentage of 3 to 2	Total no. of children in the age-group (estimated)	No. of children in the age-group (enrolled)	Percentage of 6 to 5
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6—7	93,10,800	32,09,554	34.47	1,08,36,062	51,30,118	47.34
7—8	91,00,200	33,72,332	37.06	1,05,95,972	57,75,987	54.51
8—9	88,92,200	32,31,117	36.34	1,03,47,879	52,96,689	51.19
9—10	86,86,600	28,19,517	42.46	1,01,15,792	46,61,211	46.08
10—11	84,83,100	24,09,667	28.41	98,75,702	39,03,505	39.53
11—12	82,84,500	19,26,635	23.26	96,43,615	30,69,573	31.83
12—13	80,88,600	14,82,705	18.33	94,19,531	24,14,655	25.64
13—14	78,96,200	11,11,766	14.08	91,95,447	18,38,256	20.00
TOTAL	6,87,42,200	1,95,63,293	28.46	8,00,30,000	3,20,89,994	40.10

It may be concluded, therefore, that the enrolment of children is at its best in the age-group 7-9 and that it begins to fall off from the age-group 9-10. It reaches the lowest level in the age-group 11-14, due obviously to economic reasons.

In the Misrod study, an attempt was made to find out what the non-attending children are actually doing with a view to ascertaining the methods which can bring them into schools. The

following two tables, which give the data separately for the age-groups 6-11 and 11-14, will be found interesting from this point of view:

TABLE 38: MANNER IN WHICH NON-ATTENDING BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE AGE-GROUP 6-11 SPENT THEIR TIME

S.No.	Major activity	Boys		Girls		Boys and Girls	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	doing nothing (except some casual work of a minor nature)	59	59.6	111	50.9	170	53.6
2.	domestic work and/or employment within family	20	20.2	103	47.2	123	38.8
3.	studying at home ..	11	11.1	3	1.4	14	4.4
4.	employment outside family	8	8.1	1	0.5	9	2.8
5.	confined to bed on account of bad health	1	1.0	0	0.0	1	.3
ALL ACTIVITIES (TOTAL) ..		99	100.0	218	100.0	317	100.0

TABLE 39: MANNER IN WHICH NON-ATTENDING BOYS AND GIRLS IN THE AGE-GROUP 11-14 SPENT THEIR TIME

S.No.	Major activity	Boys		Girls		Boys and Girls	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	doing nothing ..	6	10.3	13	16.0	19	13.7
2.	domestic work and/or employment within family	23	39.7	66	81.5	89	64.0
3.	studying at home ..	5	8.6	2	2.5	7	5.0
4.	employment outside family	24	41.4	0	0.0	24	17.3
ALL ACTIVITIES (TOTAL) ..		58	100.0	81	100.0	139	100.0

It will be seen from Table 38 that as many as 53.6 per cent of the non-attending children (59.6 per cent boys and 50.9 per cent girls) in the age-group 6-11 were doing nothing except some casual work of a minor nature and that about 38.8 per cent of them (20.2 per cent boys and 47.2 per cent of girls) were doing some domestic work or employment within the family. It may, therefore, be concluded that the vast majority of the non-attending children in the age-group 6-11 do not attend schools mainly because of the indifference of parents and that poverty, which compels the children to work at home, is only the second contributory cause of absenteeism at this stage. The girls are more useful at home and hence a very large proportion of them is engaged in domestic work.

The data in Table 39, however, are entirely different. They show that, in the age-group 11-14, as many as 64 per cent of the children (39.7 per cent boys and 81.5 per cent girls) are doing some domestic work within the family. In view of their age, the work that they are doing in the family is also generally significant and of a type from which it would be very difficult for the parents to spare them. Another 17.3 per cent of the children (41.4 per cent boys, 0.0 per cent girls) are employed outside the family and earning some money. In this age-group, therefore, the factor of poverty is of great importance and is the main contributory cause for absenteeism.

The Need for Part-time Education: The findings of this investigation have been quoted in detail in spite of its small sample because it is the most recent study available and also because they are broadly similar to other studies in this field. It may, therefore, be assumed that poverty is the main cause for the non-enrolment or withdrawal of children from schools in the age-group 11-14 and that it also makes a significant contribution to absenteeism in the age-group 6-11 although, at this stage, the indifference of parents is the primary factor leading to absenteeism.

The economic problems can be met, partly through provision of amenities, but mainly through the provision of facilities for part-time education. In the age-group 6-11, absenteeism due to poverty can be controlled by provision of school meals, free uniforms and free supply of textbooks. In deserving cases, even attendance scholarships might be instituted. But by and large, the provision of

part-time instruction may not be necessary at this stage, except in very hard cases in the age-group 9-11. On the other hand, in the age-group 11-14, absenteeism is mainly due to the fact that the children are either working at home or outside and are making an appreciable contribution, direct or indirect, to the family budget. Even the provision of amenities, as suggested above will not, therefore, be enough to meet the situation and the only way out would be, either to compensate the family for the loss of the earnings of the child (which would be financially impracticable), or to institute a system of part-time education under which the child can both work and learn.

It may also be stated that experience from other countries supports the need to provide part-time education at this stage, as a transitional measure, in the initial stages of the development of universal education. In England, for example, the first compulsory education law was passed as early as in 1870. But facilities for part-time education had to be provided, on economic grounds, for a fair number of children and were abolished only in 1918 when the general economic condition of the country improved. In any given society, a child, especially of poor parents, generally passes through three phases. The first phase is one of whole-time schooling and its duration depends upon the economic condition of society. This is followed by the second phase which is of part-time work and part-time schooling. This is finally followed by the third phase where the child, which has now become an adult, takes up full-time work. The present situation in India, for the vast majority of the poor children, is that the children can attend schools, on a full-time basis, in the age-group 6-11 only. They will have to attend schools on a part-time basis and also work part-time (in the home or in the family) in the age-group 11-14; and they can take up full-time work only after the age of 14. The provision of part-time education, especially in the age-group 11-14 becomes, therefore, absolutely essential during the next 10-15 years, if the children (especially girls) from the poorer families are to receive education.

Organization : The organization of part-time education (which may also be described as 'continuation education' or classes because it is a 'continuation' of the education at the primary stage) at the

middle school stage (classes VI-VIII) or broadly for the age-group 11-14 presents comparatively fewer problems.

The first step in the organization of such classes is to launch an intensive effort to reduce wastage, especially in classes VI-VIII. In every middle school, a register should be annually prepared of all children who have completed class V and who ought to have, but did not, join class VI for some reason or the other. An attempt should be made, by contacting the children themselves and their parents, to find out why these children are being withdrawn from schools. If it is discovered, as in most cases it would be, that they are being withdrawn because they cannot attend schools on a whole-time basis, they should be requested to continue their studies on a part-time basis and every effort should be made to provide a system of part-time education for them. The time which is suitable for attendance will have to be determined separately for each child and this will depend upon the nature of work the child is required to do. But by and large, it will generally be found that these children are free and can attend schools, for about two hours a day, either in the morning or in the afternoon or at night. The classes for part-time education should be arranged so as to make it possible for the largest number of children to take advantage of them. The preparation of such registers of children who are being withdrawn from schools in the age-group 11-14, the contacting of their parents and the making of necessary preliminary local studies to design the suitable times for continuation classes, should be the responsibility of the head teacher of every middle school who should be assisted, in this task, by all the assistant teachers.

The problem of buildings and equipment will not generally arise. The buildings and equipment of the existing primary and middle schools can be used, almost always, for the continuation classes, if there is no conflict between their timings and those of the day schools. Where such a conflict arises, and it may arise in a few cases, an alternative building will have to be found for the continuation classes. It would not ordinarily be difficult to do so and a temple or a *chaupal* would always be available for the purpose in rural areas. In urban areas, it may be necessary to hire a building ; but such cases would be very few. When a separate building has to be found for the continuation classes, some special

arrangements to provide the necessary equipment will also have to be made.

The recruitment of teachers would also not be difficult. In most cases, the teachers working in the day primary or middle schools would be able to conduct the continuation classes in addition to their duties and in return for a payment. It may be necessary to get an independent teacher for the continuation classes when there is a conflict in timings or when the teacher of the day school is not prepared to shoulder this additional responsibility. Such cases, however, would be very few and, if a reasonable remuneration is provided for this work, it may not at all be difficult to get teachers for the continuation classes.

The curriculum of the continuation classes will have to be planned with great care. It will have to follow the broad outline of the curriculum for classes VI-VIII for the day middle schools. But as the total time available would be limited, certain adjustments will have to be made. The time allotted for extra-curricular activities in the day schools will have to be very largely cut out. Similarly, emphasis will have to be laid on the core curriculum, i.e. on language, arithmetic and general information. Some pre-vocational instruction suited to the future needs of the child will also have to be introduced.

It would be desirable to keep the size of the classes in part-time education as small as practicable. As the total available time is limited, the teacher will have to give considerable individual attention to each pupil. This is possible only if the overall size of the class is restricted, say, to not more than 25 children in daily attendance or 30 on rolls.

The continuation classes should not charge any tuition fees and provision will also have to be made to supply books and writing materials free of charge. Whenever the classes are held at night, arrangements will also have to be made for lighting.

It would not be necessary to hold any public examinations at the end of the course of the part-time education. A majority of children attending these classes will pass out into various walks of life and they would be all the better for the contact they have been able to maintain with the schools in this crucial period of their life. A minority will try to appear at the examination at the end of

class VIII as they will ordinarily take longer time to reach this stage—about 4 to 5 years—and if they desire to do so, they should be asked to appear at the same examination as is held for the day scholars. Some of them may be good enough to win scholarships or prizes and even to proceed to secondary education, on a whole-time or part-time basis.

It is necessary to provide a short orientation to teachers in charge of continuation classes. The average primary teacher is generally included to develop his school programme in a very leisurely fashion. Working in a continuation class is different and needs a sense of pace. A short orientation course of about 3 weeks is generally adequate to orient trained or experienced primary teachers to the special demands of continuation classes and the special techniques to be employed in conducting them. The details of such a course would have to be worked out and it will have to be put across to the teacher educators in the first instance.

It will also not be necessary to create any special machinery for the inspection of continuation classes. The existing machinery for the inspection of day primary or middle schools can also take on this additional work. If the number of continuation classes increases very largely, this machinery may have to be suitably strengthened.

Finances : The cost of continuation education will be fairly high but not as high as that of full-time education. In the rural areas, for instance, the additional remuneration that may have to be paid to the teacher can be assumed at Rs. 25 per month. The contingent expenditure, including lighting expenses, free supply of books and writing materials, etc. may not exceed Rs. 15 per month on an average. The total expenditure on the continuation classes would thus be about Rs. 40 per month or Rs. 500 per year in round figures. Assuming an average attendance of 20, the cost per pupil per annum would be Rs. 25. This is much lower than the cost per child per annum in a full-time day middle school.

Programme in the Third Five-Year Plan : Very little work on continuation classes has been done in the country so far ; and the idea received a fairly large-scale notice for the first time when the Third Five-Year Plan was being prepared. The problem was highlighted by the National Committee on Women's Education which

realized the value of part-time education, especially for girls who lose all advantages of education at the middle school stage because they are required to work at home. The following extracts from the report of the Committee are relevant in this context:

Part-time Education : At the present time, we provide either full-time education or no education at all. In the economic conditions as they exist today, girls will have to work either in or for the family and, therefore, the provision of part-time education is indispensable. . . . In our country, a provision of adequate part-time education alone can bring the children of thousands of poor parents to schools, especially in rural areas. Such part-time instruction should be provided at such time as may be convenient for girls in the locality and, if necessary, even night schools may be organized. The duration of the instruction may be even one hour per day. It has to be remembered that for thousands and thousands of girls, it will be either this education or none at all. We therefore, recommend that the largest possible provision of part-time instruction, suited to the needs of each locality, be made in all parts of the country for all children of poor parents and especially for girls.

Night schools : We have also come across a number of parents who are willing to send their daughters to schools in the evening time when they can be spared. During the day, parents go to work or the girls have to look after the homes where they have to help their parents in their work. In such cases a good number of night schools should be encouraged in rural areas for the benefit of girls who cannot be expected to attend day schools. These schools when established may be open to boys also. The day school building could be utilized for the purpose, but with a different set of teachers.

This recommendation has been taken up by some state governments. Besides, the general need for developing a programme of part-time education, for boys as well as for girls, in schools of general education and vocational training was emphasized in the Third Five-Year Plan which pointed out that it should be possible to organize part-time courses, 'to an increasing extent, in middle schools, basic schools, junior technical schools and other centres'. On the whole, however, the scale on which this experiment is being tried is very restricted. This will be seen from the following brief notes on programmes included in the State Plans:

Uttar Pradesh : There is a scheme of opening of 300 continuation classes in selected junior basic schools for girls in the rural areas. The girl students will be coached to appear privately in the junior high school examination (class VIII). Two teachers will be provided for each continuation class and there is also a provision for scholarships as a measure of incentive to comparatively grown up girls with a view to increasing the number of prospective teachers.

Rajasthan : The Plan includes a scheme of continuation or part-time

education at the elementary stage. The intention is to provide 150 continuation classes during the Third Plan period.

Maharashtra : There is a provision in the State Grant-in-aid Code for night high schools which include the middle school stage, namely, standards V-VII. These standards can be attached also to elementary schools, there being no difference in the syllabus to be pursued at this stage. Facilities already exist in big cities like Bombay and Poona for continuation education in the form of night schools for those who are prevented by the daily avocations from attending the regular day elementary schools. There are about 20 such schools with an enrolment of about 1,600. These schools are run by private agencies and they are recognized and aided by the local education authorities according to the existing rules. This facility is extended to rural areas also if there is a demand for it. Apart from these night schools, the Siva Sadan Society, Poona—a society known for its pioneering effort for the cause of women's education—runs continuation classes in the form of a day school for adult women. This is recognized and aided.

Orissa : Adult women are given continuation education up to the middle school standard. The candidates undergoing condensed course appear at the common examination at the end of the middle school course along with other candidates and those who come out successful in the examination are eligible for appointment as primary school teachers, Gram Sevikas, midwives and are required to undergo professional training. The duration of the course is one year only. The courses of study for the adult women undergoing condensed course have been approved and recognized as equivalent to middle school standard without English by the State Government.

Mysore : The continuation classes are proposed to be organized as an experimental measure in each district in both urban and rural areas on part-time basis. These classes will be attached to middle or secondary schools with three years duration for each course. The minimum age for admission to middle school classes will be 12 and above and high school classes 15 and above. The students in both stages will take the same subjects, have the same syllabus and the same textbooks as in general schools. The rules of promotion will be the same as for general classes. Students who complete the course shall be eligible to take the common seventh standard primary school examination or tenth standard public examination along with other school candidates. Twenty middle and twenty high school continuation classes at the rate of one per district are proposed to be organized.

General Conclusions : It will be seen from the above that the need for developing a large-scale programme of part-time education has not yet been keenly felt in most areas of the country. This is mainly because we have not yet turned our attention seriously to the problem of reducing wastage which is particularly heavy at the middle stage. But this problem will have to be faced squarely in the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans. According to the present calculations, not more than 50 per cent of the children in the age-group 11-14 could be enrolled in classes VI-VIII on a whole-time

basis, even by 1975. The only way in which we can introduce universal education in this age-group by 1975 or 1981 is to develop a large-scale programme for part-time or continuation education for the age-group 11-14. In the present economic conditions, this facility will have to be provided for about 25 to 30 per cent of the children in the age-group.

It is, therefore, highly essential that this programme is tried out, on an experimental basis, by every state government without any delay. In the next two or three years, each State Education Department will thus gather a good deal of experience of its own in organizing this programme and would, therefore, be able to develop it, on a large scale, in the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans.

II. Education of Handicapped Children

Article 45 of the Constitution directs that free and compulsory education should be provided for *all* children until they complete the age of 14 years. It may be pointed out that this directive applies to all children, including those who are physically or mentally handicapped. Unfortunately, no steps have been taken so far to extend the provisions of compulsory education to handicapped children. The existing compulsory education laws declare that a physical or a mental handicap may be regarded as 'a reasonable excuse' for non-attendance and provide for the exemption of handicapped children from compulsory attendance at schools. This is obviously a negative decision which seeks to avoid difficulties that would be created if handicapped children begin to attend schools, and it cannot be regarded as a solution of the problem. We have, therefore, to devise a positive programme under which the facilities now available for the education of handicapped children would be increased gradually till a stage is reached when every handicapped child will be receiving instruction in an appropriate institution, either on a voluntary or on a compulsory basis. It is the difficult problems involved in this programme that would be briefly discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

Size of the Problem : The basic data which are necessary in planning a programme of universal education for handicapped children are an estimate of the number of such children classified

according to the different categories of the handicap involved, e.g. blind, deaf, orthopaedically handicapped and mentally deficient. Unfortunately, these data are not available because no systematic enumeration of handicapped children has yet been made.

During the Second Five-Year Plan, the Government of India undertook a few sample surveys of the physically handicapped children in Delhi, Bombay and Kanpur. The results of these surveys have certain limitations, but they provide a valuable indication of the magnitude of the problem. The Delhi survey revealed that one family out of every four had a physically handicapped person—child or adult. The results of the Bombay and Kanpur surveys were also broadly similar. On the basis of these surveys and such other data as are available, the Ministry of Education has made some tentative estimates of the number of physically handicapped children in India. According to them, the total number of blind and orthopaedically handicapped children in the country is about 450,000 each and that of deaf children is about 225,000. Thus India may have about 1,125,000 blind, deaf and crippled children who ought to receive elementary education. It has not yet been possible to carry out even a sample survey for the enumeration of mentally handicapped children in India. But on the basis of surveys carried out in England and America (which suggest that two to three out of every thousand children of school-going age are mentally handicapped), India would have about 200,000 mentally deficient children in the age-group 6-14. At the present estimate of the population, therefore, a total provision for the education of about 1.3 million handicapped children would have to be made in the country as a whole, if the directive of Article 45 of the Constitution is to be extended to handicapped children also.

Historical Development : What progress has been made in the country so far to meet this gigantic task? An analysis of the historical development of the education of handicapped children in India and its present position shows that we have only touched a fringe of the problem so far.

Although the system of modern education began to be organized in India from 1813, it was not till the last two decades of the nineteenth century that the problem of the education of

handicapped children began to receive attention. The first school for the deaf was established in 1885 and this was followed by the establishment of similar schools at Palayamcottai and Calcutta. The first school for the blind was established at Amritsar in 1887. It was moved later to Rajpur, Dehra Dun, where it continues to exist to this date. Other schools for the blind were soon established at Palayamcottai, Calcutta and Bombay. But progress was very slow, partly because the attention of the public had not been adequately drawn to the problem and partly because of the lack of teachers and funds. By 1947, there were only about 50 schools for the blind and only about 35 schools for the deaf in the country as a whole. There were no schools for orthopaedically handicapped children, and only one school for the mentally deficient children had been established in Bombay in 1944 by the Society for Children in Need of Special Care.

A brief survey of the existing position with regard to the number of schools and their enrolment, the training of teachers and manufacture of special equipment needed for the schools for handicapped children is given below.

THE BLIND: At present, there are nearly a hundred special education establishments for the blind with a total enrolment of about 4,500. The majority of them are administered by voluntary agencies. Only about a dozen are administered by the various State Governments.

Most schools for the blind impart elementary education coupled with training in crafts like chair-caning, weaving, string bag making, basket making, toy making etc. Music is taught in almost every school.

The Government of India have established a Model School for Blind Children at Dehra Dun which imparts education up to the seventh class. This school is being developed into a secondary school and is a constituent unit of the National Centre for the Blind which is being developed to provide an integrated service for the blind.

In recent years, it is being gradually appreciated that training in cottage industries does not prepare blind children for remunerative work. Consequently, the modern trend is to reshape the existing training programmes of schools for the blind and to

lay greater emphasis on engineering occupations so that, on leaving school, blind children could take up work in ordinary industrial establishments.

THE DEAF: The number of schools for the deaf is about 53 with a total enrolment of about 3,500. Although the average deaf child is expected to spend 8 to 10 years at school, only in a very few schools is he able to complete elementary education. In many schools, however, he is able to achieve a very limited use of his mother-tongue and some skill in lip reading. In fact, in most schools for the deaf, the bulk of the time is devoted to training in speech and lip reading. The situation is somewhat improving with the increasing use of hearing aids which make the process of direct imitation of speech possible.

These schools also give education with a practical bias. Training is imparted in crafts like carpentry, weaving, smithy, knitting, hosiery etc. Here again, the latest trend is to shift the emphasis from cottage industries to engineering occupations which offer a wider scope for employment.

THE ORTHOPAEDICALLY HANDICAPPED: The main object of special institutions for this category of children is to provide facilities for physical restoration of affected limbs through physiotherapy and occupational therapy. Elementary education is imparted side by side with therapeutic exercises. The total enrolment in the existing 18 institutions is a little over one thousand.

THE MENTALLY DEFICIENT: The main difference in schools for physically handicapped and mentally deficient children is that whereas in schools for the former category the main aim is to prepare the child for remunerative work, the primary object in schools for mentally deficient children is to make the child as independent as possible in self-care. Every child is educated according to his aptitudes and capacity. Apart from training in the activities of daily living, an attempt is made to achieve muscular coordination through rhythmic movements, music, elementary drawing and painting and similar other activities. Education is made as objective and concrete as possible.

Teacher Training: Teachers of the blind, the deaf and the mentally deficient have usually to be specially trained. The National Academy of Teachers of the Blind, which is a voluntary

organization, conducts a one-year training course for teachers of the blind at Palayamcottai, Madras. The Government of Maharashtra have also started a one-year course for the training of teachers of the blind in Bombay.

In collaboration with the American Foundation for Overseas Blind and the UNICEF, the Government of India have prepared a scheme for the training of teachers of the blind on a regional basis. The object of this scheme is to ensure uniformity in the curriculum, the system of examination etc., in the training of teachers of the blind throughout the country. The first course under this scheme has already commenced in Bombay in July, 1963.

There are at present six centres for the training of teachers of the deaf, one each at Bombay, Ahmedabad, Lucknow, Calcutta, Hyderabad and Delhi. The Government of India have drawn up a common syllabus which all the teacher training institutions will be asked to adopt.

The Society for Children in Need of Special Care, Bombay, has been providing a one-year training course for teachers of mentally handicapped children for several years. A school for training teachers of mentally deficient children has also been started in Chandigarh recently.

Special Equipment : Braille books and appliances needed for the education of blind children are produced in this country by the Central Braille Press and the Workshop for the Manufacture of Braille Appliances administered by the Union Ministry of Education at Dehra Dun. Braille books are sold at one-third of the cost of the materials used in their production. Braille appliances are sold at a price representing the cost of materials used in their production.

The Central Braille Press is, however, not yet able to meet the demand even for textbooks. In view of this, the possibility of establishing regional Braille presses is being examined.

An attempt is being made to accelerate the setting up of a workshop for the manufacture of Braille appliances. This is being done with the assistance of an ILO expert. Nevertheless, it may be several years before even the present demand could be effectively met.

It will be seen from the foregoing review that, at present,

hardly one per cent of the physically and mentally handicapped children in the age-group 6-14 are enrolled. To raise this proportion to 100 per cent is obviously a gigantic task.

Difficulties of Expansion : A major issue which arises in this context is whether the physically or mentally handicapped children should be educated in ordinary schools (with special arrangements made for them) or whether they should be educated in special schools organized for them alone. The modern trend in some of the advanced countries is to place the physically or even the mentally handicapped child in the ordinary school. This may, however, not be practicable in India for many years to come on account of a variety of difficulties such as large classes which make it impossible for the teacher to give individual attention to every child, the lack of special equipment or literature which cannot be made available to scattered children in ordinary schools, and poor communications which make travel difficult. In view of this, the special school at least for the blind, deaf and mentally handicapped children seems to be the only alternative in the immediate future.

The main drawback of special schools, however, is their cost. In many schools, the cost of keeping a physically or mentally handicapped child is Rs. 1,000 per annum or even more. The Ministry of Education recently attempted to prepare a scheme for bringing 25 per cent of physically handicapped children in school. The cost of such a scheme, which was prepared on the assumption that only 30 per cent of the children would be kept in special schools, came to about Rs. 520 millions for a period of two and half years. This will illustrate the difficulty in making education universally free and compulsory for all handicapped children in the foreseeable future.

Another major difficulty is the lack of trained teachers. At present, this country is able to train only about 15 teachers for the blind every year. If education were made free and compulsory for blind children, about 45,000 trained teachers of the blind would be needed. Again, the present teacher training institutions for the deaf can train only about 50 teachers annually, whereas the country would need about 23,000 trained teachers if education is made free and compulsory for deaf children.

Finally, the dearth of special equipment and literature is

another formidable difficulty. As pointed out earlier, the Central Braille Press is unable to meet even a fraction of the demand for Braille literature. A number of Braille presses will have to be established and an effective transcription service will have to be provided if the needs of all blind children are to be met.

In view of these major difficulties, the provision of free and compulsory elementary education for physically and mentally handicapped children does not appear to be possible in the near future. The country may have to rest content with gradually increasing educational facilities for these children.

A Suggested Programme for Action : In view of these tremendous difficulties, it is obvious that any attempt to provide compulsory education for the handicapped children will have to be ruled out. All that can be attempted during the next 10-15 years is to expand the existing facilities for the education of handicapped children on a very large scale and thus to pave the way for the adoption of compulsory education at some future date. The following is a broad outline of a realistic and practicable programme which can be considered in this respect:

(1) The population of blind and deaf children is very large and it is comparatively easier to provide schools for them. It is, therefore, suggested that, during the next 15 years, an attempt should be made to provide at least one special school for the blind and one special school for the deaf children in each district. Since the number of districts in India is about 320 this will mean the establishment of about 650 institutions for blind and deaf children as against about 153 that exist at present. Further it is visualized that the proposed schools should be upgraded and the total enrolment in all these institutions may be roughly taken at 650,000 or about 100 pupils per school as against an average enrolment of 50 at present.

(2) The education, care and rehabilitation of mentally deficient children is more difficult and requires expertise at a high level. It is, therefore, suggested that at least two schools for the mentally deficient children should be established in each state. They should preferably be located in cities and towns having medical colleges and psychiatric facilities.

It is also evident that the emphasis on the establishment of

special schools will have to be made to educate the handicapped children in the ordinary schools. From this point of view, the following programmes may be adopted:

(1) An increasing number of orthopaedically handicapped children should be encouraged to go to ordinary schools. Restrictions on the admission of such children in normal schools, wherever they exist, should be removed.

(2) Wherever possible, special classes for partially sighted and hard of hearing children should be provided as adjuncts to ordinary schools. These children should be able to profit by education through ordinary methods if they could be provided special books or hearing aids, as the case may be.

Conclusion : It is hoped that the adoption of the measures suggested above will be financially and administratively possible. With reasonable expansion in the facilities for the training of teachers, it should be possible to staff the new schools with an adequate number of competent teachers. The production of Braille appliances and hearing aids could also be gradually increased so that the needs of children in special schools might be effectively met.

If the measures suggested above are to be adopted, action on three lines is indicated. First, Government will have to assign larger funds to the programmes of educating the handicapped children than has been done in the past. Secondly, the education of handicapped children will have to be developed more in the private sector than in the state sector because private enterprise can bring into the picture the services of devoted persons to a much larger extent. The state will, however, have to assist such voluntary organizations with very liberal financial assistance, which may ultimately have to be raised to 100 per cent (for recurring expenditure at least) so that the main contribution of the voluntary agencies will have to provide expertise and dedicated personnel. Thirdly, the public conscience for this unhappy group of children would have to be awakened so that humanitarian sentiments, which have been the main inspiration for the education of some of the handicapped children in the past, will continue to play their significant role in the future as well.

SECTION THREE

Some Problems of Qualitative Improvement

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Some Problems of Qualitative Improvement

This section deals with some problems of qualitative improvement of elementary education. Here, the most crucial factor is the teacher and problems relating to his improvement are dealt with in Chapter 12 (A Historical Survey), Chapter 13 (General Education and Training) and Chapter 14 (Remuneration and Service Conditions). Chapter 15 deals with the present status and future development of basic education which has been accepted as the national pattern at the elementary stage. Chapter 16 discusses improvement of physical facilities—buildings and equipment. Chapter 17 deals with problems of supervision and Chapter 18 with ancillary services such as the provision of school meals and health services, free supply of school books and writing materials and provision of uniforms. Chapter 19 deals with single-teacher schools and their special problems and in Chapter 20, some main areas in which research is urgently needed have been indicated.

Elementary Teachers in India—A Historical Survey (1800-1961)

Teachers in the Indigenous Elementary School: At the beginning of the nineteenth century, elementary education was provided almost exclusively in the indigenous schools. The instruction given in these institutions, which catered mainly to the requirements of the petty zamindars, *banias* or well-to-do farmers, was of a practical type and mostly limited to the three R's. The teachers were, therefore, men of humble attainments, and in most cases, had received no education other than in the elementary schools themselves. Many of them conducted the schools as a hereditary profession. They had no special training in methods except what they had learnt through apprenticeship to some teacher in their early years or what they had observed while reading in the elementary schools. Their remuneration was generally low and varied from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 per month, including all collections and occasional presents in cash and kind. More often than not, they had some other means of livelihood, either through land, or through some other profession pursued on a part-time basis. In view of the low prices which then prevailed, their total remuneration, meagre as it appears from the standards of today, was still comparatively high to enable them to belong to the respectable middle class. Their social status was even higher, partly because of their caste—a large number of these teachers belonged to the higher castes or were priests—and partly because even the humble education which they provided was greatly esteemed in the society. They were brought up in a tradition of earnest devotion to duty and took such keen interest in the education of every child entrusted to their care that they won the respect and affection of the entire local community, most of whose leading members would have been their students at some stage or other. This also enabled them to assume a natural role of leadership, not only in the cultural field, but in the entire life of the community.

Elementary Teachers in the Modern System of Education (Prior to 1855): The modern cadres of elementary teachers have been evolved, during the last 160 years, from this community of indigenous elementary school teachers and it is this evolution which will be briefly described in this chapter.

The first efforts to develop a modern system of elementary education in India were made by the British administrators in the early decades of the nineteenth century. This was attempted in two ways: the establishment of government schools and the development of indigenous schools through grants-in-aid. The first of these methods was adopted in Bombay where the object of elementary education was defined ambitiously to include, not only the teaching of the three R's, but also the spread, through modern Indian languages, of western science and literature. Since this objective could not be achieved through the indigenous schools, it was decided to establish government schools to realize it. A group of competent young men was, therefore, selected, trained over a period of three years, and appointed as teachers in government elementary schools. Their salaries were fixed at a fairly high level. These varied from Rs. 10 to 60 per month, and compared very favourably with the emoluments of the teachers in the indigenous schools. A similar attempt to spread elementary education through government schools was tried in the North Western Provinces and the Punjab, although the salaries of teachers were not so high and the objectives of the curriculum as well as the duration of training, were not so ambitious. In 1855, the Government of Bengal introduced the 'circle system' under which indigenous schools were proposed to be improved by employing and paying certain *pandits*, each of whom was attached to a circle of three or four village schools. The *pandits* trained and guided the village school teachers who did not receive any definite salary but earned grants on the basis of the results of their pupils. The rates of grants-in-aid, however, were so low that the total remuneration earned by a teacher was never more than Rs. 3 to 5 per month. It will thus be seen that, even at this early period, two different cadres of elementary school teachers began to grow up. The first was the cadre of elementary teachers who were regular government servants, who had received fairly good general education and some training, and who were given

what may be regarded as adequate remuneration from the point of view of this period ; and the second was the cadre of elementary school teachers in aided schools who received small grants from government based on results, in addition to whatever the local community provided for them.

Elementary education made but little progress prior to 1855. The statistics of 1855 showed only 1,202 departmental primary schools with an enrolment of 40,401. The aided and inspected schools numbered only 36 with an enrolment of 2,342. The bulk of elementary education at this period was, therefore, provided by the extra-departmental schools which numbered 1,572 with an enrolment of 54,540 and indigenous schools which numbered 47,866 with an enrolment of 788,701. The general education, training or remuneration of teachers had been improved, as stated above, only in the departmental schools ; and in all the other institutions, the general conditions of elementary teachers continued to be the same as under the indigenous system.

Elementary Teachers (1855-81): Between 1855 and 1881, there was a great deal of expansion of elementary education. This was due to two reasons: The first was the levy of the local fund cesses recommended by the Despatch of 1859 ; and the second was the permission given to municipalities to establish and maintain elementary schools within their areas. In this period, therefore, two new categories of elementary schools came into existence: (1) the local fund schools financed mainly or exclusively by the proceeds of the local fund cess levied on land revenue in the rural areas ; and (2) the municipal schools established by the municipalities from their general revenues. (No special cess for education was levied in urban areas.) No detailed statistics are available. But it may be said that, out of the total of 86,320 elementary schools (with an enrolment of 2,210,171) which existed in 1881-82, the government schools were the fewest and the indigenous schools the largest in number. The local authority schools (district board or rural or municipal or urban) occupied an intermediate position. The status and remuneration of the elementary teachers differed from one category to another. This division of the elementary teachers into three distinct categories with corresponding differences in status and remuneration continues to this day.

Another significant development of this period was the improvement in the general education and professional training of elementary teachers. Owing to the spread of primary and middle school education, it was now possible to obtain as teachers the services of persons who had received general education at a level higher than that where they would be required to teach. Besides, the need of professional training had come to be recognized. In 1885, there were only 7 training institutions for elementary teachers in India with a total enrolment of 197 students. In 1881-82, there were 106 training schools (15 for women) with a total enrolment of 3,886 (3,371 men and 515 women) at an expenditure of about Rs. 400,000. The overall percentage of trained teachers was 18.4 ; but that amongst the teachers in departmental schools was as high as 45.4 and in aided schools, it was only 8.6. These were not high standards by any means ; but they showed considerable progress since 1855.

The remuneration of teachers also showed some improvement during this period. For the country as a whole, the average annual salary of a teacher was about Rs. 89. But the position varied considerably from area to area and from one category of school to another. In Madras, the average salary of a teacher was Rs. 7 per month in schools aided on the basis of payment-by-results ; in local board and municipal schools, they drew a fixed average monthly salary of Rs. 5 and a contingent income of about Rs. 2.50 per month ; and in schools assisted on the basis of salary grants, the monthly remuneration varied from Rs. 5 for an assistant to Rs. 10-12 for a headmaster. In Bombay, the salary varied from Rs. 4 per month to Rs. 60 per month ; but about 59 per cent of the teachers received salaries not exceeding Rs. 10 per month. Teachers whose salaries were more than Rs. 10 were also eligible for pensions. In Bengal, the average annual pay of a teacher of an upper primary school was estimated at Rs. 100 of which Rs. 48 were paid by government and Rs. 52 from local sources. In the lower primary schools, the salaries were much lower. Most of these institutions were aided and the amount of grant-in-aid was small—about 5,000 schools getting a grant-in-aid of Rs. 30-40 per annum, about 34,000 schools getting a grant of Rs. 5.5 per annum, and about 6,000 schools getting a grant-in-aid of Rs. 1.7 per annum. In these institutions,

therefore, the remuneration of the teacher was mostly made of local contributions in cash and kind as in the indigenous schools. In the North Western Provinces, the monthly salaries of the Halkabandi teachers varied from Rs. 5 to Rs. 12; but they had no claim for pensions or gratuities. In Punjab, the minimum pay of a school teacher was fixed at Rs. 10 per month for headmasters; but assistants received lower salaries, sometimes as low as Rs. 6 per month. The position in other areas was similar and fell somewhere between the aided primary school teachers in Bengal on the one hand and the Government or local fund school teachers in Punjab and Bombay on the other.

Elementary Teachers (1881-1901): The Indian Education Commission recommended that the administration of elementary education should be transferred to local bodies, that larger financial allocations should be made to elementary education and that definite steps should be taken to expand elementary education as quickly as possible. It also emphasized the need to improve the general education and training of elementary teachers. But it made no recommendations regarding improvement in the remuneration and social status of teachers and contented itself by saying that 'all parties are agreed as to the advantage of raising the status of the village schoolmasters and the measures appropriate to that end may be left to the local authorities. The provision of liberal aid to indigenous schoolmasters is obviously the most simple and effective means of raising their position'.¹

In 1901-02, the total number of elementary schools rose to 102,177 with enrolment of 3,564,245. Of these only 569 were conducted by government because the recommendation of the Indian Education Commission to transfer elementary education to local bodies had been universally accepted; 17,545 were conducted by local bodies; 3,567 were maintained by the erstwhile princely states; 61,638 were aided; and 18,858 were unaided. It will thus be seen that the bulk of the schools was conducted either by the local bodies or by private agencies. As was pointed out above, the remuneration of teachers was much lower in these institutions than in government schools and in consequence, their teachers generally had a poorer standard of general education and professional

¹ Report, pp. 140-1.

training. The extreme reduction in the number of government schools and the consequent increase in the number of local authority or private elementary schools, therefore, did have an adverse effect on the education, training and remuneration of elementary teachers.

The total number of primary teachers* in 1901-02 was estimated at 111,259. During the preceding two decades, the number of training institutions for elementary teachers had increased to 155 with an enrolment of 5,405 and an annual recurring expenditure of Rs. 0.471 million. But on account of expansion, the percentage of trained teachers in 1901-02 was only 18.4, the same as in 1881-82—and only 20,474 teachers had received training. Of the others, as many as 56,241 were described as having other qualifications which, in practice, meant either the passing of a higher examination in general education (such as middle school or lower secondary), or the completion of a satisfactory service for a specific period which varied from two to seven years in the different provinces; and 34,544 teachers were described as being 'unqualified' which, in practice, meant that they had received no education beyond the elementary school itself. The overall position of the general education and professional training of elementary school teachers in 1901-02 was thus only slightly better than that in 1881-82.

The remuneration of teachers also did not show any improvement. In 1901-02, the average annual salary of a primary teacher was only Rs. 91 as against Rs. 89 in 1881-82. The highest salaries were paid in government schools where they varied from Rs. 5 to 20 in Madras, to Rs. 8 to 55 in Punjab and Rs. 7 to 60 in Bombay. Next in order came the local board schools where salaries varied from Rs. 2 to 17 in United Provinces, to Rs. 5 to 15 in Madras, Rs. 4 to 40 in Punjab and Rs. 7 to 60 in Bombay. The lowest remuneration was given in the aided schools and it varied from Rs. 3 to 8 in Bengal, to Rs. 3 to 15 in Madras, Rs. 3 to 28 in Punjab, Rs. 2 to 20 in United Provinces and Rs. 3 to 60 in Bombay. It is true that teachers in Punjab or Bombay could rise to a monthly salary of Rs. 55 or Rs. 60; but the number of such posts was very small and did not materially affect the average remuneration of teachers. In fact, it was the low

* The data regarding middle school teachers for 1901-02 are not available.

remuneration of the teachers of this period, which had hardly shown any improvement during the previous two decades and the purchasing power of which had become much less owing to the rise in prices of commodities, that was mainly responsible for the failure to attract adequately educated persons to the profession and for the large proportion of untrained or unqualified teachers.

Elementary Teachers (1901-21): With the turn of the century, greater attention came to be paid to improving the general education, professional training and remuneration of elementary school teachers. This was due to several reasons. In England, a significant movement for the qualitative improvement of education had been initiated by the Education Act of 1902 and it led to a similar shift in emphasis in Indian Education also. The objectives of elementary education were now redefined more ambitiously with the result that the need to have better educated, better trained (and consequently better paid) teachers began to be felt more keenly. The Government Resolution on Educational Policy, 1913, gave high priority to teacher improvement. It directed that 'teachers should be drawn from the class of the boys whom they will teach; they should have passed the middle vernacular examination or have been through a corresponding course, and should have undergone a year's training. Where they have passed through only the upper primary course and have not already had sufficient experience in a school, a two years' course of training is generally desirable. This training may in the first instance be given in small local institutions, but preferably, as funds permit, in larger and more efficient central normal schools. In both kinds of institutions adequate practising schools are a necessary adjunct and the size of the practising school will generally determine the size of the normal school. As teachers left to themselves in villages are liable to deteriorate, there are great advantages in periodical repetition and improvement courses for primary school teachers during the school vacations. Trained teachers should receive not less than Rs. 12 per month (special rates being given in certain areas); they should be placed in a graded service; and they should either be eligible for a pension or admitted to a provident fund.' During the First World War there was an inordinate rise in the prices of commodities, and even on economic grounds, it became essential to improve the

remuneration of teachers. It was also a fortunate coincidence that this happened to be a boom period in Indian finance so that the large additional funds required for implementing these programmes could be readily found. The net result of all these circumstances was to bring about a considerable improvement in the academic and economic status of elementary school teachers between 1920-21.

By 1921, elementary education expanded very considerably. In 1921-22 the number of elementary schools was 166,809 with a total enrolment of 6,432,804 as against 102,177 elementary schools with 3,564,245 pupils in 1901-02. This implies an increase of about 63 per cent in schools and of about 87 per cent in enrolment. But the increase in the direct expenditure on elementary education was much greater—it rose from Rs. 11.8 millions in 1901-02 to Rs. 67.5 millions in 1921-22. The main reason for this increase was, not an increase in the number of schools or enrolment, but a rise in the average annual salary of the elementary school teacher. This increased, for primary teachers, from Rs. 91 in 1901-02 to Rs. 174 in 1921-22. The statistics of the average salary of middle school teachers in 1901-02 are not available but in 1921-22 this was Rs. 393. As in the past, the pay scales of teachers varied largely from one province to another and also from one type of school to another. But by and large, it may be said that attempts were made, during this period, to raise the minimum salaries, to provide incremental scales of pay, wherever possible, and to improve old-age provision. In the Punjab, for instance, the average monthly salary of a qualified primary school teacher rose to Rs. 26. In the Central Provinces, the minimum salaries of primary school teachers in rural areas were Rs. 15 for untrained and Rs. 20 for trained, the teachers in the costlier districts getting an additional allowance of Rs. 3 per month. In the urban areas, these salaries were fixed at Rs. 17 and Rs. 22 respectively. In Bombay, the salaries were higher still and varied from Rs. 25 to Rs. 60. The remuneration of teachers was the best in these Provinces because the scales of pay were higher and the number of government and local authority schools was also comparatively larger. Madras and United Provinces occupied an intermediate position. In Madras, the local authority schools gave a minimum pay of Rs. 10 for untrained and Rs. 12 for trained

teachers. In the aided schools, the annual grants-in-aid were increased to Rs. 48 per year for the untrained teacher with the lowest qualifications to Rs. 180 per year for the most qualified teacher. In United Provinces untrained assistants received a minimum salary of Rs. 12 per month while trained assistants were paid from Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 and headmasters from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30. At the other extreme came Bihar and West Bengal where most of the schools were aided. In Bihar, the average fee collection in an aided school was Rs. 3 per month and in addition, the teacher received a small grant-in-aid which, in a large majority of schools, was not more than Rs. 3 per month and it rose to a maximum of Rs. 9 only in a few schools. In Bengal, the situation was no better and even the unambitious proposals formulated for improving the remuneration of teachers, could not be implemented owing to a lack of financial resources. In fact, if it were not for the effect of the low salaries prevailing in the numerous aided schools in Bihar, Bengal (or in other states like Madras), the average annual salary of teachers in the country as a whole would have been much higher.

The contemporary reactions to this first national attempt at improving the remuneration of elementary school teachers beyond that in the indigenous schools are interesting. In spite of fact that the overall increase in the average annual salary of an elementary teacher was small, and in spite of the clear realization that a large part of it was under-written by the increase in the prices of commodities which had taken place during the First World War, there was a general feeling of satisfaction for what had been actually achieved. The government pointed out, and quite rightly too, that a very large proportion of the additional resources which became available for elementary education during this period was devoted mainly to improving the remuneration of teachers, and to providing them with a better old-age provision.* Even in the United Provinces, where the improvement in remuneration was not as outstanding as in Bombay or Punjab, the Director of Education reported that the 'pay now offered to the primary teachers raises them beyond the fear of want and there is apparently no difficulty

* By 1921-22, teachers in government and local body schools generally got pensions and it was only the teachers of aided schools for whom no old-age provision of any type whatsoever was made.

in getting recruits for the profession'. On the other hand, in areas like Punjab or Bombay, where the improvement in remuneration had been a little greater, there were some who warned the Department that it would be unwise to utilize all or most of the funds available in raising the salaries of teachers and that a mere improvement in remuneration of teachers would not necessarily be accompanied by improvement in standards. But when all is said and done, the administrators of elementary education during this period must be complimented for improving the remuneration of teachers and for giving them back some of the 'respectability' in society which they had lost rapidly towards the end of the nineteenth century on account of economic handicaps. This has been beautifully expressed by the Director of Education of the United Provinces, who observes:

The teacher is a product of the past. For years, he has been despised, first because as a teacher he took pay at all for his service and again because having taken it, he took so little. The first thing he has to achieve under the new conditions is respectability. Wherever there is a teacher who is respected, there is a flourishing school.*

This gain in the social status of the teacher, due to his economic improvement, was off-set, to some extent, on account of three developments. In the first place, the teacher was no longer exclusively a member of the higher castes or a priest. In fact, government had adopted the right policy of recruiting teachers from all classes of society, including the scheduled castes. The status respect which the indigenous school teachers enjoyed could not, therefore, be automatically obtained by the new cadres of elementary school teachers. Secondly, many of these teachers came from classes which were entirely alien to education. They did not also have that tradition of learning and teaching which the teachers of the earlier generations had inherited through centuries. In missionary zeal, idealism and devotion to duty, therefore, this new generation of elementary school teachers was not quite equal to that of the old masters and this naturally led to a slight lowering in their social status as well. A third factor that affected the situation was the changing character of rural and urban economy itself under the impact of modern conditions. In the new set-up, a new social

* Report of the Director of Education in the United Provinces, 1921-22, p. 90.

leadership based on money, contact or influence with government, etc. was being built up and in this set-up, the elementary school teacher had hardly any place. By 1921-22, therefore, it may be said that the elementary school teacher in the towns had already lost his role in social leadership and that, in the villages, he was well on the way to lose it rapidly.

On the academic side, however, the gains were undisputed. Owing partly to the spread of middle school and secondary school education, and partly to the improvement in remuneration, a better type of person now began to be attracted to the profession of elementary teachers. Their general education improved considerably and, barring a few exceptional cases, no person who had not completed the middle school would ordinarily be recruited as an elementary school teacher. Even matriculates began to join the cadre, although their number was too small to make any impact. In the field of professional training also, there was a corresponding improvement. In 1921-22, the number of training institutions in India was 1,072 with an enrolment of 26,931 and a total recurring expenditure of Rs. 5.096 millions as against 155 institutions with an enrolment of 5,405 and a total recurring expenditure of Rs. .47 million in 1901. Owing to this expansion, the percentage of trained teachers also increased from 18.4 in 1901 to 39 in 1921-22, United Provinces and Punjab having the highest percentages of trained teachers (57) and Bengal, the lowest (25). What was more important, the quality of instruction provided in the training institutions was improved considerably. They were now provided with better staff, better buildings and equipment and were given a more impressive programme of instruction in pedagogics and subject content. In consequence of this improvement in the general education and professional training of teachers, it was possible for government to adopt richer curricula at the elementary stage and generally to raise standards.

Elementary Teachers (1921-47): This brilliant record of progress between 1901 and 1921 was maintained and in some respects, even carried forward during the next 25 years. By 1946-47, the total number of elementary schools in the country increased to 185,504 with an enrolment of 14.81 millions and a total recurring expenditure of Rs. 232.9 millions. The developments

in respect of elementary teachers had to keep pace with this unprecedented expansion.

The first concrete development of this period was the emphasis on the enlargement of the objectives and scope of elementary education. The earlier ideas of restricting instruction in the elementary schools to the three R's and some general knowledge could no longer be adopted. On the other hand, it was now felt that a student passing through the elementary school must become a responsible and useful citizen. It was in this attempt to retain the scope and content of elementary education that Mahatma Gandhi formulated his programme of basic education which was immediately adopted, on an experimental basis, and after trial for a few years, for universalisation in all parts of the country. This important reform created the need for a much better type of elementary teacher than was ever had in the past. It was now felt that the minimum general education of an elementary teacher should be matriculation and that he should have received two years professional training thereafter. In the middle schools, a certain proportion of teachers had to be graduates. Even at the primary stage, it would be desirable to have trained graduates as headmasters, at least in the bigger primary schools.

This larger expectation of the elementary teachers naturally led to an effort to improve his remuneration. Unfortunately, the years between 1925-1937 were those of the post-war retrenchment and the world economic depression. The average annual salaries of teachers in 1936-37 were, therefore, even lower than those in 1926-27. But partly from the urge to improve the remuneration of teachers on educational grounds and partly to meet the rise in the prices of commodities during the second world war, the remuneration of elementary teachers was stepped up considerably between 1937 and 1947. Thus the average annual salary of a primary teacher in 1946-47 was Rs. 387 as against Rs. 174 in 1921-22. At the middle school stage also, the average annual salary of a teacher in 1946-47 was Rs. 561 as against Rs. 393 in 1921-22. Even if a part of this increase is under-written on account of the increase in the cost of living, the overall improvement is obvious and significant.

This increase in remuneration, combined with a very large-scale expansion in secondary education, made it possible for state

governments to improve the educational qualifications of elementary teachers. Matriculates, who were just beginning to join the profession in 1921, were now found in considerable numbers in primary schools and to a still greater extent in the middle schools. Graduates also began to join primary schools—although their number still formed a microscopic minority—and many of them joined the middle schools. The duration of training was lengthened, in many instances, to two years. The number of training institutions fell to 649 in 1946-47, as against 1,072 in 1921-22. But this was really a gain because the smaller and inefficient institutions were eliminated and replaced by bigger and better ones. The total enrolment in training institutions increased from 26,931 in 1921-22 to 38,773 in 1946-47 and their total expenditure from Rs. 5.096 millions in 1921-22 to Rs. 8.005 millions in 1946-47. The percentage of trained teachers also rose from 39 in 1921-22 to 64 in 1946-47. As in 1921-22, there were large variations from province to province, the highest percentages of trained teachers being found in Madras and Punjab and the lowest in Bengal and Bihar.

Elementary Teachers (1947-61): The post-independence period has witnessed the greatest expansion in elementary education. In 1960-61, the total number of elementary schools in the country rose to 381,359 with an enrolment of 372,59,620 and a total recurring expenditure of Rs. 1166 millions. In spite of this unprecedented expansion, it was possible to maintain progress in improving the economic, academic and social status of elementary school teachers.

The remuneration of elementary teachers showed considerable improvement during this period. The average annual salary of a primary teacher increased from Rs. 387 in 1946-47 to about Rs. 900 in 1960-61 and that of a middle school teacher from Rs. 561 in 1946-47 to about Rs. 1,100 in 1960-61. Since there has been an increase in the prices of commodities during this period, a part of this increase in remuneration would have to be under-written. But even after making due allowance for this fact, it cannot be gainsaid that there has been a substantial improvement in the remuneration of elementary school teachers in the post-independence period.

It may be admitted that this increase in the remuneration of elementary teachers has not been uniform in all the states and areas. In metropolitan cities like Delhi or Bombay, the remuneration

offered to elementary teachers is probably the best in the country. Among the states, the remuneration is high in states like Punjab, Gujarat or Maharashtra and lowest in states like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The following table shows the average emoluments of primary and middle school teachers in the different states of India in 1960-61.

TABLE 40: REMUNERATION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS
(1960-61)

State	Average annual salary of a	
	primary teacher	middle school teacher
	Rs.	Rs.
Andhra Pradesh	938.2	1,007.6
Assam	747.7	869.0
Bihar	700.6	935.5
Gujarat	1,242.3	1,050.0
Jammu & Kashmir	680.1	1,133.7
Kerala	1,091.1	1,050.0
Madhya Pradesh	888.8	946.2
Madras	875.9	973.3
Maharashtra	1,199.7	1,262.2
Mysore	963.9	981.5
Orissa	504.0	936.0
Punjab	1,146.8	1,378.6
Rajasthan	923.9	1,121.8
Uttar Pradesh	624.4	863.2
West Bengal	782.7	1,118.1

Steps have also been taken to improve the old-age provision for elementary school teachers. In so far as government schools are concerned, the problem hardly arises, and all elementary teachers in government schools get pension-cum-gratuity like other government servants. In the local authority schools, the arrangements made vary from one state to another and the old-age provision actually

made falls in three categories. In the first category come teachers who are eligible for pension or pension-cum-gratuity. This includes states like Rajasthan where primary teachers working under the Panchayat Samitis have been given the same privileges in respect of old-age provision as government servants. Gujarat which has provided pension to all teachers working under local body schools, although subject to a slight differentiation between them and the government servants, and Maharashtra which has sanctioned a scheme of *ad hoc* pensions for elementary teachers in local authority schools, also fall in the same category. In the second category, we may include states such as Madras or Andhra Pradesh in which elementary school teachers under local bodies are given the triple-benefit scheme. Under this scheme, the elementary teachers (1) get a pension at one-fourth of the average retiring salary, (2) get a provident fund at three per cent of the salary, and (3) are also required to insure their lives for specified amounts. In the third category come states like Uttar Pradesh, where the only old-age provision made for elementary teachers in local authority schools is the institution of a contributory provident fund. It may, therefore, be said that by and large, fairly adequate old-age provision has now been made for all teachers in the public elementary schools conducted by government and local authorities. The problem, however, has still to be solved in respect of private elementary schools. For them, some states like Madras have provided a triple-benefit scheme. But in most areas, there is no old-age provision for the vast majority of teachers in private elementary schools.

The improvement in the general education of elementary teachers has kept pace with, or even gone beyond, the improvement in their remuneration. The Government of India recommended that matriculation or its equivalent should be prescribed as the minimum educational qualification for an elementary teacher. This recommendation has now been accepted in most parts of the country. In states like West Bengal, Punjab or Kerala, no non-matriculate teacher is recruited. In states like Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan or Madhya Pradesh, the man teacher is almost always a matriculate ; but owing to the non-availability of women teachers, middle passed women have often to be recruited as teachers especially in rural areas. In states like Maharashtra, the minimum qualification still

continues to be a pass in the examination at the end of the middle school ; but preference is given to matriculates who are readily available in adequate numbers. Taking India as a whole, therefore, it may be said that about 75 per cent of all new recruitment to the cadre of elementary teachers is of matriculates only. In fact, the recruitment of non-matriculates is now confined very largely to two groups: (1) women and (2) scheduled tribes. What is even more important, however, is that graduates are now joining elementary schools in ever increasing numbers. At present, about 20,000 graduates are working in elementary schools and this number is increasing very rapidly. It may, therefore, be said that the average elementary school teacher of today is much better educated than his counterpart on the eve of the attainment of independence.

The progress in the field of professional training has also been very good, although it could not keep pace with the improvements in general education. In 1960-61, there were 1,122 training institutions for elementary teachers with a total enrolment of 121,696 which shows a very great advance since 1946-47. But owing to the large expansion achieved, the percentage of trained teachers did not show any material increase. Taking the country as a whole, the percentage of trained teachers in 1960-61 was practically the same as in 1946-47. Table 41 shows the percentage of trained elementary school teachers in the different states in 1960-61.

From the qualitative point of view, however, the training institutions for elementary teachers left a good deal to be desired. The Government of India had recommended that the duration of the training should be increased to two years. It had not been possible, even in 1960-61, to implement this reform in several states such as Assam, West Bengal, Rajasthan or Madhya Pradesh, where the duration of teacher training is still one year. Moreover, it has not been possible to provide staff of high competence for these training institutions, nor is the provision of buildings and equipment made for them, adequate. These problems have just begun to attract attention and it would be some time before they can be satisfactorily solved.

The problem of the social status of teachers also received some attention during this period. It was realized that the elementary

TABLE 41: TRAINED ELEMENTARY TEACHERS (1960-61)

State	Percentage of trained	
	primary teachers	middle school teachers
Andhra Pradesh	82.9	77.0
Assam	39.3	25.9
Bihar	71.2	63.6
Gujarat	35.6	54.3
Jammu & Kashmir	54.1	56.7
Kerala	90.8	77.9
Madhya Pradesh	51.0	50.8
Madras	95.9	96.5
Maharashtra	49.8	72.8
Mysore	43.4	61.3
Orissa	38.5	33.9
Punjab	92.1	90.6
Rajasthan	50.8	50.3
Uttar Pradesh	74.8	77.8
West Bengal	38.1	14.8
TOTAL	60.6	60.3

school teachers in general did not enjoy an adequate social status, either in urban or in rural areas. Some steps to improve the situation were, therefore, taken. Reference has already been made to the increase in their remuneration and to the improvement in their academic qualifications. Both these measures did help to some extent in raising their overall social status. The Ministry of Education instituted a scheme of national awards for teachers under which several outstanding elementary school teachers are selected every year from all the states of India and given awards of Rs. 500 by the President of the Union. The scheme has been very helpful in inviting public attention to the nation-building work which these teachers are doing.

General Conclusions : The foregoing account of the evolution of the present cadres of elementary teachers in India from the indigenous elementary schools which covered the country at the opening of the 19th century throws interesting light on a number of major problems involved.

(1) During the last 160 years, the remuneration of school teachers has been gradually rising. The average annual salary of a primary teacher was about Rs. 60 in the indigenous school at the opening of the 19th century. Towards the close of the century in 1901-02, it rose to Rs. 91. During the present century, the rise has been much steeper, especially at the time of the two world wars and in the post-independence period. The average annual salary of a primary teacher, which was only Rs. 91 in 1901-02 rose to Rs. 174 in 1921-22, Rs. 387 in 1946-47 and about Rs. 900 in 1960-61. The average annual salary of a middle school teacher has also risen similarly from Rs. 393 in 1921-22 to Rs. 561 in 1946-47 and to Rs. 1,100 in 1960-61. A substantial part of this increase has to be written off on account of the rise in the cost of living. But even when allowance is made for this factor, the average remuneration of an elementary school teacher today is much better than what it was a few years ago. It will, however, have to be admitted that the primary teacher in India still continues to be one of the poorly paid public servants and that his wage compares unfavourably with that of other public servants with similar qualifications.

(2) The general education of elementary school teachers has improved considerably, due partly to the better remuneration given and partly to the expansion of general education at all levels. In 1800, the average elementary school teacher knew little beyond what he was required to teach. Today, the matriculates form a very large proportion of the cadre of elementary teachers and new recruitment is being largely confined to those who have completed the secondary school. Quite a few graduates have joined the profession and their number is continually increasing.

(3) The training programme for elementary school teachers has also made considerable progress. In 1800, there was not one teacher training institution in the country and even the concept of teacher education was not accepted. By 1960-61, professional training of a

fair standard came to be provided for elementary school teachers and about 64 per cent of them were already trained.

In spite of these gains, there are a number of problems that still await solution. The remuneration of the elementary school teachers has to be improved still further and a better arrangement has to be made for their old-age provision. The recruitment of non-matriculantes has to cease and the proportion of graduates has to be increased substantially. Training has to be expanded and its standards have to be raised. The general service conditions of elementary school teachers (inclusive of the methods of recruitment) have to be improved. These problems are proposed to be discussed in the next two chapters.

General Education and Training of Elementary Teachers

The proper education and training of elementary teachers has now become far more important than at any time in the past. This is mainly due to the vast changes that are now being introduced in the system of elementary education. There is first the national decision to provide free and compulsory education to all children in the age-group 6-14 which is leading to a phenomenal expansion of elementary education. It has created a number of difficult problems such as heterogeneous grouping of pupils with extremely varied socio-economic backgrounds, classes of large sizes, a steep rise in the number of single-teacher schools, and the need to provide ancillary services such as school meals or school health, which are too difficult to be handled adequately by an untrained or inadequately educated teacher. Moreover, our expectations of what a primary school should achieve now transcend far beyond the earlier humble goal of mere literacy. We desire to create a new social order based on democracy and socialism. The attitudes and behaviour patterns which will create and establish such a social order have to be built in the minds of children in the elementary school itself, partly because this is the only education which the largest proportion of children in the country will ever receive, and partly because an early attempt to develop these attitudes would bring in the most fruitful results. Even in the acquisition of knowledge or skills, the tasks which an elementary school of today is expected to perform have become far more exacting than previously. The concept of basic education, with its emphasis on the use of a craft as a creative medium and on the development of instruction in close correlation with the social and physical environment of the child poses a great challenge to the teacher. Moreover, as knowledge tends to grow, the curricula of elementary schools are being rapidly enriched with many subjects or ideas which were formerly taught in secondary schools. If the elementary teachers are to perform satisfactorily these new and challenging tasks expected of

them, they will have to be given a much higher level of general education and a far better quality of professional training than at any time in the past.

General Education

Regarding the general education of elementary teachers, the broad objectives of policy have now been universally agreed. As early as 1944, the Sargent Plan recommended that the minimum general education of an elementary teacher should be the completion of the secondary school. This recommendation has been reiterated by the Government of India on a number of occasions and has been accepted, in principle, by all the state governments. In addition, there is also a general trend in favour of employment of graduates on as large a scale as possible. At the middle school stage, it is obviously desirable to have trained graduates as headmasters and, amongst the assistants, the larger the proportion of trained graduates, the better will be the standards. Even at the primary stage, it would be desirable to have trained graduates as headmasters of at least the bigger schools. It has been suggested that a trained graduate may be the headmaster of every primary school with more than 200 children and that in a primary school with more than 500 children, both the headmaster and the assistant headmaster may be trained graduates.

These plans for the improvement of general education of elementary school teachers are fundamentally sound and will lead to an improvement of standards. The rate of expansion of secondary and university education in India is now so great that there would be no difficulty in obtaining an adequate number of matriculates or graduates to staff the elementary schools on the basis of the proposals made above. What is needed, therefore, is the devising of suitable means to overcome the administrative and financial difficulties that come in the way of universal acceptance of these recommendations. The first and probably the most important step that we will have to take is to provide higher scales of pay to elementary teachers so as to attract competent matriculates and graduates to join the profession. Another problem is created by the practice of some state governments to reserve a proportion of the total number of posts available for

non-matriculate teachers, as a measure of economy, because the scales of pay of the non-matriculate teachers are much lower. This practice also will have to be discontinued with a consequent increase in expenditure. The third difficulty which affects rural areas in general and remote and inaccessible areas in particular, is that matriculate or graduate teachers are generally not willing to go and work in them. An attempt has been made to attract qualified teachers for these areas by grant of special allowances or through provision of such amenities as free quarters. But the response has not been very encouraging and in such areas, therefore, the minimum qualifications have generally to be relaxed. In respect of women teachers and teachers from the backward classes also, the minimum qualifications required have often to be lowered to below the matriculation standard; and here the only way out is to increase the supply of women matriculate or graduate teachers by adopting any or all of the methods indicated earlier in Chapter 9 and generally to expand secondary and higher education among the backward classes. It is because of the difficulties involved in implementing these concrete programmes, and not because of any disagreement in principle, that the progress in the general education of elementary teachers is being slowed down.

Table 42 shows the proportion of matriculate teachers to the total number of teachers in elementary schools as well as the proportion of matriculate teachers to total number of teachers recruited in each year since 1949-50.

It will be seen from this table that the number of matriculate teachers to total number of elementary teachers was as low as 12.59 in 1949-50 and that it has increased to 37 per cent in 1959-60. This is really considerable progress. But it does not show the recruitment of matriculate teachers in proper perspective. A large number of the non-matriculate teachers now working in elementary schools were recruited long ago and so long as they continue in service, the proportion of matriculates will not show a very appreciable increase. The figures in columns 11 and 12 of the table would, therefore, be found particularly interesting because of the light they throw on the recruitment of matriculate teachers. Column 11 gives the increase in the number of matriculates and column 12 gives the proportion of this increase to the increase in

TABLE 42: NUMBER OF MATRICULATE TEACHERS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Year	Matriculate teachers			Total number of teachers			Percentage of matriculate teachers to total number of teachers			Increase in the number of matriculates	Percentage of increase in matriculates to total increase
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1949-50	62,306	12,821	75,127	505,346	91,417	596,763	12.33	14.02	12.59	—	—
1950-51	75,997	13,993	89,990	528,246	95,168	623,414	14.39	14.70	14.44	14,823	55.6
1951-52	84,477	16,712	101,189	550,978	103,232	654,210	15.33	16.19	15.47	11,199	36.4
1952-53	102,853	21,075	123,928	569,591	114,113	683,704	18.06	18.47	18.13	22,739	77.1
1953-54	127,118	25,360	152,478	606,215	121,340	727,555	20.97	20.90	20.96	28,550	65.1
1954-55	167,344	30,176	197,520	657,260	130,290	787,550	25.46	23.16	25.08	45,042	75.1
1955-56	195,393	34,735	230,128	698,732	140,911	839,643	27.96	24.65	27.41	32,608	62.6
1956-57	222,637	45,127	267,764	724,345	152,357	876,702	30.74	29.62	30.54	37,636	101.6
1957-58	243,262	50,692	293,954	750,124	164,188	914,312	32.43	30.90	32.15	26,190	69.6
1958-59	268,974	58,663	327,637	782,932	177,533	960,465	34.35	33.10	34.11	33,683	73.0
1959-60	309,083	69,603	378,686	828,398	195,208	1,023,606	37.31	35.66	37.00	51,049	80.8

the total number of elementary teachers. It will be seen therefrom that the addition to the number of matriculate teachers was the lowest (only 36.4 per cent of the total increase in the number of teachers) in 1951-52, and that it was the highest (101.6 per cent) in 1956-57. It may also be seen that the proportion of matriculate teachers recruited is continually increasing and that it now stands at about 80 per cent. If these trends continue, it is anticipated that more than 90 to 95 per cent of the new recruitment in the Fourth Five-Year Plan would be of matriculate teachers.

Table 42 gives only the all-India totals. The position varies considerably from state to state as may be seen from the following table for 1960-61:

TABLE 43: NUMBER OF ELEMENTARY TEACHERS
ACCORDING TO QUALIFICATION (1960-61)

State	Number of teachers by qualifications				
	Graduates	Matri- culates	Non- matriculates	Total	Percentage of matriculates to total
Andhra Pradesh	860	31,577	54,801	87,238	36
Assam	182	6,323	28,801	35,306	18
Bihar	1,358	29,419	53,804	84,581	35
Gujarat	415	21,128	37,264	58,807	36
Jammu & Kashmir	276	4,441	2,099	6,816	65
Kerala	958	41,275	33,075	75,308	56
Madhya Pradesh	2,711	26,365	49,886	78,962	33
Madras	313	40,040	70,316	110,669	36
Maharashtra	1,330	36,444	76,836	114,610	31
Mysore	555	28,194	43,820	72,569	34
Orissa	165	6,587	36,170	42,912	15
Punjab	2,793	22,996	10,874	36,663	62
Rajasthan	1,549	30,480	10,109	42,138	72
Uttar Pradesh	3,313	32,321	86,679	122,313	26
West Bengal	3,967	60,063	30,569	94,599	64

It will be seen from Table 43 that the proportion of matriculate teachers is the highest in Rajasthan (72 per cent). Then comes Jammu & Kashmir with a proportion of 65 per cent. This is followed by West Bengal (64 per cent), Punjab (62 per cent) and Kerala (56 per cent). At the other end of the scale is Orissa where the proportion of matriculate teachers to the total is only 15 per cent. Then come Assam (18 per cent), Uttar Pradesh (26 per cent), Maharashtra (31 per cent), Madhya Pradesh (33 per cent), Mysore (34 per cent), Bihar (35 per cent) and Gujarat and Madras (36 per cent each). Even if the bulk of new recruitment is of matriculates only, the large proportion of non-matriculate teachers existing at present will be reduced only gradually as they retire from service.

How can this large proportion of non-matriculate teachers be reduced rapidly in future? The first suggestion is that the policy of regarding matriculation as the minimum qualification for elementary teachers should be adhered to more and more rigidly and that each state should fix a deadline beyond which no non-matriculate should be recruited as an elementary teacher. In view of the large expansion of secondary education, it may be possible to fix this deadline at 1965-66 in most states ; but such deadlines should be laid down in all states by 1970-71 at the latest. In the meanwhile, steps should be taken to see that the preparation of women teachers or teachers for tribal areas is expanded considerably so that there is no need to recruit non-matriculいたes for these categories of teachers beyond the deadline. It has also been suggested that adequate opportunities and incentives may be provided to existing non-matriculate teachers to improve their qualifications through programmes of further self-education. A liberal provision of study leave should be made for this purpose and those teachers who improve their qualifications should be given a higher scale of pay or permitted to earn increment in their own scale.

In this context, mention may also be made of the increasing trend to employ graduate teachers at the elementary stage. Table 44 shows the number of graduate teachers working in elementary schools since 1949-50.

It will be seen that there has been considerable increase in the number of graduate teachers during the last twelve years. In

TABLE 44: GRADUATE TEACHERS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Year	Total number of graduate teachers		
	Men	Women	Total
1949-50	4,239	1,356	5,514
1950-51	4,818	1,297	6,115
1951-52	5,684	1,542	7,226
1952-53	5,673	1,625	7,298
1953-54	7,906	1,977	9,883
1954-55	8,844	2,063	10,907
1955-56	11,083	2,436	13,519
1956-57	11,406	2,912	14,318
1957-58	12,767	3,489	16,256
1958-59	13,051	3,812	16,863
1959-60	14,709	4,674	19,383

the years to come, this increase will be faster still, partly because of the expansion of university education and partly because of the improvement in the remuneration of elementary teachers. This process will also be accelerated if the existing matriculate teachers are provided with adequate incentives and opportunities to become graduates through further self-education.

Training of Teachers

Professional Training—Some Deficiencies: From the review of the historical development of the training of elementary teachers in India given in Chapter 12, it would be seen that there has been considerable progress in this sector during the last 160 years. In spite of these achievements, however, the present position of the training of elementary teachers in the country is far from happy, especially if it is evaluated in the light of the new challenges in elementary education. First of all, not every teacher is trained and the percentage of trained teachers in 1960-61 was only 64. Even

at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, when the percentage of trained teachers would rise to 75, there would still be a big backlog of untrained teachers which is estimated at 406,000. Moreover, it has to be pointed out that even the trained elementary teachers of today are not fully equipped to discharge their heavy responsibilities satisfactorily. What we have been able to evolve so far is only a programme of pre-service training. No steps have been taken till now to develop the more important and useful concept of inservice training. Even the pre-service programme that we have developed suffers from a number of deficiencies. Although a period of two years is generally agreed to be the minimum required for proper pre-service training, the duration of the training course is still one year in a number of states. The total number of training institutions is inadequate and their locations have not been carefully planned. The average size of a training institution is too small to make it an economic and efficient unit. The status of the institutions is, by and large, low, and equated to that of a secondary school rather than to an institution of higher education. The scales of pay for teacher educators are consequently lower than what they should be and, generally, the staff of the training institutions need to have much better qualifications in general education and should be better prepared for the specialized job of the training of elementary teachers. Most of the training institutions function in academic isolation and have no vital links with the elementary schools in the field. The syllabii are often out-dated, the methods of teaching rather obsolete—the lecture method being the one the most commonly employed—and the training programme, as a whole, not as effective as it should be. The physical plant of many training institutions leaves much to be desired. Very often, they do not have adequate buildings or equipment. If the training of elementary teachers is to be radically improved, the removal of these deficiencies would have to be regarded as an urgent programme of high priority.

Clearing the Backlog of Untrained Teachers: The first step in a programme of qualitative improvement of elementary teachers would be to clear the large backlog of untrained teachers, estimated at 406,000 at the end of the Third Plan, through a planned expansion of the existing facilities for teacher training. At present,

it is only in a few areas like Madras or Kerala that there is no such backlog and the existing facilities for teacher training have been expanded to a point where the output of trained teachers in any given year is more or less equal to meet the demand for new teachers, either for replacement or for new enrolment. In most other areas, there is a large backlog of untrained teachers and a vicious circle has, besides, been created by the absence of adequate training facilities. The number of training institutions being limited, most of their seats are reserved for the training of teachers in service—who have a priority—and the admission of freshmen to these institutions is severely restricted. Consequently, the trained teachers available in the market are so few that most of the new recruitment has to be from among untrained teachers only. The failure to admit freshmen to training institutions in adequate numbers thus leads to the recruitment of untrained teachers; and such recruitment, in its turn, restricts the admission of freshmen to training institutions still further. To break this vicious circle, two steps are needed: (1) to clear the backlog of untrained teachers in service; and (2) to increase the output of training institutions to a point where it can easily meet the demand for trained teachers.

It may be pointed out that the backlog of untrained teachers varies largely from state to state. In a state like Madras or Kerala, it hardly exists. In a state like Uttar Pradesh the problem did not exist at the end of the Second Plan. But owing to the immense expansion in the Third Five-Year Plan, the percentage of trained teachers is expected to fall to 75 in 1965-66, and to create the problem at the end of the Third Plan. In a state like Assam, the percentage of trained teachers at the end of the Second Plan was only 35.9 and this may even go down still further during the Third Five-Year Plan on account of expansion. This problem of clearing the backlog of untrained teachers thus becomes very acute in this state. The programme to be designed to remove this deficiency, therefore, will have to vary from state to state.

A second point to be remembered in this context is that this problem can be made easier by adopting shorter courses of training for some groups of teachers. If every untrained teacher has to undergo a full-fledged training course of two years, the clearance of this backlog would be both costly and a long-term programme.

But, fortunately, it is not necessary to do so. It is possible to divide the existing untrained teachers in three different categories and to devise shorter programmes of training for two of them. For instance, a very large number of untrained teachers would be above 35 years of age and would have already put in 10 to 15 years of service. In view of their experience and age, it would not be desirable to submit them to a full-time training course of two years. A shorter course of in-service training spread over 5 to 6 months would serve the purpose. If necessary, this initial course may be supplemented by one or two short courses of 3 months' duration, given at intervals of 3 to 5 years. Such a phased programme of in-service training would secure all the academic advantages without submitting these teachers to hardships which inevitably arise when a man in the middle of life is required to undergo full-time training of two years in a residential institution. Similarly, teachers who are below 35 years of age and have put in 5 to 7 years' service might be given only a shorter training of one year. Full-time training of two years might be provided to those teachers only who are below 35 years of age and who have put in less than about 5 to 7 years of service. The number of such teachers is, however, very small; and it should be possible for every state which has to face this problem, to prepare a phased programme of clearing its backlog during the next four or five years.

The Government of Maharashtra has recently prepared such a programme and proposed to clear all its backlog of untrained teachers by 1964-65 and to recruit no untrained teachers beyond June, 1965. Similar schemes can easily be drawn up by other states where large backlogs of untrained teachers exist. The Study Group on the Training of Elementary Teachers in India have recommended that every state should prepare a programme for liquidating its backlog of untrained teachers by a prescribed date (which should in no case be later than 1971), and that, after this date, no untrained teacher should be recruited for appointment in elementary schools. This is a very practicable suggestion and could be easily implemented.

It has been estimated that the total cost of providing a full-time two-year training course to all untrained teachers in service at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan would be as high as Rs. 406

million. The recommendations made above will reduce its cost to about Rs. 150 million.

Expansion of Training Facilities : The clearance of the existing backlog of untrained teachers is only a temporary solution of the problem and unless steps are taken simultaneously to expand training facilities to the extent necessary, the backlog will accumulate again.

How will a state estimate its annual demand for trained teachers during the next 10 to 15 years and plan the expansion of its training facilities? The Study Group on the Training of Elementary Teachers in India suggest that this may be done on two assumptions: (1) the number of teachers required for replacement may be taken at 4% of the existing number; and (2) the number of teachers required for new enrolment should be estimated on the basis of the additional enrolment expected in elementary schools during the period and a teacher-pupil ratio of 1:45. Depending upon their present level of advance, it may be possible for some states to reach 100% enrolment in the age-group 6-14 by 1975; others may reach 100% enrolment only in the age-group 6-11 and 75% enrolment in the age-group 11-14; and even the least advanced states, it is hoped, will reach 100% enrolment in the age-group 6-11 and 50% enrolment in the age-group 6-14. On the basis of these assumptions, the number of additional teachers required as well as the number of additional places required in training institutions (on the assumption of a uniform training course of two years and a wastage of not more than 10%) can be estimated as shown in Table 45.

It thus appears that our minimum annual requirements of elementary teachers would be 236,000 and that the maximum would be 587,000, depending upon the target to be reached and the pupil-teacher ratio to be adopted. Assuming a pupil-teacher ratio of 45:1, it appears that our annual requirement of teachers will vary between 291,000 and 398,000 during the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans. This implies an increase of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 times in the existing provision of training places for elementary teachers which stands at only about 120,000. The immense task that lies ahead can thus be imagined.

These global estimates for the country as a whole cannot be

TABLE 45: TOTAL NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL TEACHERS REQUIRED (1965-75)

Assumption about enrolment by 1975-76	Total number of additional teachers required during 1965-75 on the basis of pupil-teacher ratios of					Annual requirements of additional teachers during 1965-75 on the basis of pupil-teacher ratios of					Enrolment needed in training institutions on the assumption of pupil-teacher ratio of				
	35: 1	40: 1	45: 1	50: 1	50: 1	35: 1	40: 1	45: 1	50: 1	50: 1	35: 1	40: 1	45: 1	50: 1	50: 1
	(in thousands)					(in thousands)					(in thousands)				
I. 100 per cent in age-group 6-11 and 50 per cent in age-group 11-14	2,007	1,611	1,306	1,061	1,061	201	161	131	106	106	447	358	291	236	236
II. 100 per cent in age-group 6-11 and 75 per cent in age-group 11-14	2,322	1,886	1,550	1,281	1,281	232	189	155	128	128	516	420	344	284	284
III. 100 per cent in age-group 6-11 and 100 per cent in age-group 11-14	2,637	2,161	1,794	1,501	1,501	264	216	179	150	150	587	480	398	333	333

taken as the basis for detailed planning in which the case of each state will have to be dealt with separately. The Study Group on the Training of Elementary Teachers have suggested that each state should work out its own requirements of additional teachers during the next 10 to 15 years and, on that basis, ascertain the number of additional places that it will need in training institutions. These estimates can then become the basis of a planned programme for the development of teacher education in that state.

For finalization of such plans, however, decision on some ancillary matters would also have to be taken. The first of these is to determine the optimum size of a training institution. At present, there is a great variation in the size of these institutions. In some cases, there are institutions which admit only 20 candidates or so, whereas, in certain other cases, there are institutions which admit as many as 300. An important problem which needs investigation in this regard is to decide the optimum size for a teacher training institution. The optimum size implies that the institution should neither be too big nor too small. It also implies that an institution of this size will try to combine the advantages of both the small and the big institutions—the homely atmosphere and personal touch of the small institution with the economy and specialization of the big one. If such a size can be determined, and all or most of our training institutions planned on that basis, it would be possible to have a great deal of economy without sacrificing quality. It may even be possible to reduce costs and to increase efficiency simultaneously. The First National Seminar on the Education of Primary Teachers in India recommended that the optimum size of a training institution should be of four classes, two classes of first year and two classes of second year, preferably of 40 to 50 trainees each. The Seminar also considered it desirable to restrict admissions to the minimum, namely, 40 trainees. However, in view of the urgent requirements of teachers, it was considered desirable that the upper limit, namely 50, may be adopted as a purely temporary measure. In no circumstances, however, it was felt, should the enrolment of 50 be exceeded. The trainees have to specialize in crafts and do community work ; training itself involves individual attention ; and guidance, super-

vision and criticism of practice lessons would not be effective with an enrolment of more than 50. The Seminar based this recommendation on the general experience that a training institution with less than four classes is rather costly and that an institution with more than 200 trainees becomes rather bulky. The four-class unit or institution was, therefore, considered as both manageable and economical. The Seminar also suggested that the existing small institutions in the states should be raised to this optimum size.

As soon as the optimum size of a training institution is determined, it would be possible to ascertain the number of additional seats that could be provided in existing training institutions; and, as a next step, it would also be possible to determine the number of new institutions a state would need in order to meet its demand for additional teachers as estimated above.

The problem of the location of the new training institutions would then arise. The Study Group on the Training of Elementary Teachers in India have pointed out that, in the past, the location of training institutions had been more fortuitous than planned and have suggested that the following principles should be kept in view in locating these new institutions:

(1) A district should be taken as the unit of planning and each district should be provided with as many training institutions as are required to meet the demand of elementary teachers within its area;

(2) Since 80 per cent of the population is rural, about four-fifths of the training institutions should be located in rural areas;

(3) As the training institutions need practising schools of a fair size, an ideal location for a training institution would be a township with a population between 5,000 and 15,000. This will provide the necessary facilities of a practising school on the desired scale without detracting from the rural character of the location; and

(4) The institutions should be so located that they would be easily accessible from all parts of the district. There is a proposal that each training institution should provide extension services to primary and middle schools within its neighbourhood. The location of training institutions should, therefore, be so

planned that when these services are started, it should be possible to cover most of the primary and middle schools in the district.

If a Master Plan for the location of training institutions could be prepared on these lines in the next year or two, it should be possible to implement it in the Fourth Five-Year Plan. This would be of great assistance in shifting the emphasis in elementary education to qualitative improvement.

Sometimes proposals of this type are opposed on the ground that they would lead to a good deal of wasteful expenditure. It is argued that, during the next ten years, the additional enrolment expected in elementary schools would be very large because it would have to take care of the growth of population as well as of the backlog of unenrolled children. Once the goal of universal education was reached, all further increase in enrolment would be needed only to take care of the growth in population. It is, therefore, felt that the additional enrolment in elementary schools, and consequently the requirement of additional teachers, would be considerably reduced after universal education was provided to all children and that this would necessitate the closure of a number of institutions that would be started in the near future on the basis of the demand for additional teachers between 1965-1975.

If this were really to happen, there is no doubt that a good deal of wasteful expenditure would result. It may be pointed out, however, that these fears are not quite justified. It is anticipated that the rate of increase in enrolment during the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans would be about 5 to 6 per cent and that it would fall to about 2 to 3 per cent thereafter. This should lead to a reduction in the demand for additional teachers were it not for four balancing factors. Once the goal of universal education was reached, there would be no need to maintain a high pupil-teacher ratio as 45:1. In fact, the attempt then would be to reduce the pupil-teacher ratio to the extent possible. In the same way, once the programme of expansion was completed, there would be a demand for providing in-service education to teachers on a much larger scale and this would require the conversion of some institutions of pre-service education into those of in-service education. Thirdly, there would also arise a demand for lengthening the duration of training from two to three years; and lastly, when universal education for

eight years is provided, a demand would generally be made to extend it to nine years. These four factors, taken singly or in combination, are more than enough to counterbalance the probable reduction in the demand for teachers on account of the fall in additional annual enrolment after the goal of universal education is reached. It may, therefore, be fairly safe to prepare plans on the basis suggested by the Study Group on the Training of Elementary Teachers.

Improvement in Lands, Buildings and Equipment : Unfortunately a very large number of the existing training institutions lack even the minimum of essential physical facilities, such as an adequate campus, buildings (for tuition, library and laboratory, craft-sheds, hostels and staff quarters), and equipment. Not all of them have practising schools of their own. The absence of these basic requirements lowers the standards and reduces the effectiveness of the training programme to a very large extent. It is, therefore, necessary to take immediate steps to improve these facilities to a minimum level in all the existing training institutions and to provide them adequately in all the new institutions that are proposed to be established.

The Ministry of Education carried out, in 1959-60, a survey of the existing training institutions for elementary teachers in the country. Its findings on the adequacy or otherwise of these facilities in the existing training institutions have been summarised in Table 46.

It will be seen that, in respect of tuitional buildings, most of the institutions in the states of Assam, Bihar, and Punjab are housed in their own buildings. In contrast to this, most of the institutions in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh are accommodated in rented buildings, or some make-shift arrangements have been made for them with the help of other educational institutions.

The position regarding libraries is not satisfactory in a number of states. In the states of Punjab, Bihar and Maharashtra, more than 80 per cent of the institutions have such facilities. Orissa and West Bengal need a lot of improvement in this respect—in the former, only 37 per cent and in the latter only 43 per cent of the institutions have library facilities.

TABLE 46: FACILITIES AVAILABLE IN TRAINING INSTITUTIONS FOR ELEMENTARY TEACHERS
(Percentage of institutions possessing the facility only)

Serial no.	State	Tuitional buildings (own)	Libraries	Laboratories	Craft sheds	Sanitary arrangements	Practising schools (own)	Hostels (own)	Staff quarters
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.	Andhra Pradesh	65	77	30	76	96	76	55	20
2.	Assam	100	55	7	47	67	93	100	65
3.	Bihar	91	82	5	25	91	80	98	27
4.	Gujarat	49	75	59	81	86	58	50	13
5.	Jammu and Kashmir					<i>Information not available</i>			
6.	Kerala	78	56	15	51	85	69	30	8
7.	Madhya Pradesh	36	74	17	61	60	26	43	7
8.	Madras	74	75	28	51	93	64	70	18
9.	Maharashtra	32	82	48	88	88	68	30	8
10.	Mysore	44	76	44	46	82	67	40	6
11.	Orissa	59	37	..	40	48	24	65	25
12.	Punjab	93	85	72	69	93	79	72	28
13.	Rajasthan	68	59	26	57	50	29	40	10
14.	Uttar Pradesh	21	61	39	71	72	100	20	10
15.	West Bengal	72	43	4	13	76	77	71	40

In the Punjab, 72 per cent of the institutions have laboratories, in Gujarat 59 per cent and in Maharashtra 48 per cent. As compared to these, no institution in Orissa has a laboratory. Only 4 per cent of the institutions in West Bengal, 5 per cent in Bihar, 7 per cent in Assam and 15 per cent in Kerala have laboratories. In this age, when the teaching of science is being given so much emphasis, it seems essential for every training institution to have a laboratory of its own.

As regards craft-sheds or rooms, most of the institutions in West Bengal and Bihar and more than half in Orissa, Mysore and Assam are without them. It may be that the position, as depicted in these tables, does not convey the correct picture regarding basic training institutions, because separate figures are not given for basic training institutions.

As regards practising schools, all the institutions in Uttar Pradesh have such schools of their own. The position in Assam, Bihar, Punjab, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh is also fairly satisfactory where more than 75 per cent of these institutions have this facility available. In contrast to this, 24 per cent of the institutions in Orissa, 29 per cent in Rajasthan and 26 per cent in Madhya Pradesh have this facility. The objective in this respect should be to have one practising school attached to every teacher training institution.

With the exception of Assam and Bihar, where almost all the hostels are located in their own buildings, the position in other states is not satisfactory. In the states of Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Mysore, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, less than half the number of institutions have their own buildings.

It is observed that 'residences for the trainees in the hostels are not compulsory everywhere and some institutions do not have the necessary facilities for the purpose either. It should be noted that the training of teachers is a whole-time project and that a good deal of the efficiency of training is lost if the trainees are only day scholars. Activities in connection with community work, craft work and socialisation of participants suffer a good deal of set-back in the absence of proper residential facilities for the trainees. It is, therefore, extremely desirable to see that all the training institutions are fully residential and that the hostel buildings are quite

adjacent to the institutional buildings so as to help in the proper organization of community activities and pupil participation'.¹

The position of quarters for the members of the staff of the training institutions is very unsatisfactory in most of the states. In Assam, 65 per cent of teachers have residences available to them and in West Bengal 40 per cent. In contrast to these, only 6 per cent of the teachers in Mysore, 7 per cent in Madhya Pradesh, 8 per cent in Kerala, 10 per cent each in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, and 13 per cent in Gujarat have this facility available.

What is needed is a complete survey of the existing training institutions in order to ascertain the existing level of facilities provided and to determine the additional expenditure necessary in order to raise them to a prescribed minimum standard in all essential respects. Such survey would obviously have to be carried out by each state for all the institutions within its area. They would give an idea of the total funds required for raising the existing training institutions to a given level.

Types of Courses and Their Duration: Another important problem which arises in this context refers to the types of courses for pre-service training and their duration.

At present, the elementary teachers can be divided into three groups on the basis of their qualifications: graduates, matriculates and non-matriculates. There is no special provision at present to train the graduates as elementary teachers. They generally go to ordinary training colleges and get a B.T. or B.Ed. degree which, more often than not, is designed for the preparation of teachers for secondary schools. In some instances, they also join the post-graduate basic training colleges which are mainly meant for preparing supervisors of elementary schools or members of the staff of training institutions for primary teachers. As the number of graduate teachers employed in elementary schools increases, this problem will become acute and steps will have to be taken to provide a good training programme of one year's duration to prepare them as teachers of elementary schools.

The second category, that of matriculate teachers, is a small group at present. It will be this group that will form the large

¹ Report of the First National Seminar on the Education of Primary Teachers in India, *Ministry of Education*, 1961, p. 129.

majority of elementary teachers within a few years. The existing position is that some states provide a two-year training course for matriculates whereas others provide only a one-year training course. The exact position as it now stands in each state is given below:

Andhra Pradesh : There is no uniformity. For freshers, the training course is of two years' duration ; but for teacher-candidates in the Telengana area and for secondary grade trainees in Andhra area, the duration of the course is one year.

Assam : The duration is one year for teachers of junior basic schools. In the case of teachers for senior basic schools, it is one year if the teacher has passed the matriculation examination besides the normal school course ; but if he is only matric, the duration of training is two years.

Bihar : The duration is two years (both for freshers and teachers). But a separate course of six months' duration is arranged for teachers with seven years' experience.

Gujarat : It is two years for the Junior Certificate Course for those who have passed the Primary School Certificate Examination. For the Senior Certificate, duration of the course is two years.

Jammu & Kashmir : It is one year after matriculation. In the case of middle-passed women candidates also, it is one year.

Kerala : Two years' duration for all.

Madhya Pradesh : One year training course for all except in Mahakoshal region where it is of two years' duration.

Madras : Two years for both junior basic and senior basic.

Maharashtra : For matriculates, (i) 2 years for Senior Certificate ; and (ii) one year for Junior Certificate. For middle passed, two years for a Junior Certificate.

Mysore : For S.S.L.C's it is a one-year course. For non-S.S.L.C's it is two years' course.

Orissa : Two years for all, whether matriculates or non-matriculates.

Punjab : Two years for matriculates.

Rajasthan : One year for matriculates.

Uttar Pradesh : Two years' course.

West Bengal : (a) One year for a primary training school. (b) one year in a junior basic training college followed by six months of actual work of supervised teaching in a school and a completion (residential) course of one month.

Himachal Pradesh : One year.

Delhi : Two years.

Tripura : One year.

Manipur : One year.

Pondicherry : Two years.

As early as 1944, the Sargent Plan recommended that the duration of the training course for matriculates should be two years. This recommendation has been repeatedly made by the Government of India on a number of occasions and has also been broadly agreed to in principle by the state governments. In spite of this

agreement in principle, however, it has not yet been possible for some states to raise the duration of the training course to two years. The difficulties are mainly three. The first is that, in some states, there is a great shortage of trained teachers and it is felt that the increased duration of training course would aggravate, rather than improve, the situation. The second is a financial difficulty—the inability of the state governments concerned to find the funds required to expand the duration of the course. The third is the difficulty of teachers themselves. It is argued that, in rural areas and in the poorer sectors of the community, the parents desire their children to start earning as early as possible. If the duration of the training course is increased, the students will have to spend a much longer period at school and this would adversely affect the interests of the poorer classes. It is obvious, however, that these difficulties need not be taken seriously. The first of these could be overcome by prescribing a minimum percentage of trained teachers to be reached before the introduction of a two-year training course is attempted. The second is not a major issue and the funds required for this programme will have to be found, even within the existing allocations, by giving it a higher priority. The third can be overcome by instituting an adequate number of scholarships and stipends. The Study Group on the Training of Elementary Teachers in India, therefore, recommended that the duration of the training course should be raised uniformly to two years in all parts of the country as soon as practicable. According to the original target laid down for the Third Five-Year Plan, this goal was to be reached by 1965-66. It should be possible to keep to this target, or to reach it within another year or two.

Yet another point is sometimes raised in this context. It is argued that the Sargent Plan recommended a duration of two years for the training course on the ground that the entrants to the training schools would be matriculates. Now that the higher secondary course has been introduced, it is argued that the duration of the training course should be reduced to one year, at least for those who have passed the higher secondary or Intermediate examinations. This problem was examined by the Study Group on the Training of Elementary Teachers in India. It felt that it would not be desirable to reduce the duration of the training course

to one year even for the higher secondary or Intermediate students. In the opinion of the Study Group, the largest part of the training course should be devoted to pedagogy because, at the elementary stage, the methods of teaching are of far greater importance than the subject content. Students who have passed the higher secondary or Intermediate examinations may have some better general education, but they are no better than the matriculates in so far as their pedagogic requirements are concerned. Besides, the trainees need time to build up right attitudes and to digest properly all the new body of knowledge and skills with which they are confronted in the training course. A period of two years is probably the minimum required for this purpose.

At present, the duration of training for non-matriculates also is either one year or two years. This is not a very happy position. The non-matriculate teachers need to be strengthened in their general education and they have to be put through the same course of pedagogy as the matriculate teachers. It, therefore, follows that the duration of the training course for non-matriculates should be longer, say, three years. This suggestion is, however, opposed on the ground that it is too long a period and that it will create hardships for two important groups of teachers: women and tribals. As a measure of compromise, it is suggested that, while the general duration of pre-service training course for non-matriculate teachers may be kept at two years for some time to come, steps should be taken to provide intensive courses of in-service education for them so that their standards would be broadly on a par with those of the matriculate teachers.

Syllabi : Even more significant are the programmes intended to improve the syllabi and teaching methods in training institutions for elementary teachers. When we study the syllabi followed in the training institutions of the different states, we find that they are as varied as the land and the people. Since traditional training institutions co-exist with basic institutions in some states, the syllabi not only differ from state to state, but also from institution to institution within the same state. Where such separate types exist, attempts have been made (as in Mysore) to make the syllabi as similar as possible, except in regard to community living and craft training. It is hoped that the traditional courses will, before

long, be superseded by basic courses and that in this process the two aspects of the prospective teachers' development, personal and professional, will be properly harmonized.

In some states, more time is devoted to the teaching of general subjects like languages, mathematics, science and social studies. This naturally reduces the time available for professional subjects like Principles of Education, Psychology, School Organization and Management and Methods of teaching subjects. In Madras, teaching of general subjects is omitted and emphasis, as far as these subjects are concerned, is on the methods of teaching these subjects although, during the periods set apart for methods of teaching the subjects, subject matter is also dealt with. The total time devoted for practice teaching also varies. In some states, there is greater emphasis on practice teaching while in other states the emphasis is less. Since the candidates who come out of the training institutions have to take up teaching work, it is quite necessary that the training course should provide ample opportunities for practice teaching. Another important point that will have to be considered is giving the teacher practice in handling plural classes. When most of the states are launching upon the programme of free and compulsory primary education, it will become necessary to open as many new schools as possible and most of these may not warrant the appointment of more than one teacher. Hence most of the elementary teachers will have to handle plural classes at some stage or another and special training for this is necessary.

In order to give a lead to the necessary reform in this context, a detailed model syllabus may be drawn up by the Ministry of Education. It is also desirable to form an All-India Association of Training Institutions for Elementary Teachers on the lines of the All-India Association of Training Colleges at the graduate level, to discuss common problems relating to the administration, organization, etc., of elementary teacher training. The model syllabus should also take into consideration the best elements of the basic and non-basic syllabi. It should also be so integrated as to include the theory and practice of community development in so far as they relate to the education of the child and health education. The community development programme in the villages requires, not

only help and participation of the teachers, but their leadership. The Education Department and Community Development Department should accept the programme of community development as equal partners and should make all-out efforts to implement it in the proper spirit. For this purpose, the orientation of the primary school teachers to the programme of community development is not to be regarded as an end of the programme but only its beginning. The idea that the primary school must become the centre of the local community is accepted all over the world and by asking the teachers to undertake this work we will only be making an effort to bring the school and the community closer. It may also be emphasized that the underlying idea in introducing this programme is only to do what is legitimately a part of education in bringing the school and the community nearer each other.

The arrangements made for practice teaching by the trainees during their training period also vary from state to state and from institution to institution. In some cases it is concentrated over a number of weeks whereas in certain other cases, it is spread over the entire duration of the training course. To improve matters in this respect, the provision of a school on the campus of a training institution is absolutely essential. This, however, would not suffice by itself. Some arrangement with institutions off the campus would also be desirable. The trainees should also have continued supervision from the members of the staff and should be regularly visited by them when they are put on practice teaching in schools off the campus. The provision of a van in all training institutions for these visits should be considered an essential part of the equipment.

The place that should be assigned to the teaching of craft in the training institutions is also an important question. There is a feeling that too much time is devoted to craft work to the detriment of academic work. It is suggested that the time devoted to craft should be balanced in relation to the time schedule for academic work. The introduction of home craft as a major craft for women trainees may be accepted and implemented in all the states.

One of the strong points in the system of teacher education at the under-graduate level is the emphasis on community living.

'Community living means much more than mere organization of extra-curricular activities. It indicates that the whole institution—students and staff, teaching and non-teaching—forms a community working to achieve definite goals Training in community living should try to develop among trainees feelings of brotherhood, co-operation, self-help, service to community and a spirit of toleration and goodwill. Through social and cultural activities and educational tours, the training will foster an understanding of the cultural heritage of the nation and its industrial and economic potentiality. Through manual labour programmes, it will bring the trainees in close contact with villages and their problems of reconstruction in respect of education, sanitation, etc., and the part the school community has to play in this field. The student community will live and board together. The daily routine in respect of *safai*—individual and community—kitchen duties, management of the mess, and selection and preparation of menu for the mess, will play a vital part in healthy living. To meet any emergency, the training will include also first aid and ambulance work, and a knowledge of simple remedies for common ailments. To derive the full benefit of community living, it is essential that the college should have a decent and commodious hostel, and residence in it should be compulsory'.² The general pattern of community living includes the following activities: community prayer, *safai* or cleanliness in the training school, in the hostel and in the village, observance of good health and hygienic practices, kitchen work, repair of buildings, observance of festivals and anniversaries, self-government, extension service including social education activities, cultural and recreational activities and excursions and picnics.

While there may be variations according to local conditions, the following areas should be covered in the syllabus:

A. EDUCATION

- (1) Principles and practice of education.
- (2) Educational psychology and child development.
- (3) Methods of teaching and content of school subjects.
- (4) (a) Languages, (b) General science including health education, (c) Social studies inclusive of community development, (d) Mathematics.
- (5) School organization and administration.

² *Ibid.*, p. 204.

- (6) Community living and extension service.
- (7) Physical education.

B. ART AND CRAFT

- (1) One main craft.
- (2) One subsidiary craft.
- (3) Art.
- (4) Music and drama.

C. PRACTICAL WORK

- (1) Community survey and services.
- (2) Child study.
- (3) Preparation of teaching aids.

It has been suggested earlier that the Ministry of Education should make a thorough study of the problem of the syllabus and make its findings available to the states so that they can consider the revision of their syllabi. It will also be an advantage if the Ministry of Education were to prepare a handbook for the teacher-educators in the country.

Since most of the training institutions are residential, and community-living is an integral part of the training given in them, it should be comparatively easy to organize a variety of co-curricular activities. Participation in scouting and guiding should also be included in the programme.

Methods of Teaching: It is a well-known fact that the lecture method is, by and large, the most prevalent method in teacher training institutions. Lecture method has its advantages but a total reliance on it is not desirable. It is suggested that the techniques of seminars, tutorials, assignments, surveys, projects, etc., are given their due place in the working of the training institutions. It has also been observed that the amount of written work which the trainees put in during their period of training is not adequate. This too deserves more attention. Trainees should be encouraged to take up problems and study them, write on them and then discuss them in small groups. This practice will go a long way in cultivating proper habits of study in the trainees and also developing in them the much-needed sense of confidence. The First National Seminar suggested the adoption of the following teaching methods in training institutions:

- (i) Lectures aided and supplemented by audio-visual aids, discussions, written assignments, classroom visitations ;

- (ii) Lectures which will lead to further reading for finding out more facts related to the topics taught, training in the use of bibliography ;
- (iii) Tutorials ;
- (iv) Covering topics by setting long-term assignments, asking for bibliographical references in order to develop self-study techniques, practical assignments ;
- (v) Survey of educational problems, survey of educational facts, community survey, etc. ;
- (vi) Child study followed by written reports and discussions ;
- (vii) Classroom observation in practising schools ;
- (viii) Organized school visits and follow-up ;
- (ix) Organized tours and excursions ;
- (x) Group work : (1) study circles, (2) practical projects, (3) theoretical projects, (4) practical-cum-theoretical projects ;
- (xi) Methods involving group dynamics and co-operative problem-solving like (a) symposia, (b) seminars, (c) workshops, (d) panel discussions, etc. A few topics from each subject of the course may be carefully selected so that they may be covered through group methods ;
- (xii) Conducting simple experiments or studies, e.g., construction, administration and analysis of objective tests ; a survey of spelling mistakes of children of a particular class, etc. ;
- (xiii) Learning-by-doing techniques—helping in understanding of theory in relation to practical work experience—projects at the following level may be undertaken :
 - (1) Projects or units of work at trainees' level ; and
 - (2) Units of work at children's level undertaken during practice teaching ;
- (xiv) Planned practical work in relation to (1) crafts, (2) child study, (3) community uplift work, (4) practical teaching, (5) construction of teaching aids, (6) literature for children, (7) evaluation programme, (8) organization of community life activities ; and
- (xiv) Demonstration lesson by the staff of the training institutions, teachers of practising schools and student-teachers ; discussions of such lessons.

Examinations : In some states, there is great emphasis on the external aspect of examinations, but in others, the internal aspect is more stressed. In some states, examinations are conducted mostly by written papers whereas, in certain other states, the practical tests far outnumber the written tests. It is also noticed that the training institutions lay a lot of emphasis on the new type of examination only in theory ; but in actual practice, they seldom make use of it and generally rely on the traditional type of examination almost completely. The general tendency is to assess the practical work internally and to require an external examination in theory. A question to be considered is whether it is not desirable also to assess achievement in theory through internal tests. If it is thought that the time is not yet ripe for a full internal assess-

ment of theoretical studies, it should be possible at least to set apart a certain percentage of marks for internal evaluation as has been done in some states.

With regard to the assessment of skill in teaching, there are two practices ; it is assessed wholly internally or internal assessment is supplemented by a final examination. With regard to craft work, the normal practice is to assess it internally. But in some states, there is an external test also. Some states have also an external examination in Theory of Craft.

Although the defects of an external examination are well-known, such examinations may continue in training institutions for some time to come ; but in the meanwhile, some reforms should be attempted. The following are suggested from this point of view :

(i) Practical work, including teaching practice, craft and art work, and community living should be assessed internally by the staff of the training institution. So far as the practice teaching is concerned, a machinery should be evolved to co-ordinate the results of different institutions and to maintain standards.

(ii) Subjects like educational or community survey might be treated as non-examination subjects. A record of progress should be enough.

(iii) Theory papers should be externally examined ; but 25% of the marks should be awarded on the basis of class work. If theory papers are too many a few of them can be examined at the end of the first year. The content subjects, *viz.*, science, social studies, mathematics and languages may be examined internally.

(iv) Cumulative records should be maintained by the training institutions. These should be utilized in finalizing internal assessment. If these records are carefully kept and staff meetings are held at regular intervals to discuss them, some uniformity in assessment may be achieved. It will lead to objectivity also.

(v) In the external examination, the nature of questions needs revision. Questions should not be of such nature as

would lead to cramming. Instead of asking only questions of fact, examiners should also try to measure the ability to understand, the ability to solve problems and the ability to apply principles. Short answer questions may also be helpful.

With reference to the suggestion made in (i) above regarding a machinery to co-ordinate the results of different institutions and to maintain standards, it might be mentioned here that the Mysore University has already constituted a Co-ordinating Board for the purpose in connection with the B.Ed. Examination. The Co-ordinating Board, which consists of representatives of all the B.Ed., Colleges, meets once at the beginning of the academic year and visits each college twice in a year. The first meeting is meant to decide the details of the practical work, including practice teaching, preparation of teaching aids, construction of objective tests, etc., which should be internally assessed. The two visits are meant for checking the standards of evaluation and to moderate the marks where necessary so as to bring about a uniform standard in all the colleges. This has worked very successfully and the same system, in a modified form, has been extended in the Mysore State to the training institutions at the elementary level also. Each district is a unit and a Co-ordinating Committee with two heads of training institutions as members and the District Educational Officer as chairman, visits each training institution in the district, checks up the standards of valuation and brings about uniformity. The desirability of having such Co-ordinating Boards for training institutions may be considered by the State Education Departments.

Supervision of Training Institutions : The general practice in this respect is that it is left to the Education Officers at the district and divisional levels. In some states there is, no doubt, a special officer in charge of teacher training at the Directorate level. But he is mainly concerned with policy matters. The District Officers and the Divisional Officers are so fully engaged with primary and secondary education that they find very little time to look into the working of training institutions. This situation will become worse with the introduction of compulsory primary education and the expansion of secondary education. It is felt that there should be a

special agency for the supervision of training institutions with a Special Officer at the Directorate level. The academic inspection of these institutions should ordinarily be carried out by a panel constituted from amongst the staff of training institutions, officers of the Education Department and non-official educationists and the routine administrative inspection may be left to the District or Divisional Officer.

Improvement of Staff: Perhaps the most significant programme for the reform of training institutions for elementary teachers would be to improve their staff. This has both a quantitative as well as a qualitative aspect.

From the qualitative point of view, it may be stated that existing practices vary from state to state. In Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, the staff-student ratio is the lowest in India—1 to 9. At the other end comes Bihar with a staff-student ratio of 1 to 24. The other states stand somewhere in between, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh having a ratio of 1 to 10, Mysore, Orissa and Punjab of 1 to 14, Andhra Pradesh of 1 to 16, Kerala of 1 to 17 and Madras and Maharashtra of 1 to 18. In the training colleges for secondary teachers, the staff-student ratio is generally kept at 1 to 10. It may be desirable for the training institutions for elementary teachers also to adopt the same ratio.

The problem of prescribing higher qualifications for the staff of training institutions for elementary teachers has to be taken up without delay. At the moment, the staff of these institutions is generally interchangeable with teachers in secondary or higher secondary schools and has the same qualifications. In actual practice, however, these institutions are nearer to the training colleges than to the higher secondary schools. It is, therefore, essential to upgrade their salaries and bring them on a par with those of lecturers, assistant lecturers or tutors in training colleges for secondary teachers. This will also imply the raising of their qualifications. Every member of the staff for a training institution should be required to hold the Master's degree (with a second class at least) in a basic subject and in Education. He should have at least three to five years' experience of teaching in an elementary school or of working as a supervisor in a primary school. It may also be desirable to institute a selection grade amongst inspectors

or supervisors of elementary schools to make these posts interchangeable with the staff of training institutions.

These suggestions may take a long time for being given effect to. As an interim measure, the Government of India have decided to establish an Institute of Education in each state. The main functions of these Institutes would be to conduct research in the problems of elementary education and to produce the literature required by officers of the Education Department and elementary teachers. They will also conduct programmes of in-service training for supervisors of elementary schools and staff of the training institutions for elementary teachers. The establishment of these Institutes would go a long way in improving standards in training institutions for elementary teachers, especially if these programmes are combined with the upgrading of qualifications and remunerations of the staff of training institutions as indicated above.

Finance : Statistics of the direct expenditure incurred on 'training schools' (which mostly prepare teachers for primary schools only) are available. The expenditure is classified only according to sources. Table 47 shows the number, enrolment and total expenditure incurred at present on the training schools in each state.

It will be seen that the largest portion of the expenditure on training institutions is provided by government funds. This is as it should be because training is essentially a state function.

The question of the levy of fees in training institutions has often been discussed. It will be seen from the above table that the income from fees is the highest in Punjab. This was mainly due to the fact that most of the teacher training institutions in this State were run by private agencies who received scanty grants-in-aid and had to maintain themselves with the help of fees. But this picture has been totally changed by the recent decision of the State to take over all teacher training institutions under the Education Department. Next in order come Maharashtra and Gujarat, where also fee-income is comparatively large. It must be pointed out, however, that the fees of a large number of students in these states are paid by Government through a system of reimbursement of fees. The overall picture, therefore, is that the fees in training institutions for elementary teachers make a very small contribution to the

TABLE 47: TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS IN THE DIFFERENT STATES OF INDIA—1960-61

(Rupees in thousands)

States	1	2	3	Sources of expenditure				Total	Cost per pupil (in Rs.)
				Govern- ment funds	Local funds (rural)	Local funds (urban)	Fees		
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
Andhra Pradesh	..	137	14,975	2,682 (91.4)	— (—)	— (—)	89 (3.0)	2,935 (100.0)	196.0
Assam	36	2,318	767 (97.2)	— (—)	— (—)	5 (0.6)	789 (100.0)	340.5
Bihar	122	16,860	5,219 (97.8)	— (—)	— (—)	— (—)	5,336 (100.0)	316.5
Gujarat	78	8,184	1,663 (83.4)	10 (0.5)	— (—)	180 (9.0)	1,994 (100.0)	243.7
Jammu & Kashmir	10	613	689 (100.0)	— (—)	— (—)	— (—)	689 (100.0)	1,123.3
Kerala	80	5,759	736 (78.2)	— (—)	— (—)	185 (19.6)	942 (100.0)	163.6
Madhya Pradesh	..	46	5,340	3,421 (98.8)	— (—)	— (—)	23 (0.7)	3,463 (100.0)	648.5
Madras	23	3,061	246 (69.6)	— (—)	— (—)	6 (1.6)	353 (100.0)	115.5

(Continued on next page)

TABLE 47: TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS IN THE DIFFERENT STATES OF INDIA—1960-61 (*Contd.*)
(Rupees in thousands)

States	No. of institutions	Enrolment	Sources of expenditure					Total	Cost per pupil (in Rs.)	
			Govern-ment funds	Local funds (rural)	Local funds (urban)	Fees	Other sources			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		
Maharashtra	..	176	18,771	3,913 (76.2)	— (—)	52 (1.0)	669 (13.0)	503 (9.8)	5,138 (100.0)	273.7
Mysore	..	24	2,576	1,558 (93.4)	— (—)	— (—)	69 (4.1)	41 (2.5)	1,669 (100.0)	647.7
Orissa	..	82	4,741	639 (98.5)	— (—)	— (—)	— (—)	10 (1.5)	649 (100.0)	137.0
Punjab	..	26	2,943	588 (80.9)	— (—)	— (—)	108 (14.9)	31 (4.2)	727 (100.0)	246.9
Rajasthan	..	55	6,458	3,031 (93.7)	— (—)	— (—)	172 (5.3)	32 (1.0)	3,236 (100.0)	501.0
Uttar Pradesh	..	155	13,619	5,103 (94.4)	— (—)	12 (0.2)	212 (3.9)	79 (1.5)	5,406 (100.0)	396.9
West Bengal	..	65	2,789	602 (89.0)	— (—)	35 (5.1)	16 (2.4)	24 (3.5)	676 (100.0)	242.3

total expenditure on them. It is very often recommended that no tuition fees should be collected in training institutions for elementary teachers, whether government or private. In view of the serious shortage of trained teachers in the country, this recommendation deserves to be accepted and as the foregoing statistics will show such acceptance will not result in any serious financial embarrassment.

The role of private enterprise in the training of elementary teachers is one of the controversial issues in this sector. In some states, as in Assam, no encouragement is given to private enterprise. In other states, as in Maharashtra or Madras, private enterprise is encouraged and liberally assisted. In view of the significant contributions which private sector has made to the development of education in India and in view of the important role which it is still playing in secondary and higher education, it may be desirable to associate private enterprise in the training of elementary teachers also. It can contribute expertise and bring in the services of devoted educationists who would not otherwise come into the picture. Private institutions for the training of elementary teachers should, therefore, be recognized and assisted provided they maintain a high standard of efficiency. If fees are to be abolished in training institutions, the main source of income to these institutions would be government grants and these would have to be given on a very liberal scale.

The data regarding the expenditure on training institutions for elementary teachers, classified by objects, are not available. This was specially collected for the first and the last time in the survey of training institutions for elementary teachers conducted by the Ministry of Education in 1959-60. Its findings have been given in Table 48.

It will be seen from this table that, in the State of Punjab, the expenditure incurred on salaries and allowances of staff is the maximum and that on stipends to trainees is the minimum. In the case of Assam, the position is just the reverse—21.7 per cent on salaries and allowances and 64.7 per cent on stipends. In the States of Uttar Pradesh and Kerala, the expenditure on salaries and allowances of staff accounts for more than 50 per cent of the total expenditure and the expenditure on stipends accounts for less than

TABLE 48: EXPENDITURE ON TRAINING SCHOOLS BY OBJECTS
(in percentages of total expenditure)

State	Salaries and allowances of staff	Buildings	Libraries	Laboratories	Hostels	Other expenditure	Total on training proper	Stipends to deputed teachers	Stipends to freshers	Total of stipends
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Andhra Pradesh	..	2.9	0.7	0.1	5.7	12.4	62.0	7.2	30.8	38.0
Assam	..	1.7	0.9	..	1.4	9.6	35.3	..	64.7	64.7
Bihar	..	12.4	2.1	..	6.0	2.4	65.8	7.0	27.2	3.2
Gujarat	..	4.8	0.8	0.8	9.4	7.8	61.8	33.3	4.9	38.2
Jammu and Kashmir										
Kerala	..	5.5	1.0	1.0	1.7	2.2	65.3	16.1	18.6	34.7
Madhya Pradesh	..	1.1	1.0	..	6.6	7.4	57.5	..	42.5	42.5
Madras	..	2.0	0.2	0.1	5.3	8.6	48.2	..	51.8	51.8
Maharashtra	..	4.1	0.7	0.3	6.7	8.1	62.3	21.7	16.0	37.7
Mysore	..	1.6	0.5	0.2	3.9	6.7	51.4	..	48.6	48.6
Orissa	..	5.4	+M.8	0.7	0.6	1.7	37.3	56.7	6.0	62.7
Punjab	..	4.3	1.6	1.0	8.1	4.6	91.7	6.2	2.1	8.3
Rajasthan	..	2.1	2.0	1.2	2.8	11.9	66.8	..	33.2	33.2
Uttar Pradesh	..	4.2	0.3	0.3	2.8	7.9	73.3	..	26.7	26.7
West Bengal	..	3.0	1.1	1.8	3.8	6.6	55.4	..	44.6	44.6

Information not available

30 per cent of the total expenditure. In the State of Madras, the expenditure on stipends is a little less than 50 per cent.

The expenditure on libraries and laboratories is hardly significant in any state, the highest percentage being 2.1 in Bihar for libraries and 1.8 in West Bengal for laboratories. There is considerable room for improvement in this respect in all the states.

In-service Training: So far we have discussed only the improvements essential in the programme of pre-service training of elementary teachers. It is, however, wrong to assume that mere pre-service training, however prolonged and satisfactory, would enable the teacher to work efficiently throughout the 30 or 35 years of his service and to keep him abreast of the latest developments in education. Life as a whole is now changing very fast and education has to keep pace with it. It is, therefore, necessary to organize a continuous programme of in-service training for all teachers in order to enable them to discharge their responsibilities regarding education in a rapidly changing society. Programmes of in-service education have now become an integral part of the training of teachers in all advanced countries. Similar developments will have to take place in India also.

It would ultimately be necessary to provide in-service training to all elementary teachers on a systematic and institutionalised basis. The assumption should be that every elementary teacher would have to undergo a total of two to three months of in-service training in every five years of service. Such training may be organized through seminars and workshops, condensed or refresher courses, correspondence courses, etc. For this purpose, we may either set up new institutions which would provide in-service training exclusively or establish separate sections for the programme in the existing institutions. If in-service training is to be provided for a period of three months in every five years of service, the total number of seats to be provided for such training would be equal to about four per cent of the total cadre of elementary teachers. Ultimately, therefore, we may have to set up one institution solely devoted to in-service training in every district, or a section for in-service training in almost every training institution for elementary teachers.

As a beginning in this direction, the Government of India have

started a programme for the establishment of extension training centres in all training institutions for elementary teachers. During 1962-63, 30 such centres have been established in different parts of the country and their number is proposed to be increased to 60 at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan. They function broadly on the lines of extension centres which have been established earlier in the training colleges for secondary teachers, and develop extension programmes in a number of elementary schools through work with the teachers. The programme should ultimately be extended to cover every training institution; and in the Fourth Plan, it should cover at least 25 per cent of the training institutions.

Every teacher has to be a student all his life. It should, therefore, be our endeavour to provide ample opportunities and incentives to elementary teachers to continually improve their educational and professional qualifications. At present, no further programme of education is open to an elementary teacher who has once received his pre-service training of one or two years. This stagnation has to be done away with and a situation has to be created where a large vista of further education is always open to a teacher at all stages of his service. To this end, it should be possible to institute a number of specialized courses which would enable elementary teachers to study the subjects of instruction or the theory and practice of education beyond the point reached in the course of pre-service training. These courses may be instituted by organizations of the teachers themselves or by the State Institutes of Education and instruction in them may be provided either through regular courses or through correspondence. The conditions governing the grant of study leave may be liberalised to enable teachers to avail themselves of such courses and those who complete them successfully should be eligible for advance increments or higher scales of pay or preferential consideration for further promotions.

A very important method of improving the efficiency of elementary teachers is to increase the supply of good educational literature. The average elementary teacher is not in a position to read books in English and he will not be able to grow professionally unless good educational literature is made available to him in the Indian languages. Unfortunately, beyond a few textbooks written

for the training institutions, no worth-while literature is available in the Indian languages on educational topics. It is, therefore, necessary to draw up a programme to produce good educational literature in every Indian language. It should consist of reference books, books of general education, dealing particularly with subjects of interest to elementary teachers, books on pedagogical subjects including those dealing with methods of teaching in elementary schools, periodicals and brochures or pamphlets presenting some of the latest advances in the professional field in so far as they are applicable to elementary education. This is a gigantic task and will have to be attempted cooperatively by all the agencies concerned, the National Council of Educational Research and Training, the State Institutes of Education, the university departments of education and training colleges, private publishers and educationists interested in the problem.

Wanted—a Special Organization : Since the programme of the training of elementary teachers is of fundamental significance and since it has to be accorded the highest priority in the Fourth Five-Year Plan, it may be desirable to create, as early as possible, a special machinery in each state for its planning and implementation. The Study Group on the Training of Elementary Teachers in India has recommended that every state should establish a State Council for Teacher Education consisting of the Director of Education, representatives of the university departments of education, representatives of principals of training colleges for secondary teachers, representatives of principals and teachers of training institutions for elementary teachers and non-official educationists. It has suggested that the following may be the functions of such Councils:

- (1) To prepare programmes for the development of teacher education and supervise their implementation ;
- (2) To set standards for teacher education ;
- (3) To confer recognition on institutions which fulfil the requirements prescribed by the Council ;
- (4) To prepare the curriculum and syllabus according to which the training programmes, both pre-service and in-service, should be carried out ;

(5) To conduct examinations and award certificates and diplomas ;

(6) To arrange for the inspection and supervision of the training institutions recognized by it ;

(7) To coordinate the training programmes and collaborate with other agencies in the state and outside in the furtherance of its objectives.

The Study Group has also recommended that every state should have a special officer (or any other suitable administrative machinery) whose whole time responsibility would be to look after the programmes of training of elementary teachers. Both these recommendations are of very great significance.

Conclusion : The day when a good teacher was considered 'born' and not 'made' are now over. While no one questions the fact that some persons are endowed with certain qualities of head and heart which make them eminently fitted to become teachers, we cannot, in view of the rapid expansion of primary education and the large number of teachers required for the introduction of compulsory attendance, depend upon Nature to provide us good teachers. We cannot also expect to secure the services of thousands of teachers with a spirit of service and self-sacrifice who will be prepared to give their best as teachers and remain content with low salaries and unfavourable service conditions. We will have to take all possible steps to attract the best persons to the teaching profession, give them the best training that we are capable of and make them good teachers. The future of education in this country depends upon the realization of this fact by those who control the educational policies, whether at the Centre or in the states.

CHAPTER 14

Remuneration and Service Conditions of Elementary Teachers

It was shown in the preceding chapter that, if the new objectives in elementary education were to be realized, it was essential to secure the services of teachers with good innate competence and adequate general education and to provide them with efficient professional training, both pre-service and in-service. This can be achieved only if the remuneration and other conditions of service offered to elementary teachers are such as to attract and retain the best available talent in society. The maintenance of standards in elementary education thus gets inextricably bound up with the problem of providing adequate remuneration and satisfactory service conditions to elementary teachers. One of the most significant developments in the educational history of the advanced countries has been the rise in the social, academic and educational status of the elementary teacher. This has been the result of three major trends. The first is the revolution in the objectives of elementary education. Early in the nineteenth century, elementary education was restricted mainly to the teaching of the three R's and its duration was only about 2 to 4 years. It is now co-extensive with a period of compulsory schooling spread over 8 to 12 years and its objective is to prepare good and useful citizens. This transformation created a demand for teachers with higher educational qualifications which could be met by the second trend, viz., the large expansion of secondary and higher education, which created an abundant supply of educated man-power. In the early days, persons who had completed the secondary school or received a training at the university were so few that they could not have been available to work as elementary teachers. Moreover, the status of elementary education itself being low, a person educated in a secondary school (and more so if he was a university graduate) felt it beneath his dignity to teach in an elementary school. But as the supply of educated persons began to increase, they were forced to accept jobs at lower and lower levels under the inexorable

stress of supply and demand. A little over hundred years ago, the elementary teacher was a person of very humble attainments; to-day he is, more often than not, a graduate or a person with equivalent qualifications. As highly educated persons began to work in elementary schools, the social and academic status of the elementary teachers began to rise. The third trend was the rise in the salaries of elementary teachers. In the early days, the elementary school teachers belonged to the class of the poorest paid employees. In fact, elementary education was then equivalent to the education of the children of the poor through poorly paid teachers. As the status of elementary education began to rise and as its significance began to be properly appreciated by society, the salaries of elementary school teachers began to improve in proportion. Gradually, differences in the salaries of elementary and secondary school teachers either disappeared altogether or were reduced to a minimum. Better salaries meant better economic and social status for the elementary teachers and made it possible to attract abler and better educated persons to the profession.

It will not be wrong to assume that a similar development awaits the status of the Indian elementary school teacher also. In so far as the first trend is concerned, elementary education in India now covers a period of eight years and its objectives compare favourably with those in the advanced countries. As shown in the last chapter, the output of matriculates is now large enough to meet all the requirements of elementary teachers and even if it is decided to recruit graduates as headmasters of big elementary schools, there would be no difficulty in securing them. The idea that teaching in a primary or middle school is beneath the dignity of a graduate stands exploded and even now, there is a fair sprinkling of graduates among elementary school teachers and their number is steadily on the increase. The second trend also is thus in evidence in India. But it is in respect of the third trend—the raising of salaries of elementary teachers—that our policies are most open to attack. At the opening of the nineteenth century, the elementary teachers working under the indigenous system of education were paid in cash and kind and it has been estimated that their average annual salary was about Rs. 60. In 1882, the Hunter Commission reported that the average salary of elementary

school teachers was about Rs. 89 and by the end of the century, it had risen to about Rs. 91 only. Owing to the emphasis on the improvement of teachers and the rise of prices during the two World Wars, the average annual salary of a primary teacher rose to Rs. 174 in 1921-22 and to Rs. 387 in 1946-47. During the last 14 years, there has been a still further increase and the average annual salary of a primary teacher is now about Rs. 900. Similarly, the average annual salary of a middle school teacher has increased from Rs. 393 in 1921-22 to Rs. 561 in 1946-47 and to about Rs. 1,100 in 1960-61. Unfortunately, a very large part of this increase has to be written off on account of the increase in the cost of living. There are some who argue that a salary of Rs. 89 in 1881-82 or of Rs. 91 in 1901-02 was probably better than a salary of Rs. 900 in 1961. Although this may not be proved, the fact remains that the rise in the 'real' remuneration of an elementary teacher during the last 80 years is small, that it has not kept pace with the growth of his responsibilities and the improvement in his qualifications, that the elementary teacher of today is one of the poorly paid public servants, and that his remuneration is much below that paid to other public servants of comparable responsibilities or qualifications. It is this unhappy situation that has to be improved without delay.

Factors Impeding Progress: Why is it that this problem of the remuneration of elementary teachers is proving so intractable? A variety of factors impede progress in this sector.

To begin with, it may be pointed out that the total amount available for expenditure on elementary education is comparatively limited, partly because the total educational expenditure itself is low and partly because elementary education gets a meagre allocation—about 35 per cent—of the total educational expenditure. On the other hand, the number of elementary teachers that are needed is increasing very rapidly, partly because the expansion in enrolment is terrific and partly because the pupil-teacher ratio is almost steady at 34:1. The net result of this situation is that the small amount of money available for elementary education has to be shared between a very large number of teachers and each teacher gets a comparatively small amount as his annual salary.

The effect of this basic financial fact—a small amount to be shared by a large group of teachers—is strengthened by several

incidental circumstances. The elementary teachers have never had the good fortune to be treated as full-fledged government servants and to receive salaries comparable to those of other government servants. In the erstwhile provinces of British India, they were mostly employees of local bodies or private agencies and their remuneration came to be governed, not by what other government servants were getting, but by the low remuneration given to the teachers of indigenous elementary schools. In the erstwhile princely states, the elementary teachers were mainly government servants. But their scales of pay were kept lower than those of other government servants and, not infrequently, were even poorer than in the British Indian provinces. In all parts of India, therefore, a historical tradition grew up wherein the elementary teachers were regarded as different from other ranks of government servants and were paid at comparatively low rates. The tradition has been so deep-rooted that, even now, it is far from easy to get over it.

When, in the past, the salaries of elementary teachers came to be fixed at rates lower than those for other government servants, a number of reasons used to be adduced to justify this differentiation. It was said that the teacher was a local man, not liable to transfer to distant places; that he often had some other means of his own to supplement his salary; that, like the old *Panditji* of the indigenous school, he got gifts, in cash and kind from his pupils and their parents; that his earnings could be supplemented by private tuition or by such extraneous duties entrusted to him as looking after the local post-office; and that he was not under an obligation to maintain a dignified standard of living as revenue or police officers, for instance, were expected to do. It cannot be denied that, till about 1921, these arguments had some force and applicability. They are no longer valid at present; but the depressing effect they produced on the level of remuneration of elementary teachers has still continued to persist.

If the remuneration of elementary teachers has to increase substantially, there are only two ways to achieve the result and they would have to be pursued jointly. The first of these is to increase the financial allocation to elementary education very considerably. This is difficult because, in the existing scarcity of resources, education itself gets a low priority *vis-a-vis* other develop-

ment departments and within education itself, the priority of elementary education *vis-a-vis* other sectors is also very low. Similarly, the remuneration of elementary teachers could still be increased if a larger pupil-teacher ratio is adopted and the number of teachers who would share in the available resources is correspondingly reduced. But, on educational grounds, there are very strong resistances to any increase in pupil-teacher ratios. Consequently, the basic difficulty that prevents a substantial increase in the remuneration of teachers continues to persist.

Some General Considerations: It is possible to relate the remuneration of elementary teachers to a number of significant variables with a view to creating a better understanding of the problem.

The emoluments of elementary teachers depend on five factors:

- (1) the national dividend ;
- (2) the proportion of the national dividend spent on elementary education ;
- (3) the ratio of teacher costs to all other direct costs on elementary education ;
- (4) the pupil-teacher ratio ; and
- (5) the rate of expansion.

It is obvious that the first three of these determine the gross amount that is likely to be available for purposes of emoluments while the last two determine the number of participants among whom this amount has to be distributed.

Let us assume that the total population of a country is 1,000. If the national dividend is ' x ', the total national income would be Rs. 1,000 x . If ' p ' is the percentage of national income spent on elementary education, the total expenditure on elementary education would be Rs. 10 px (1)

Let us now calculate the total expenditure on elementary education in another way by relating it to the average annual salaries of teachers.

In the total population of 1,000, the number of children in the age-group 6-14 would be 20 per cent or 200.

If ' t ' be the pupil-teacher ratio, the number of teachers needed would be $200/t$.

If 'a' be the average annual salary of a teacher, the total cost on this account would be Rs. $\frac{200 a}{t}$.

To this, we will have to add 10 per cent for old-age provision, leave salary, welfare projects, etc. Thus the cost per teacher unit works out at Rs. $\frac{220 a}{t}$.

If this teacher cost is $r/100$ of the total direct expenditure on elementary education (*i.e.* if the ratio of teacher costs to all other direct costs is $r : 100-r$), the total direct expenditure on elementary education would be Rs. $\frac{22,000 a}{rt}$.

To this we must add 10 per cent for indirect expenditure on direction, inspection and teacher-training so that the total expenditure on elementary education is Rs. $\frac{24,200 a}{rt}$ (2)

Equating (1) and (2), we have

$$10 px = \frac{24,200 a}{rt}$$

$$\text{or } a = \frac{1}{2,420 pxrt} \quad \dots \dots \dots (3)$$

This shows that the annual average salary that can be paid to an elementary teacher will increase directly in proportion to (1) percentage of the total national income devoted to elementary education or p ; (2) the national dividend itself or x ; (3) the number of pupils per teacher or the average pupil-teacher ratio t ; and (4) the percentage of teacher costs to the total direct expenditure on elementary education or r . It may also be added that r is now about 85 and that it will have to be stabilized at about 70, if the extremely poor conditions of physical plant and amenities in our elementary schools are to be improved to some reasonable standard. The main variables we can command, therefore, are p , x , and t .

On the basis of this formula, or its generalised form of $a = k \times pxrt$, where the value of the constant k will depend upon the assumptions made, the following conclusions can be drawn regarding the possibilities of increasing teachers' salaries:

(1) A rich country (x is very large) can afford to give a higher average salary to the teacher, even if p (proportion of national

income devoted to elementary education) and t (the pupil-teacher ratio) are small. This is the situation in most advanced countries at present.

(2) But if a poor country (x is small) desires to give a high average salary to its teachers, it can do so only if p increases, *i.e.*, the nation spends more on elementary education and/or t is raised by the deliberate adoption of a high pupil-teacher ratio. This is what the advanced countries did at an earlier stage of their development and this is precisely what certain under-developed countries are trying to do in order to achieve the goal of universal education.

(3) If a poor country (x is small) which spends little on elementary education (p is also small) also restricts the class-size (t is also small), the average salary of teachers will tend to decrease, if it simultaneously insists on providing universal education. On the other hand, if it decides to spend more on teachers, it will have to give up the ideal of universal education. This is precisely the dilemma in which India finds herself at the moment. Salaries of teachers become the enemies of expansion or the pressures of expansion have kept the teachers' salaries low. If the difficulty is to be solved without sacrificing either universal education or the teacher, the only way is to increase p —the proportion of national income devoted to elementary education—or what is equally important, to increase t by the adoption of a higher pupil-teacher ratio. Since the possibility of increasing p is seriously limited in the Indian conditions, the only way to give a higher salary to teachers is to adopt a larger pupil-teacher ratio.

Pupil-Teacher Ratio: Unfortunately, there is a very strong resistance in academic circles for the adoption of a larger pupil-teacher ratio. At one time, the view of the learned *pandits* was that there should not be more than 30 pupils per teacher and one had to lose his caste as an educationist to raise his voice against this assumption. The pressure of expansion, combined with limitations of finance, has changed this opinion considerably and today a pupil-teacher ratio of 40 has come to be accepted. But if rapid expansion is to be achieved during the next 15 years, and if the quality of education is to be improved simultaneously by securing a better type of teacher through higher scales of pay, a pupil-teacher

ratio of about 45 (or even 50) seems to be the minimum required. To the extent a smaller pupil-teacher ratio is adopted, either the salaries will remain low or full expansion will not be achieved. The main question to consider, therefore, is whether such a pupil-teacher ratio would be practicable and whether, if adopted, it would not lead to a fall in standards.

There are two ways in which a higher pupil-teacher ratio can be obtained: (1) to adopt devices like the double-shift system, or (2) to increase the size of the average class. The opposition to the double-shift system comes from almost all quarters. The teachers oppose it because it introduces inequalities—the teachers with double-shift classes have to work harder without any additional remuneration. The parents oppose it on the ground that children learn less. The Madras Scheme introduced by Shri C. Rajagopalachari had to be dropped, primarily because of the resistance of parents in the rural areas. The educationists oppose it because the adoption of the shift-system necessitates the simplification of the curriculum. The first of these oppositions can be easily met by giving an allowance to teachers who have to handle the double-shift classes; the second can be met by educating public opinion on right lines; and the third is the only serious objection that needs examination. In this context, it may be pointed out that, all over the world, the time for which children are kept in schools in class I (or sometimes classes I and II) is always less than that for the other classes. It is a mistake to keep young children at school for as long as six hours a day. Three to four hours of instruction is all that they need at this stage. Similarly, studies made in some places where the double-shift system has been in operation have shown that there is no significant difference in the learning of children who attend for 3 to 4 hours a day and those who spend 5 to 6 hours a day. In fact, if instruction is properly organized, children do not suffer in any way under the double-shift system.

The opposition to the adoption of a larger class-size is equally strong. In this context, it appears that ideas of the 'right' class-size are more based on tradition than on educational research. The general principle that it is possible to give more individual attention to a child as the class becomes smaller is valid. But what is the sanctity of a figure like 30 or 40 for a class? Why not 20 or

10? In fact, why not appoint 5 or 6 teachers for every child? The truth of the matter is that the size of the class is not the only consideration that determines standards. Good educational results have been obtained in classes of various sizes, ranging from 10 to 40 or even more. The crucial point is not the size of the class, but whether the methods of teaching adopted are appropriate to the class-size. There are educational methods suitable for small classes as well as for big classes and what is needed in each case is the adoption of an appropriate method. If proper techniques are adopted, it is possible to obtain better results with a larger class than is the case when the class-size is small and the techniques are unsatisfactory.

It must also be remembered that the size of the class is more a financial than an educational issue. When an educational authority has to provide education to a given number of children and commands only limited resources for the appointment of teachers, the size of the class gets determined on administrative and financial grounds, irrespective of the educational theory regarding class-size. It is not always possible to make social and financial situations agree with educational theories. On the other hand, it is preferable to utilize educational theories for devising solutions to problems that arise from inescapable social and economic needs. The question which an educationist should, therefore, ask is: What methods of teaching should be evolved in order to enable the teacher to teach in a class of a size which appears inevitable in the given situation? Unfortunately, the teaching profession in this country has not intellectually accepted the large class as an inescapable necessity and it is not trained academically to handle it in an efficient manner. Yet the average situation in the country is such that six teachers out of ten are called upon to face classes of very big sizes varying from 50 to 100. If we could only accept a large class-size as an economic necessity for the next 10 to 15 years, if we can concentrate on the evolution of teaching methods suitable for large classes, and if we can train our teachers properly in the handling of these methods, the educational standards would materially improve in spite of the size of classes.

This problem of the pupil-teacher ratio has been discussed at some length because, of all the variables on which the

remuneration of elementary teacher depends— p , x or t —this is the most elastic, and the quickest result can be obtained by adopting a larger pupil-teacher ratio. But it is obvious that a multiple attack will have to be made on this intractable and chronic ailment to achieve a rapid cure. We will have to increase x , the national dividend, through intensive economic planning. Similarly, we shall have to increase p or the proportion of national income devoted to elementary education; and simultaneously, we shall have to increase t or the pupil-teacher ratio. It is only such a three-pronged drive that will enable us to achieve expansion and also to secure qualitative improvement through the provision of better teachers.

Existing Scales of Pay: What are the existing scales of pay of elementary teachers in India? It is very difficult to give a complete picture of the problem. The scales of pay vary from state to state. Even in the same state, they vary according to qualifications—trained or untrained graduate, matriculate or non-matriculate, etc. They often vary from one category of teachers to another and different remuneration is given to teachers under government, local bodies and private agencies. They sometimes vary from one local body to another, and big municipalities like Bombay or Delhi have their own scales of pay. They also depend, to some extent upon the type of the school, and a teacher with the same qualifications may get one pay in a primary school and another in a middle school. Very often the scales of pay for headmasters are different from those of assistant masters. However, the data given in Table 49 are the latest available regarding the remuneration of matriculate trained teachers in the different states. This category of teachers has been selected because the present policy is to make matriculation the minimum general education required of elementary teachers and to make professional training compulsory for all teachers. The matriculate trained teacher will thus be the largest group among elementary teachers in the near future.

Data are also available regarding the average annual salaries of elementary teachers in the different states for 1959-60 and they have been reproduced in Table 50.

The highest salary of an elementary teacher is in Maharashtra (Rs. 1,174.3). Then come Punjab (Rs. 1,134.8), and Kerala (Rs. 1,093.7). At the other end of the scale are Orissa (Rs. 496.8),

TABLE 49: SCALES OF PAY OF MATRICULATE TRAINED TEACHERS IN THE DIFFERENT STATES OF INDIA

State	Scale of pay	Dearness allowance
	Rs.	Rs.
Andhra Pradesh	80-4-100-5-150	10
Assam	55-1-70-2½-75	11 or 12
Bihar	50-2-70-2-90	25 to 41 (for government schools) 20 (for local body schools)
Gujarat	56-1½-65-2½-70 Senior grade: 70-3-100 (for 15% of the posts)	45
Jammu & Kashmir	70-5-120-8-160	—
Kerala	40-4-60-5-120	39 and 38
Madhya Pradesh	90-2½-100-4-140-5-170 (starting pay Rs. 95)	10-15
Madras	90-4-110-3-140	15
Maharashtra	56-1½-65-2½-70 Senior grade: 70-3-100	45
Mysore	80-150	10
Orissa	100-4-120-5-130-EB-5-155 (for government schools) 100-4-120-5-130-EB-5-150 (for local body schools)	10 10
Punjab	Senior grade: 120-5-175 (15% posts) 60-4-80-5-100-5-120 (85% posts)	40-45
Rajasthan	75-4-95-5-105 EB-5-130-EB-5-160	10-20
Uttar Pradesh	50-1-55-EB-1-60-EB-1-65 (for government schools) 50-1-55-EB-1-60 (for local body schools)	35 17
West Bengal	80-2-100-3-130-4-150 (for basic schools) 80-1-90-2-110-3-125 (for other schools)	Nil Nil

Uttar Pradesh (Rs. 619) and Bihar (Rs. 641.8). The salaries in Orissa have, however, been upgraded from 1961. At the middle school stage, the highest salary is in Punjab (Rs. 1,410.5) and the

TABLE 50: AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARY OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS IN THE STATES OF INDIA (1959-60)

State	Average annual salary of primary school teacher Rs.	Average annual salary of middle school teacher Rs.
Andhra Pradesh	842.8	1053.8
Assam	653.9	792.6
Bihar	641.8	892.7
Gujarat	959.6	1206.4
Jammu & Kashmir	566.4	1149.0
Kerala	1093.7	1015.4
Madhya Pradesh	876.7	930.8
Madras	809.8	865.8
Maharashtra	1174.3	1112.3
Mysore	1047.0	1081.2
Orissa	496.8	820.8
Punjab	1134.8	1410.5
Rajasthan	846.4	1126.6
Uttar Pradesh	619.0	847.0
West Bengal	775.2	1072.2

lowest in Assam (Rs. 792.6). While variations in salaries from state to state is not objectionable, one wonders whether there is any justification for the wide variation that exists at present.

A National Scale : Some important problems have been raised in this context. The first is the demand of the elementary teachers that all regional variations in the scales of pay should be abolished and that the Government of India should introduce a uniform national scale of pay for all elementary teachers. This does not, however, seem to be a practicable proposition.

The only way to give effect to this recommendation would be to make all elementary teachers the employees of the Government of India. This will imply the transfer of the entire responsibility

for elementary education from the states to the Centre. It is not possible under the present Constitution and is not even probably desirable. So long as the responsibility for elementary education vests with the state governments, the salaries of the elementary school teachers will have to be fixed, not on an all-India basis, but on a state basis and with reference to the local costs of living and salaries paid to other categories of employees in the state. The variations in the remuneration of teachers from state to state will, therefore, continue to exist and there is hardly any valid basis for objecting to this variation. This does not, however, necessarily imply that there should be extremely large variations in the remuneration of elementary teachers from one state to another. The Government of India has been striving, for sometime past, to improve the remuneration of elementary teachers. It has sought to achieve this objective by suggesting minimum scales of pay to be adopted by the state governments and by offering special grant-in-aid for improving them. These efforts will also continue in the future and they would ultimately lead to two desirable results: (1) all the teachers in the country would be provided with a certain minimum wage which may be agreed upon on a national basis; and (2) the gaps between the scales of pay adopted by the different state governments would tend to become smaller. This is the utmost that can be done to meet the demand for a national scale of pay for elementary teachers and probably no further attempt at unification is also needed.

The Three Categories: It was pointed out in Chapter 12 earlier that the elementary teachers in the country came to be organized, at a very early date, in three distinct categories on the basis of the agency which employed them, *i.e.*, teachers in the employment of (1) state governments, (2) local bodies, and (3) voluntary organizations. These three categories of elementary teachers continue to exist to this day; and very often, there are large differences between them in respect of emoluments, old-age provision and status. The teachers in government service are, by and large, the best paid and they also receive pensions. The teachers in the local body schools often receive lower remuneration than those in government schools and the most common form of old-age provision made for them is to institute provident funds. The

teachers in the private schools are probably the least paid in practice—in spite of their theoretical right to receive the same pay as in government or local body schools—and little or no provision has been made for their old age. The elementary school teachers have, therefore, made a strong demand that these three separate categories of teachers should be abolished and that all elementary teachers should be made the employees of the state governments. In the alternative, they plead that in every state the basic conditions of remuneration, old-age provision and security of tenure should be provided on equal terms to all these three categories of teachers.

It may be admitted that these demands are not unreasonable ; and ever since the Second Five-Year Plan, this problem has been engaging the attention of the Government of India. For instance, the Planning Commission made the following suggestions to the state governments as early as in 1955-56 :

As regards conditions of service, the fact that teachers are employed by various authorities, such as, state governments, municipalities, district boards and private bodies, is an important element in variations in salaries, standards, working conditions and prospects of teachers which may be found within the same state. It is recommended that each state may consider bringing elementary school teachers in the state into its own service in appropriate cadres. When the services of teachers are placed at the disposal of local bodies or of private institutions according to the cadres to which they belong, their terms of appointment would be maintained. This would enable state governments to extend to teachers adequate benefits of security, pension, provident fund contributions, promotion and opportunities to qualify for higher grades and also provide them appropriate amenities.*

This proposal has been examined by the Ministry of Education and the state governments and it is felt that it may not be possible to give all elementary teachers the status of employees of the state governments. Such a decision will virtually mean that elementary education should be administered directly by the state governments and that the local bodies would not be associated with it. This is not possible because the association of local bodies with the administration of elementary schools is a historical tradition in several states and it is also their declared policy. Similarly, private elementary schools have a constitutional right to exist and for historical and economic reasons, they play a very important role

* *Second Five-Year Plan*, Chapter XXIII, para 44.

in some of the states. The elementary teachers would thus always continue to be divided into these three categories—teachers in government, in local bodies and in private schools. All that can be done, therefore, is to provide equality of remuneration, old-age provision and general service conditions to all elementary teachers, irrespective of the authority under which they may happen to be serving. It is in this direction that the states are moving at present. For instance, Madras gives the same scales of pay and allowances, makes the same old-age provision for all the teachers in local body and private schools which form almost the entire bulk of elementary schools in the State. In Rajasthan, the teachers working in government and local body schools receive the same remuneration and are entitled to the same old-age provision. In Kerala, there are no local body schools ; but the teachers in government and private schools have been provided with identical remuneration. Action on similar lines is being attempted in almost all the states.

One major issue in this respect is the equalisation of dearness allowance paid to elementary teachers working under government and local authority or private schools. At the end of the Second Plan, 10 states out of 15 had equalised the dearness allowance payable to all categories of elementary teachers. But in five states—Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal—there was a fairly large difference in the dearness allowance paid to government teachers on the one hand and to teachers in local body or private schools on the other. For instance, in Orissa, the teachers working in government schools received dearness allowance of Rs. 27.50 per month while those in other schools received a dearness allowance of only Rs. 5 per month. In the Third Five-Year Plan, efforts have been made to remove this difference and to equalise the dearness allowances. Assam, West Bengal and Orissa have already done so and the matter is being examined in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The main difficulty in implementing the reform is the very large expenditure involved in the proposal ; but it is hoped that some way of getting over the difficulty would soon be found.

Remuneration : What should be the remuneration given to elementary teachers? It is very difficult to give a definite answer to

this question, although it is easy to lay down broad principles and to say that it must be such as to attract the best people in the society or that it must compare favourably with the remuneration offered to other categories of public servants with similar responsibilities and qualifications. The most common demand in the country, however, is that the minimum scale of pay of an elementary teacher should be fixed at Rs. 100 per month. The maximum is suggested variously at Rs. 200, 250 or even 300. By and large, the general opinion seems to be that there is enough justification to approximately double the existing remuneration of elementary teachers and to raise it from its present figure of about Rs. 900 or so to about Rs. 1,800 per annum. In other words, the general suggestion is that the average monthly remuneration of an elementary teacher should be increased from about Rs. 75 per month to about Rs. 150 per month. The colossal financial implications of this can be easily imagined if it is remembered that the total number of elementary teachers at present is about 1.5 million and that an increase of even Re. 1 in the salary of an elementary teacher per month will require Rs. 18 million per annum. The total recurring cost involved in the proposal would be of the order of Rs. 1,125 million per annum (as against the total expenditure of about Rs. 1,200 million incurred on elementary education at present). As the number of elementary teachers increases—it is expected to rise to about 3 millions by 1975—this expenditure would increase in proportion.

In spite of these great financial difficulties, it is obvious that some method would have to be found to increase the remuneration of elementary teachers substantially and to reach the target suggested above through a phased programme spread over a few years. This is the most basic reform in elementary education and, as suggested earlier, we may have to increase our total expenditure on elementary education very considerably and simultaneously to raise the pupil-teacher ratio as well.

Old-Age Provision : The problem of old-age provision is as significant as that of salaries and allowances. At present, the old-age provision made for elementary teachers varies from state to state and, even in the same state, from one category of teachers to another. Generally, teachers in government schools have the best form of old-age provision. No difference is made between

them and other employees of government and they usually get pension, or pension-cum-gratuity, provident fund (usually non-contributory) and, in a few areas like the old Mysore State, insurance benefits. The teachers in the local authority schools are also entitled to some schemes of old-age provision. Some local bodies have established pension funds and the elementary teachers working under them, therefore, get pension or pension-cum-gratuity. The number of such local bodies is, however, very small. The commonest system of old-age provision for elementary teachers working under local bodies is the institution of provident funds. The contribution of the employee is generally fixed at $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent and an equal amount is contributed by the employing authority. Some local bodies have fixed the contribution of the employee as well as their own at $8\frac{3}{8}$ per cent. But these cases also are very few. In Uttar Pradesh, the teachers contribute at 6 per cent of their salary; but the contribution of the employing authority is 3 per cent only. On the whole, however, it may be said that a teacher does not get any big amount, on account of his provident fund, at the time of his retirement, especially because the salaries are low and were even lower in the past.

Another important method of old-age provision for teachers of local bodies is the institution of the triple-benefit scheme which was first introduced by the Madras State. Under this scheme, a teacher gets pension at one-fourth of his retiring salary. He is also required to contribute to a provident fund at 6 per cent of his salary and the employing authority contributes at 3 per cent. In addition, he is required to insure himself compulsorily for specified amounts. The insurance premia are, however, paid by the teacher himself. This system has now been adopted by Andhra Pradesh (excluding the provision relating to insurance), and by Bihar.

It is the teachers working in private schools that have the least satisfactory provision for old-age. A very good lead is given by Madras where the provision of the triple-benefit scheme has been extended to teachers in private schools also. Similar action has also been taken by Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Bihar. In West Bengal, the teachers in private schools get a retiring gratuity of Rs. 900, and a provident fund, to which they contribute at $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of their salary and the State Government an equal amount,

has also been instituted for them. In other areas, however, there is hardly any old-age provision for the teachers in aided schools. Good and well-established institutions generally institute provident funds for their teachers. But their number is not very large.

From the point of view of old-age provision made for elementary teachers, the states of India fall into three groups. In the first group, we may include states where the old-age provision is different for all the three categories of teachers. Uttar Pradesh is a good example of this category. Here, the teachers in government service get pension and those in the service of the local bodies get provident fund while there is hardly any provision for teachers in private schools. The second group would include states where teachers in government service as well as those in the service of local authorities have the same system of old-age provision but the teachers in private schools have a different system for the purpose. A good example of this is Rajasthan where the old-age provision for teachers in government service and in Panchayat Samiti schools is identical and no systematic provision is made for teachers in private schools. In the third group we may include those states where the teachers in government schools stand in a class by themselves, and the same old-age provision is made for teachers in local body and private schools. Madras and Andhra Pradesh are examples of this type.

In this context, the main demand of the elementary teachers is that there should be no differentiation between the old-age provision made for the different categories of elementary teachers. In other words, they demand that all elementary teachers, irrespective of the authority under whom they might be working, should be entitled to pension or pension-cum-gratuity on the same basis as other government servants. This would of course be an ideal solution and this demand would automatically be met if the elementary teachers could be given the status of government servants. Since this is not possible, the following two alternative suggestions may be put forward:

(1) As in Rajasthan, a common system of old-age provision could be made for teachers in government and local body schools. Gujarat has already done so and Maharashtra also has instituted a pension scheme for its elementary teachers, although its details are

different from those for teachers in government schools. In addition, a triple-benefit scheme as in Madras or a compulsory provident fund scheme and a gratuity as in West Bengal, could be provided for teachers in private schools. This solution is particularly applicable to those states where most of the elementary schools are conducted by government and local authorities and the number of private schools is very small.

(2) Where the number of private schools is fairly large, we may adopt the Madras or the Andhra Pradesh system and introduce a common scheme of old-age provision for teachers in local authority and aided schools. In states like Punjab or Kerala where there are no local body schools, the private schools may be provided with either a triple-benefit scheme as in Kerala or a provident-fund-cum-gratuity scheme as in West Bengal.

One of the major objectives in the Fourth Plan should be to create a good scheme of old-age provision for *every* elementary teacher. This would go a long way in creating satisfaction among elementary teachers and assist materially in the improvement of standards.

Promotion to Higher Cadres: Another important way to make the profession of elementary teachers more attractive is to provide adequate scope to elementary teachers for promotion to higher cadres. The present position in this respect is unsatisfactory. In most states, elementary teachers have no chances of promotion unless they become graduates through private study and qualify themselves for selection to the higher posts. Very few states have a selection grade to which teachers can aspire. There are only three states—Madras, Maharashtra and Gujarat where they can be promoted as inspecting officers of elementary schools. Nowhere is there a provision for their promotion as teacher educators. In some states posts of headmasters have a better scale of pay or carry an allowance. In such cases, this is the only promotion which an elementary teacher can look forward to.

It is felt that this situation has to be improved. Promotions to the cadre of inspecting officers and teacher educators should be open to competent and experienced elementary teachers; and a certain proportion of these posts should be reserved for them. Such

a provision will make the profession far more attractive than it is at present and would induce a much better type of person to join it.

Other Programmes: A number of other programmes have been suggested with a view to improving the remuneration of elementary school teachers. One of the oldest suggestions in this regard is to provide additional work to elementary teachers which would give them extra remuneration without adversely affecting their legitimate duties. If this can be done, their economic condition would be improved without unduly straining the resources allocated for elementary education. In the earlier days, this extra work was found in the Postal Department and several village school teachers acted as part-time postmasters in return for a small monthly honorarium. Later, attempts were made to appoint them as secretaries of co-operative societies or village panchayats. But not much headway has been made in this direction. The number of part-time postmasters needed in rural areas is far too small in comparison with the total number of elementary teachers. The trend to appoint village teachers as secretaries of co-operative societies or village panchayats is now being discouraged because it involves them in local politics and because the work of most of these bodies is increasing so rapidly as to need the services of whole-time workers. There does not seem, therefore, any great possibility of finding additional remunerative work for elementary teachers except in two directions: (1) teachers of part-time continuation classes, particularly night classes; and (2) teachers of adult literacy classes. The first of these programmes is yet to develop. But if it is really expanded on the lines broadly discussed earlier in Chapter 11, there is no doubt that it will provide additional remuneration of Rs. 20 to 30 to a very large number of elementary teachers. The second of these programmes is still being operated on a very small scale. If this scale were to be expanded, it would also provide additional remunerative work to a large number of teachers. But the possibilities of this do not appear to be very bright at present.

A suggestion most commonly put forward in this context is that free education should be given to the children of elementary teachers. It is argued that the one thing about which the

elementary school teacher is anxious is to provide good education to his children. It is, therefore, felt that if free education is given to the children of elementary teachers, the disadvantages of an inadequate remuneration would be greatly overcome. This suggestion, however, is not being largely accepted. The general opinion seems to be that the facilities for free education should be given, not only to teachers, but to all classes of society on the basis of some general principles. For instance, free education is provided in Maharashtra to the children of all persons whose annual income is less than Rs. 1,200 and this facility is open to teachers also. It may, however, be desirable to pursue the matter and to see that education at the secondary stage at least is provided free to those children of elementary teachers who come up to a prescribed minimum standard and that scholarships are provided to the more brilliant children who obtain more than a prescribed percentage of marks at the end of the middle school stage. Since elementary education is on the way to be made free to all children, the question of providing any special facilities at this stage to the children of elementary teachers does not arise.

In this context, mention may be made of a scheme introduced recently by the Ministry of Education under which scholarships are given to talented children of elementary and secondary teachers. The number of scholarships is small at present, but if this scheme is expanded, a major grievance of elementary teachers that they are not in a position to give higher education even to their gifted children will disappear.

The question of medical facilities is also often discussed. It is suggested that free medical aid should be made available to elementary school teachers. Here also the main difficulties are two: the facilities of medical aid have not yet been expanded adequately in rural areas where most of the elementary teachers are working and it may not be possible to give this facility to the elementary teachers and deny it to other sections of the community who are equally handicapped economically.

Mention should also be made of the establishment of a National Fund for Teachers' Welfare. The corpus of this fund will be raised further through contributions of the Central and state governments, but mainly through donations, and the fifth of

September each year will be observed as Teachers' Day for collection of donations from the public. The interest on the corpus of the fund is to be utilized for relief of distress. About Rs. 3 million have been collected for the Fund so far.

Probably a good reform that can be introduced to solve several of the problems of the type mentioned above is to institute welfare services for elementary teachers. In several advanced countries, such welfare services have been instituted on a contributory basis, the teachers contributing a certain proportion of their salary and the employers—government, local bodies or private management—contributing an equal amount. The total proceeds of the fund are utilized in assisting teachers in case of severe illness, disability, education of children, illness in the family etc. If welfare services are organized on the basis that the teachers contribute about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of their salary and an equal amount is contributed by the state, the total amount raised would be about Rs. 30 million per year (the total salary bill of elementary teachers is estimated at Rs. 1,020 million at present). This can be utilized for providing welfare services to teachers on a fairly large scale. The executive organization for this purpose may be set up in each district as a primary unit and the programmes may be administered by a board consisting of the District Educational Officer, some non-official educationists and representatives of elementary teachers. There might be a state level organization to lay down policy and to supervise the work of the district offices. The programmes and policies of all the state organizations could be conveniently coordinated by the Ministry of Education at the national level. It is obvious that the institution of welfare services, on the lines described above, will bring advantages which are far greater in proportion to the small expenditure involved. It will also provide a comprehensive, broad and secure foundation to several programmes which are at present uncertain and haphazard. The possibilities of adopting this programme at an early date, or at least in the Fourth Five-Year Plan, should, therefore, be carefully explored.

Service Conditions: Apart from the problems of remuneration, old-age provision and welfare, care has to be taken to see that the conditions of service provided to elementary teachers are as

good as possible. In this sector, however, the complaints of the teachers are even more numerous.

Some of the difficulties of the elementary teachers arise from physical conditions. For instance, a large number of elementary schools are, even now, located in remote areas, which are generally difficult of access and as expansion progresses, the number of such schools will continuously increase. In such places, the teachers do not often get houses to live in ; no medical aid is available within a reasonable distance ; the climate is very often bad and even drinking water facilities are not always easy ; high schools where their children could be educated do not exist ; the population is largely illiterate ; and there is no academic atmosphere of the type that the teacher would wish for. It is obvious that these conditions cannot be changed all too quickly. A programme has recently been undertaken to provide quarters for women teachers in difficult rural areas and for both men and women teachers in tribal areas. Owing to limitations of funds, however, its progress is rather slow. The other difficulties are of a type which can be removed only when there is a general improvement in the conditions of these underdeveloped rural areas. Until the situation materially improves, however, a method may be devised by which all the teachers can share these difficulties. If a system of rotation is started under which every teacher is required to put in a minimum specified service in such difficult areas, preferably at the beginning of his career, and the rule is applied uniformly to all, these conditions would be more bearable. Another measure that can be considered is to attach extra allowances for posts in these areas with a view to compensating, to some extent, for their disadvantages. In the absence of such a clear-cut policy, what happens today is that some teachers have to work in these difficult areas for years on end while others are never posted to them. This creates a feeling of dissatisfaction and leads to charges of corruption or favouritism.

There is another group of difficulties which elementary teachers experience and these arise from social conditions. Very often, there are factions and rival groups in rural areas. It is not always easy to live in such villages and to remain aloof from local politics ; and a teacher is often dragged into them in spite of all his desire to

the contrary. This involvement in local politics makes life for the teacher very difficult and sometimes even risky. Women teachers have another group of social problems to face. The educated and unmarried woman standing on her own feet and earning her own livelihood is not a common spectacle in villages and the social atmosphere is often such as to make it almost impossible for a young woman to live honourably in them. The educated young women are, therefore, extremely unwilling to go to work in rural areas unless they are accompanied by older members of their family, which is not always possible. These social problems also will need a fairly long time to be solved. In the meantime, we can only try to do our best by properly orienting the teachers.

But by far the largest group of problems which the teachers have to face are administrative in character and refer to such issues as postings, transfers, punishments and promotions. The postings and transfers of elementary teachers is one of the most difficult problems in the administration of teacher personnel at the elementary level. Every teacher generally likes to be in or near his own village where he has a house or some land and where he can, by reducing the cost of living to some extent, manage his expenses within his meagre remuneration. On the other hand, posting him in his own place draws him closer into local politics. It also gives him an opportunity to pay more attention to his home and land than to his work in the school. Besides, the demands are often so conflicting that it is not always possible to post a teacher in or near his village. Another demand of teachers is that they should be posted in bigger villages where high schools exist so that their children can get secondary education at least. But not all teachers can be so posted and this leads to a scramble for a few coveted posts wherein all means, fair and foul, are used. The position, bad as it is, becomes at least tolerable where the postings are done by an officer of the Education Department who is required to act according to certain rules and is called upon to give reasons in writing for all the orders he issues. But when these matters are left to local bodies or non-official workers, the situation becomes very difficult. Teachers are often transferred at the whim of some individual or for the purpose of harassment or at the dictates of local politics. There have been several cases where a large majority

of the teachers have been transferred in a given year. There are even cases on record where a teacher has been transferred more than three or four times a year. One of the persistent demands put forward by elementary teachers, therefore, is that transfers and postings of elementary teachers should, in no circumstances, be left to local bodies and that they should be done by departmental officers in accordance with a pre-determined policy.

This is obviously one of the most complicated problems in administration. What is needed is a careful study of the local situation to identify postings which are considered desirable, for some reason or another, and those which are not so regarded by the teachers. The desirable postings should be offered to elementary teachers as a reward for good work while the bad postings should be shared by all as a necessary evil. Careful plans will have to be prepared on the basis of these principles and they should be implemented justly and uniformly. This is probably the only long-range solution of the problem. It needs education of the administrative officers, a good deal of research and also re-orientation of the teachers themselves. It also means a great restraint on the part of local bodies, if these powers happen to be vested in them.

What has been said about transfers and postings applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to promotions and punishments also. The demand of the teachers is that there should be an impartial agency—like an independent inspector—to judge the work of teachers and to award punishments and promotions. It is the transfer of these functions to local bodies or the infiltration of local politics into the performance of these functions, through the Panchayat Samitis, that has created a series of problems which have yet to be solved. When the local body was at the district level, it could interfere in very few cases, partly because the number of teachers was large and partly because it was too distant. With the constitution of the Panchayat Samitis at the block level, local influences have begun to be felt very greatly and teachers are more unhappy than at any time in the past. Some appropriate safeguards will, therefore, have to be devised to see that no injustice is done to teachers even when the over-all administration of elementary teachers is transferred to local bodies.

The ultimate test of a good personnel administration at the

elementary stage is that each teacher should feel perfectly at home in his work, should be able to carry on his programmes with his conscience as his guide and the interest of the children at his heart, and to feel secure that he would not be disturbed or punished in any way so long as he does his duty efficiently. Unfortunately, it cannot be said that such conditions have now been created everywhere. Even when elementary education is administered by the Education Departments, much is left to be desired and the situation often becomes very serious when elementary education is administered by local bodies. The administration of teacher personnel is, therefore, a very important area which has been largely neglected so far. The greater the importance and attention given to it in future, the better would be the return for the money we invest in elementary education, and the higher would be the standards.

Innate Competence : It is obvious that the quality of teachers that we would ordinarily be able to recruit will depend upon the remuneration, old-age provision, welfare services and service conditions that are provided for them. In view of the fact that these are far from satisfactory at present, a common observation made today is that only the dregs and rejects of all other professions become elementary teachers. While there is considerable force in this statement, it is an over-simplification of a very complex issue and does not, therefore, represent the whole truth. Any one who works with elementary teachers comes across, sooner rather than later, many first-rate minds which would do honour to any profession. Many a competent person joins the profession for several reasons—domestic difficulties, financial necessities, inability to proceed to further education—and quite a few join it for the best reason in the world, that is, they have an aptitude for the work and feel a sense of mission in being a teacher for young children. It would, therefore, be wrong to condemn the entire class of elementary teachers as consisting merely of the rejects from other professions. In fact, a closer acquaintance with elementary teachers makes one feel, not that there are so few good and able teachers, but that there is a far greater proportion of competent elementary teachers than what one would expect on the basis of the low remuneration now offered to them. What is needed is a closer study of the potential capacities of the existing cadre of elementary teachers.

If carried out properly and publicized suitably, it will clear up many a misunderstanding and lead to a great appreciation of the great volume of competence and goodness which this profession is able to retain even now, in spite of the depressing conditions of service. In the same way, a closer examination of the motives which lead people to become elementary teachers or of the factors that dissuade them from being so, would also be of great help. This is indeed a fruitful field for educational research.

Social Status : The problem of the social status of elementary teachers is also of great importance. It was pointed out earlier that the teacher in the indigenous elementary school had a very high social status, although his remuneration was very low. Today the position is greatly changed. The remuneration of the elementary school teachers is now much better and standards of his general education and professional training have been raised. But he has lost the advantages which the indigenous elementary school teacher had as a self-employed person working in his own locality. He has also lost the high social status which the indigenous elementary school teacher enjoyed in spite of his humble attainments and small remuneration. There have thus been both gains and losses and it is difficult to say whether the picture is, on the whole, better or worse from the point of view of teachers.

One definite change that has been brought about during the last 60 years may be mentioned. The elementary teachers of to-day are drawn from almost all strata of society. In the indigenous schools, the teachers were necessarily men and most of them belonged to a few selected higher castes which, for generations, had followed the profession of 'learning and teaching'.

This monopoly continued for a fairly long time, even under the modern system of education. But as education began to spread to the different strata of society, a policy of choosing teachers from the class to which the students belonged was gradually adopted. It was necessary to do so, partly to break social stratification and partly on democratic principles. It also yielded good results because the teachers selected from classes to which the pupils belonged generally had a natural affection for their students and it more than made up for any deficiency they may have had in academic attainments. On the same principle, teachers belonging to scheduled

castes and scheduled tribes also began to be recruited, for the separate schools for scheduled caste or tribal children in the first instance and later on, for the general elementary schools as well. Women teachers began to be recruited, partly to enrol girls and partly because temperamentally they made better teachers than men. Initially, most of the elementary teachers came from urban areas. But as education spread to villages, recruitment of persons with a rural background began to increase considerably. At present, therefore, the total cadre of elementary teachers is fairly cosmopolitan in character and consists of men and women, persons with rural and urban background and individuals from all religions and castes.

In this context, one important problem is frequently raised. At present, a certain proportion of the posts of teachers in public elementary schools are reserved for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, broadly on the basis of the proportion of their population to the total population of the state. It is pointed out that this minimum reservation of posts leads to the recruitment of candidates with sub-standard qualifications and that it has an adverse effect upon the quality of elementary education as a whole. It is not alleged that the candidates from these communities are less able or less suitable as teachers than from the others. But it is pointed out that reservations made for them in all cadres of government services are so numerous and the proportion of educated persons so small, that all the good candidates generally go in for better paid jobs and only those with sub-standard qualifications become elementary teachers. It is, therefore, suggested that there should be no reservation of posts in the cadre of elementary teachers (or teachers at any level) for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and that the loss in employment that would thus be caused may be compensated, if necessary, by reserving for them a much larger proportion of seats than what they would be entitled to, on the basis of their population, in other sectors of employment (such as clerks or policemen). This view is opposed strongly in several quarters and it is pointed out that this reservation of seats is only a partial atonement for centuries of neglect and that, as a measure of social justice, it will be necessary to continue it, even in the cadres of teachers, for several years to come. Whatever the merits of this

proposal, it will be difficult to implement a decision which is not voluntarily agreed to by the leaders of these communities and, at the present moment, there appears to be little chance of their agreeing to the abolition of reservations in the cadres of teachers, even when such abolition is combined with adequate compensatory increases in the reservation in other sectors of employment. The only practicable way out of the situation appears to be to provide better in-service training to any sub-standard teachers that may be recruited from these communities and thus to make up, as largely as possible, for their initial deficiency in general education or professional training.

What can be done to raise the social status of elementary teachers? The most important step in this direction would be to improve their remuneration. If they could be accorded a status of government servants it would be an additional help. The improvement in their general education and professional training will also assist in raising their academic status in society. Schemes like that of the National Teachers' Awards instituted by the Union Ministry of Education will make the public conscious of the need to honour the humble elementary teachers. But by and large, the elementary teachers will have to carve out their own status in society through the quality of work they do in schools and through the service they offer to the community in the training of future generations.

CHAPTER 15

Basic Education: Retrospect and Prospect

The main principles of basic education were enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi in 1937. Basic education was intended to form an integral part of a comprehensive plan of reconstruction which he launched to provide the Indian people with a sound basis for their all-round progress—physical, mental and moral. He considered that at the time there obtained relatively favourable conditions for trying out some of his ideas in relation to the improvement of various aspects of national life. For, the Government of India Act, 1935, had granted provincial autonomy and the Indian people had voted into power their own representatives in all the provinces of British India, seven of these having come under the rule of the Congress ministries.

Conceptual Frame-work of Basic Education

The principles of basic education derive from Gandhiji's overall view of human life, both in its individual and collective meanings. Thus, basic education, as he conceived it, was to reinforce his constructive programmes in all the spheres of national life. He characterized basic education as the spear-head of a silent social revolution. And a veritable revolution it might have been! For, in the first place, quantitatively, this programme of education was intended to become the most widespread movement that the country had ever seen, taking every boy and girl—all future citizens of India—in its sweep. Secondly, in terms of quality, basic education sought to build up the human personality from its very roots in a way that would at once be natural and effective—natural because it would satisfy the child's inner urge of creativity by providing him with something to create, and effective because it would cultivate the proper attitudes, understandings, habits and skills necessary to make the child a responsible and productive member of society.

I. PRESENT POSITION

In order to make a right policy decision in regard to basic education, it would seem necessary to take stock of the progress it has made so far, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

(a) Quantitative Expansion

Let us first take the quantitative aspect. Experiments in basic education began to be made as early as 1938 *i.e.* just after the scheme of basic national education saw the light of the day. But by and large, these experiments were conducted in an isolated manner and on a limited scale and could not make any substantial impact on the system of education as a whole. Even these earlier small-scale experiments were greatly hampered, if not entirely discontinued, during the period of the Second World War when most of the popular ministries in the British Indian Provinces were out of office. It was only after the attainment of independence that basic education could be given a serious thought as a system of organized public education. Now, more than a decade has passed since basic education was accepted, both by the central and the state governments, as the national pattern of education at the elementary stage *i.e.* for children of six to fourteen years of age. The First Five-Year Plan made a specific allocation for stepping up the programme of basic education. Since then, basic education has been receiving a certain measure of attention. The results of the effort made in this field are indicated in Table 51.

It is clear from the table that the number of basic schools is increasing continuously. But the same cannot be said about the proportion of basic schools to the total number of primary and middle schools. The percentage of junior basic schools to the total number of primary schools declined during the First Plan, from 15.9 to 15.4. It is, however, estimated to have increased to 29.2 at the end of the Second Plan, representing an acceleration of 13.8 per cent over and above what was achieved in the First Plan. The targets laid down in the Third Plan show that the rate of increase would be lower than that in the Second Plan. For, during the Third Plan, it is proposed to raise the number of junior basic schools to 36.9 per cent of the total number of primary schools. The

TABLE 51 : PROGRESS OF BASIC EDUCATION SINCE 1950-51

	1950-51	1955-56	1960-61 (Estimated)	1965-66 (Targets)
1. Junior basic schools	33,379	42,971	1,00,000	1,53,000
2. Junior basic schools as percentage of the total number of primary [(including junior basic) schools ..	15.9	15.4	29.2	36.9
3. Senior basic schools	388	4,842	11,940	16,700
4. Senior basic schools as percentage of middle (including senior basic) schools	2.9	22.3	30.2	28.9
5. Children (in millions) in elementary schools (classes I-VIII) including those in basic schools	22.27	29.46	40.63	59.39
6. Children in elementary schools as percentage of the total number of children in age-group 6-14 ..	32.0	40.0	48.3	60.0
7. Children in basic schools as per- centage of the total number of chil- dren in classes I-VIII ..	13.1	17.2	23.3	Not known
8. Children in basic schools as per- centage of the total number of chil- dren in age-group 6-14 ..	4.1	6.9	11.3	Not known
9. Basic training schools	114	520	715	1,424
10. Basic training schools as percentage of the total number of training schools	15	56	70	100

acceleration would thus be only 7.7 per cent (from 29.2 per cent to 36.9 per cent) as against 13.8 per cent during the Second Plan. It implies that, during the Third Plan, the rise in the number of junior basic schools will be proportionately less than the rise in the number of primary schools. The progress attained in establishing senior basic schools presents a still darker picture. During the First Plan, the increase in the percentage of senior basic schools was 19.4 (from 2.9 to 22.3). The position became worse during the Second Plan, when the increase in percentage was estimated to be only 7.9 (from 22.3 to 30.2). What is worse is that the Third Plan does not even maintain the position achieved at the end of the Second Plan and the percentage of senior basic schools to the total number of middle schools would be reduced to 28.9 per cent, 1.3 per cent less than what it was at the end of the Second Plan.

Now let us consider the progress of basic education in terms of the number of children involved. At the beginning of the First Plan in 1950, children attending basic schools accounted for only 13.1 per cent of the total enrolment in grades I-VIII in all types of schools. This percentage rose to 17.2 at the end of the First Plan (1955-56) and is estimated to have reached 23.3 by the end of the Second Plan (1960-61). The data for the Third Five-Year Plan are not available. These figures speak for themselves. Basic education was intended to become universal. But it could not make any significant progress during the first three Plans. One cannot be satisfied with this state of affairs.

The sense of dissatisfaction becomes all the more acute when this progress is compared with that made by elementary education during the same period, though the latter in itself is not very commendable either. In 1950-51, the enrolment of children in grades I-VIII of elementary schools was only 32.0 per cent of the total population of children in the age-group 6-14. But the percentage was raised to 40.0 in 1955-56 and further to 48.3 in 1960-61. It is expected to reach up to 60.0 in 1965-66. Let us compare this with the progress of basic education. The increase in the percentage of enrolment in basic schools in the First Five-Year Plan was from 4.1 to 6.9 *i.e.* 2.8 only, while the corresponding increase in the case of elementary schools was from 32.0 to 40.0 *i.e.* 8.0. A similar trend in favour of elementary education continued during the Second Five-Year Plan also. Enrolment in basic schools registered an increase of only 4.4 per cent (from 6.9 per cent in 1955-56 to 11.3 per cent in 1960-61). As against this, the enrolment in elementary schools was raised from 40 per cent in 1955-56 to 48.3 per cent in 1960-61 showing an increase of 8.3 per cent. The obvious conclusion is that, during the first two Plans, basic education could not attain even that rate of progress which was secured by elementary education as a whole, though the latter itself was far from satisfactory. So far as the Third Five-Year Plan is concerned, the enrolment target set for elementary education is 60 per cent and the corresponding figure for basic education is not known. Therefore, no definite conclusion can be drawn as to how basic education would fare in terms of enrolment during the current Plan.

There is, however, one aspect of basic education where the

quantitative progress made during the period is spectacular indeed. Institutions designed to prepare teachers for basic schools have been steadily on the increase with the result that, by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, it is expected that all primary teacher training institutions will be converted into the basic pattern. This progress is remarkable. But in itself it would not mean much, if the quality of education imparted in these institutions is not improved in accordance with the principles of basic education, and suitable conditions of work in schools are not provided for teachers to enable them to put their training to practical use. From this point of view, one would find the present situation of teacher training far from satisfactory. The Report of the First National Seminar on the Education of Primary Teachers in India (1960) and the Draft Report on Teacher Training prepared by the Committee on Plan Projects in 1963 have testified that the teacher training programmes suffer, not only from lack of suitable staff, buildings, equipment, and other physical facilities, but also from inadequacy of curricular content and from ineffective procedures and techniques of training.

To sum up, the trend so far observed in the expansion of basic education does not warrant the hope that it will, in fact, become the universal system of education at the elementary stage in the near future.

(b) Qualitative Improvement

As to the quality of education provided in basic schools, it is difficult to make a categorical statement for various reasons.

In the first place, there is hardly anything approaching unanimity even today regarding the pattern of basic education in concrete terms—a pattern which may lend itself more or less to objective evaluation. Leaving aside the socio-economic frame of reference that Gandhiji had in view, his definition of education in general and his formulation of the principles of basic education in particular, are interpreted in different ways. And when it comes to practice, one observes wide divergence and even conflict. For instance, the principle of education through productive work means to some real production of usable articles, while to others it is just another name for the time-honoured play-way method of education.

One interpretation goes to the extent of regarding even the act of pure reflective thinking as a genuine form of productive work. One need not be surprised that the practice based on each of these interpretations is justified on the ground that it would bring about an all-round development of the individual on the one hand, and improvement of the society on the other!

Secondly, no comprehensive research has so far been made to assess the qualitative aspect of basic education. There is no scientific evidence, therefore, available to warrant any definite conclusion in this regard. However, the findings of certain isolated studies throw some light on this aspect. The most significant source that one can lay one's hands on is the Report of the Assessment Committee on Basic Education which is based on an overall survey of the state of basic education as it obtained in the country in 1956. These sources indicate clearly that all is not well on the qualitative front, and that the education provided in the so-called basic schools leaves much to be desired.

It is evident from the above that neither quantitatively nor qualitatively has basic education made much headway. But this is not to say that it has made no positive impact on elementary education. On the contrary, there is sufficient evidence to show that, by and large, programmes of ordinary schools have been influenced in one way or another by the concept of basic education; and as a result, certain worthwhile educative activities have been introduced in a large number of elementary schools.

II. PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES

There are a number of factors which have impeded the progress of basic education.

(a) Financial Provision

It cannot, for instance, be gainsaid that so far no adequate funds have been provided for the purpose. Basic education, being a better type of education, would inevitably cost more. Once it was thought by a certain section of people that there was a way out of the difficulty. A sizeable section of the supporters of basic education entertained the hope that, given suitable condi-

tions, basic education would, in most part, pay its own way, and that there would be left only a bearable demand on the public exchequer to meet the cost of running basic schools efficiently. This hope, in fact, was created by Gandhiji himself who insisted that basic schools must be self-supporting in the sense that they should be able to meet their recurring expenditure to the extent of the teachers' salary out of the sale proceeds of articles produced by the school children. But the past experience has shown that there is not even a remote possibility of basic schools becoming self-supporting. Some evidence to substantiate the conclusion is given below.

The Pires-Lakhani Committee appointed by the Ministry of Education, Government of India, made a study of this problem and went on record that, during the academic year 1950-51, the highest percentage to which any school in Bihar could be self-supporting was 41.09; and that the Sewagram (Wardha) basic school (run under the guidance and supervision of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh) with its percentage of 63 had the honour of topping the list of successful basic schools in so far as the self-supporting aspect was concerned. The 100 basic schools that existed in Bihar in 1949-50 (of which only 18 were senior basic) were self-supporting to the extent of 15 per cent. The situation, in general, does not seem to have changed much since then.

Towards the end of the First Plan, the Government of India reviewed the progress of basic education and found that it was not very satisfactory. The Assessment Committee on Basic Education underlined the fact that the self-supporting aspect was particularly weak almost everywhere with only a few exceptions. *The Concept of Basic Education* formulated and published by the Government of India in 1956 is discreetly silent about the idea of self-sufficiency. The percentage of self-sufficiency supposed to have been achieved in some states does not give a correct picture, as it is arrived at by calculating the value of production in terms of hours of work, wages for each hour being fixed at market rates. The production value thus calculated is somewhat spurious, as the saleable value of the finished products is, in reality, much less.

Even as great an exponent of Gandhian ideology as Vinobaji has now come to the realization that the profit from the sale proceeds of goods produced by children should not be used to reduce the

expenditure on education, but should go to the parents to enable them to send their children to school, and to compensate them for the loss of their children's help in their work during the time that they spend in school. Vinobaji elaborated this view in the Second National Seminar on Basic Education held in January 1958, when he categorically stated that expenditure on education up to the age of fifteen was the responsibility of the state. He was, therefore, of the opinion that the productivity aspect of education should not be used as a means of supporting schools.

There is also the proposal (which the government seems to have accepted in principle), that the profit derived from the productive work of children should be used for their own benefit by way of providing them school uniforms or mid-day meals.

It may, therefore, be safely concluded that the expenditure on basic education cannot be reduced to any appreciable degree by introducing productive crafts in schools as envisaged by Gandhiji. It implies that unless financial allocations for basic education are increased substantially, it will remain only a fond hope that basic education would some day become the universal system of education at the elementary stage.

(b) Teaching Personnel

Basic education needs teachers of a higher calibre in respect of their academic background as well as training to enable them to do full justice to the rich educational programme of the basic school. And what is even more important is that the basic teacher ought to have the right attitude towards children and the community. Basic education is a great departure from the traditional elementary education. Here it is not considered enough to learn only the 3 R's or to memorize certain facts from books about different school subjects. On the contrary, basic education is, in principle, an education for life and through life, in a democratic setting. As such, it seeks to provide an atmosphere where children can grow to their fullest stature by participating actively in educational programmes involving cooperative effort and shared satisfaction. Here the emphasis is on cooperation rather than competition, and on sharing rather than possessing.

Such education makes excessive demands on teachers. They

have not only to possess a good background of general education, but should have received such a training as to enable them to educate children through experiences of real life situations, of which productive work forms an integral part. Moreover, they have to be alive to the needs of society and resourceful enough to help children grow up into responsible and effective citizens of our developing democracy. Judging these demands against the prevailing conditions under which our teachers have to work, there seems to be little hope of their fulfilment. The teaching profession, in general, does not attract talented people because of the low prospects that it holds in terms of material advancement and social status. This is particularly true of the teacher's job at the basic school level. No wonder then that, as late as 1961, the standard of general education required of a basic school teacher was not even high school pass in eight out of the fifteen states of India and in three out of the five centrally-administered areas, and that the period of professional education was only one year in most areas! And this condition obtained when the output of secondary schools was adequate to ensure a regular supply of teachers for all elementary schools. In some states, preference is still given to a middle pass candidate over the one who holds a high school certificate, because a lower scale of pay can justifiably be given to the former. Those who have experience of training teachers for basic schools would agree that the one-year course is infructuous and ineffective.

Thus a type of sub-standard education is doled out to the prospective teachers of basic schools. Such teachers cannot, therefore, be expected to handle the problems of basic education imaginatively and with a reasonable degree of success, especially when no arrangement worth the name is made for their in-service education.

(c) Community's Attitude

One of the most significant ideas underlying basic education is to make the school an integral part of community life. The school has been long kept isolated from society to its own detriment. Basic education seeks to rectify the situation by transforming the school into an institution which should be able to enlist active cooperation and support of the people around and to utilize all the available

community resources for the enrichment and improvement of its programmes.

Looking at the actual position from this point of view, one can take little comfort. By and large, people seem to have developed an attitude of apathy, if not hostility, towards basic education. This may be due to the very nature of the social system prevailing in the country rather than to any defect inherent in basic education itself. After all, ours is a class-society in which dominant classes by tradition want to keep themselves aloof from all kinds of productive work—a factor which is regarded as the very life-breath of basic education. The loaves and fishes of high office and economic and social status are the preserve of that class of people who have never soiled their hands with manual labour. And to make matters worse, Government policy regarding recruitment to positions of prestige and power still puts a premium on the academic content of education.

Political democracy having been established in the country, it has raised the level of aspiration even among those classes of people who have so far been struggling hard to win their bread literally by the sweat of their brow, and who have never had the opportunity of schooling. Now they too want to have a place in the sun, and quite justifiably so. They see that the road to success lies through the literary type of education rather than basic education. Their advocates have already succeeded at certain places in getting substantial modifications effected in respect of the productive work to be introduced in basic schools. The experience of Delhi schools is a case in point. The Delhi Administration took a policy decision around 1950 to convert all its schools located in the rural areas into the basic pattern and to establish all the new schools to be opened in the villages as basic schools. About five years later, when all the rural schools had already become of the basic type, the policy had to be revised on account of the public pressure brought to bear upon the authorities. It was argued that only the village children were treated with the fare of basic education, while the city children continued to receive academic education which was supposed to give the latter an advantage over the former in the matter of receiving higher education, and subsequently in the race of personal advancement. Incidentally this argument was supported by the fact that

very few children who had completed their education in a senior basic school and sought admission into a higher secondary school succeeded in getting themselves admitted. The Mohsin Report which had shown that the academic attainment of the basic school children in Bihar was lower than that of the children belonging to the traditional schools was also quoted as a testimony.

Under the circumstances, one should not be surprised that basic education had not become as popular as it ought to have according to the expectations of its exponents.

(d) Role of Administration

One may not be as categorical as was the Assessment Committee on Basic Education, when it observed, 'Give us good administration and we shall give you good basic education'. But there is no denying the fact that administration is a very important factor in making any scheme a success. There is sufficient evidence to indicate that the progress of basic education has been greatly handicapped by the shortcomings of administration. Sometimes it is found that those who are in charge of basic education either do not have a correct understanding of it, or they are not imaginative enough to tackle the unfamiliar problems that arise in the field, or occasionally one may even come across cases showing unsympathetic attitude towards the cause.

There are a host of administrative problems ranging from the opening of a basic school up to the coordination of basic education with higher education. And each of these problems may create a bottle-neck if not tackled with care, and in time. For instance, it is a common observation that basic schools are supplied with ridiculously inadequate quantities of raw material and equipment needed for productive work. Similarly, there is no efficient and practicable procedure evolved for the disposal of produce. Such a condition is certainly not conducive to the growth of basic education.

(e) State of Research

Another drawback in the development of basic education is the neglect shown in investigating its problems in a scientific manner without which it is not possible to find out solutions. Faith alone is not a very reliable support for the success of a project like

basic education which is designed to operate on a mass scale. There has been very little effort in evidence so far in this crucial sector, although the need for constant research and investigation into various problems and aspects of basic education was visualized from its very inception. The Zakir Husain Committee which drew up the original scheme of basic education in 1938 recommended that each province should establish a Board of Education whose functions should include organization and conduct of research in basic education.

The situation obtaining at present in the field of research in basic education is far from satisfactory. Leaving aside the period of nine years before independence during which basic education was tried only on an extremely limited scale, and that too, in a few isolated schools in certain provinces of India, even after independence, when the government had accepted basic education as the national system of education, no organized effort has been made in the field of research in basic education. Of course, there are Boards of Education in certain provinces now called states, but none seems to pay much attention to the specific work of research in basic education, nor are there any other institutions carrying on such work. The Assessment Committee on Basic Education observed in 1956 that there was practically no research being done in the basic training institutions. This dark picture is not much illumined by the work done under the auspices of other institutions of higher learning in this particular field.

Some of the main difficulties and problems which are responsible for the slow progress of basic education have been outlined above. Now let us consider as to how they can be faced squarely, and suggest a realistic programme of action for the future, particularly during the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans.

III. FUTURE PROGRAMME OF ACTION

It has been emphasized time and again by the advocates of basic education that all education at the elementary stage must be transformed into the basic type as early as possible. But the question is how early it can be done. This will depend on a number of things, the most crucial being the provision of necessary funds.

Here one is faced with the ticklish question of priorities. India is committed to the establishment of a socialist pattern of society. One of the essentials of such a society is that all its members must be sufficiently educated so as to contribute their best to the common weal and to share the fruits of their collective effort equitably and judiciously. In view of this, it becomes the first priority to provide for free, compulsory and universal education within the shortest possible period. Its urgency becomes all the more pressing in view of the directive principle of state policy as specified in Article 45 of the Constitution of our country, according to which free and compulsory education ought to have been provided to all children up to the age of 14 years by 1960. This is a colossal problem indeed; and huge funds and an army of teachers are needed to meet it.

If all goes well with the resources allocated for elementary education in the Third Five-Year Plan, about 60 million children in the age group of 6-14 years are expected to be brought into schools by 1965-66. But this number would form only 60 per cent of the total population of children in that group. It is estimated that, by the end of the Fifth Plan (1975-76), the total number of children in the group would increase to about 120 million. So even when the period for the implementation of the constitutional directive mentioned above is extended to as late a date as 1975-76, the nation shall have to provide elementary education to 60 million additional children within a period of 10 years from 1965-66. In order to accomplish this task, a number of assumptions have to be made good. First, the national income ought to increase about two-and-a-half times during a period of 15 years as stipulated (from Rs. 145,000 million in 1960-61 to Rs. 340,000 million in 1975-76). Secondly, the investment in education should be raised from 2.2 per cent of the national income in 1960-61 to 4 per cent by 1975-76. Thirdly, one half of the total investment in education *i.e.* 2.2 per cent of the national income should be allotted to elementary education alone. These are the most favourable conditions that can possibly be expected to operate in a developing economy like ours which has to pay attention to all sectors of national life. There are also some other conditions, *e.g.* increasing the pupil-teacher ratio, introducing the double shift system (at

least in the first two grades), etc., that must be observed in order to achieve the target of cent per cent enrolment of children in the age-group 6-14 by 1975-76.

Now, if basic education is to be provided for all children, it will take much longer to attain the stage of universal education. For, basic education being of a better quality, is costlier, as is clear from the recommendations made by the Sub-Committee of the National Board of Basic Education in its report (1963) regarding the minimum conditions for the conversion of an ordinary school into a basic school. In the opinion of the Sub-Committee a basic school should make proper provision for at least one basic craft and one or more allied subsidiary crafts, and have an adequate and regular supply of necessary raw material and craft equipment.

The Sub-Committee has laid down the following as the minimum conditions for a basic school:

1. It should provide for an integrated course of seven or eight years of basic education (junior basic schools of four or five grades should necessarily be feeders to a senior basic school in the vicinity).
2. All teachers should have received basic training.
3. There should be proper provision (*i.e.* at least one basic craft and one or more allied subsidiary crafts) for the organization of some suitable and socially useful productive craft as an integral part of the educational programme.
4. Adequate quantities of needed raw materials and craft equipment should be supplied in time.

In this context, the following points may be kept in view:

- (a) Arrangements should be available for repair of equipment from time to time.
- (b) The initial cost of craft equipment may be kept at Rs. 250 per class of about 30 students. Provision should be made for an additional amount of Rs. 100 per class per year as revolving capital under this item.
- (c) The cost may vary from state to state and craft to craft. We may generally take it that *the first two years will have only activities and not systematic craft work*. Calculating on the basis of the remaining six grades, the initial cost of equipment thus works out to Rs. 1,500 per senior basic school plus Rs. 600 as revolving capital. The revolving capital is to be used for the purchase of raw materials.
- (d) At this point we are not mentioning what the income might be during the eight years of the full course, because whatever is produced *should go to meet at least a part of the expense of school uniforms and noon meals*.
- (e) Where, in a senior basic school, agriculture is the main and basic craft, there should be at least five acres of irrigated land. In the case of schools

with crafts other than agriculture, there should be a small workshop attached to the school. It would be desirable, in the case of all basic schools, to have a minimum of half to one acre for kitchen and flower gardening.

(f) Serious attempts should be made to get land free from the village community; where absolutely necessary part at least of the land will have to be purchased. It is not possible to compute the cost of this, as it will vary from place to place. However, a provision for Rs. 2,000 per senior basic school may be made for land. The workshop in a non-agriculture basic school (or generally a small workshop in urban areas) should also not cost more than Rs. 2,000.

(g) Care should be taken to see that the basic craft is not truncated. It should cover the whole process from raw materials to the finished product. Without this, there will be no sense of pride and happiness in productive work nor any real educational value attached to it.

5. There should be community living and community work based on democratic student self-government under the guidance of teachers. (This will mean responsible student participation in the educational programme).

6. There should be a sustained and systematic attempt at linking teaching in the classroom with the experiences of children in productive work and in their study of the natural and social environments. (This would essentially mean that experiences in extension are used in the process of learning.)

7. Congregational prayers on a non-denominational basis should become a part of the community life.

8. There should be a small library of suitable books for which an initial provision of Rs. 500 may be made with an additional annual provision of Rs. 50.

9. The organization of cultural and recreational activities should also become a part of the community life. A minimum annual expenditure of Rs. 60 may be necessary for this programme.

Let us suppose that all schools are to be converted into basic schools by the end of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Calculating at the above rate, the additional expenditure to be incurred on account of craft equipment and raw material alone would be of the order of Rs. 2,400 million. Keeping in view the trend as observed in the pattern of expenditure on education during the three Plans, it does not seem to be within the realm of possibility that basic education would attain the position of universality in India even by 1975-76. But this is not to suggest that there is no hope for the development of basic education, and that it should be given up as

a lost cause. What is really needed is to vitalize the programme of basic education both quantitatively and qualitatively, keeping in view, of course, the realities of the situation. A perspective plan ought to be drawn up showing how basic education can develop gradually so that it may establish itself ultimately as an improved system of elementary education on a nation-wide scale.

(a) Improvement of Basic Schools

A number of existing basic schools have, in fact, very little to do with basic education. They are basic just in name. The educational programme followed by them is as good or as bad as in any other traditional school. Immediate steps need be taken to develop them as genuine basic schools by fulfilling the minimum essential conditions as indicated earlier.

There are quite a few basic schools where a serious attempt has been made to implement the principles of basic education ; but for one reason or another, they are not as yet up to the mark. In such places, all the available provisions must be used to the fullest extent possible to make up the deficiency. It may well be that with better administrative arrangements, these basic schools can be improved without any significant increase in cost.

(b) Expansion of Basic Schools

Apart from carrying on a regular programme for the improvement of the existing basic schools, it should be possible for all the state governments to expand basic education continuously in a certain measure by converting the ordinary schools into the basic type as well as by opening new basic schools. It is suggested that even under the present financial stringency a majority of the state governments should be able to convert at least 5 per cent of ordinary schools into basic schools every year.

One of the most crucial problems met with in the programme of expansion of basic education concerns the provision of craft in the school. Craft occupies the central position in the basic curriculum. Though it has been frequently clarified that nothing is sacrosanct about any particular craft, all manner of criticism is still made in this regard. Perhaps it is due to the fact that, in practice, certain crafts like spinning and weaving occupy the pride of place

in most basic schools, irrespective of their suitability for the schools concerned. There are only two accepted criteria for adoption of a craft in a given school. First, the craft should be rich from the view-point of its educational potentiality. This implies that the processes of the craft should open up new avenues for meaningful experiences which would constitute the subject matter of education. Secondly, the craft should have its roots in the social environment of the child. This would ensure its practicability and utility. It follows from this that crafts in different areas may vary widely. For this very reason, crafts in urban and rural areas cannot be the same.

In relation to craft, one question needs special consideration. At what stage should the craft be introduced both from the point of view of productivity and economy in expenditure? Experience has shown that there is very little production and a great deal of wastage of the raw material in the lower grades of a basic school, where the number of children is usually large, and immaturity of their limbs precludes any real production. It is, therefore, suggested that introduction of craft as such may be postponed till a later stage, when children become mature enough to practise it advantageously. As stated earlier, the Sub-Committee of the National Board of Education is of the opinion that the first two grades may have only activities and not systematic craft work. Activities like clay modelling, elementary kitchen gardening or some inexpensive handwork may be introduced in the lower grades. It is expected that the opportunities so provided will prove helpful in developing manual skills and releasing the creative impulses of children. They will thus be better prepared to do craft work later. The basic curriculum needs to be modified in this light. In certain places this is already being done. For instance, the new revised syllabus prescribed for basic schools in the Maharashtra State does not lay down any targets of craft work for the first two grades. Children in these grades are expected to do some handwork which includes clay modelling, gardening, paper work, etc. It is suggested that children of grades I and II may be drafted as apprentices to children of the upper grades. There are some people who would favour the extension of this apprenticeship period to 3 or 4 years *i.e.* up to the fourth grade.

The sense of urgency to provide free and compulsory education to all children in the 6-14 age-group on the one hand, and the awareness of the inadequacy of resources on the other, have led certain knowledgeable persons to suggest that for the time being it is advisable to be content with some sort of inexpensive handwork even up to the fifth grade and to have a regular craft only in the upper three grades of the basic school. The suggestion deserves serious consideration. It commends itself on the ground that children in the upper grades being more mature and responsible, can be expected to produce more and waste less, and that the provision of financial resources required to equip basic schools with the necessary craft material and equipment is more likely to be a practicable proposition, because comparatively a much smaller number of children will be involved in this case.

In order that the craft work may be done efficiently, it is necessary to make adequate arrangements for the supply of raw materials and craft equipment at the proper time and in the requisite quantity. It has not often been found workable to get this done through a centralized organization like the Education Department of a state. It becomes all the more difficult for such an organization to dispose of the articles produced in basic schools. This should be regarded more as a matter for local initiative and consumption. Here help may be taken of agencies like the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Commission, Government Stationery Depots, or even the normal local shopping and marketing agencies. Similarly, the responsibility for repair and maintenance of equipment may be assigned to the schools themselves and for this purpose necessary funds should be provided and placed at the disposal of the headmasters.

(c) Orientation Programme

As shown earlier, it would take a long time to establish the basic system of education as the only pattern at the elementary stage. It is, therefore, essential to devise ways and means to bring about such changes in the existing elementary schools, as might pave the way for their complete change-over to the basic pattern at a later date, when, necessary resources could be made available for the purpose. The changes to be introduced immediately must,

in the nature of things, be such as would not entail expenditure beyond the present allocations made for elementary education. It implies that only those activities of basic education which are inexpensive should be initiated in the ordinary elementary schools at once. But this is not to say that no additional amount would be needed at all to run the new programme. This would certainly require some financial resources ; but these would be of a magnitude that could easily be met by making necessary adjustments in the normal budget for education.

If these activities are to help in orienting elementary schools towards the basic pattern, certain conditions must be fulfilled. First, these activities have to be integrated in the school curriculum, so that they may contribute to the aims of basic education. They should not be treated as mere extra-curricular activities unrelated to the main work of the school. These activities should be conducted in the real spirit of basic education. Second, there must be a proper evaluation of the outcome of these activities to see what impact they have made on the child, and how he has become a better person both as an individual and as a member of his community as a result of this programme.

These requirements can be met only when the teaching and administrative personnel are so prepared professionally as to enable them to shoulder the specific responsibilities of the orientation programme. The teachers and administrators of elementary schools should not only have the skill to organize the activities, but also an insight into the objectives which these activities are intended to serve.

As to the activities to be introduced in the elementary schools, they may be of various kinds. There are certain activities which are suitable for all schools, such as health activities, social service, cultural activities, etc., while there are others which may suit only certain schools. For instance, a school having a sizeable piece of land with irrigation facilities may practise flower and vegetable gardening. What particular activities a given school should have would obviously depend on the availability of the material resources needed and the nature and strength of the school staff.

Whatever activities a school selects for itself, it is essential that they should be properly planned, executed and evaluated ; and

what is even more important, they must be fully utilized as media of education.

It is also suggested that the syllabus of various academic subjects prescribed for basic schools should be introduced forthwith in all elementary schools. The diversity existing in this matter has already proved detrimental to the best interests of basic education. Interested parties in certain places have opposed basic education in the name of academic standards; and there seems to be a tendency towards making the subject matter of the basic syllabus heavier in response to the subject-centred curriculum of the high school. Thus, the emphasis laid on the life-centred curriculum in basic education may be virtually shifted to the subject matter. This shift is fraught with dangerous consequences, inasmuch as it would eliminate the progressive element of basic education. It is, therefore, essential that while devising an integrated syllabus to be followed both by basic and non-basic schools, the guiding principle must be its relevance to the life of the community and experiences of the child. Quite a few states have already framed such a syllabus and enforced it. The others are expected to do so by the end of the current Plan.

The orientation programme indicated above can, however, be implemented only by such teachers and educational administrators as understand its implications thoroughly. This would necessitate organizing short courses or seminars for them. Some suitable system has to be evolved for this. It is suggested that a mobile training squad be set up to give short orientation courses at places convenient for teachers of a particular area. The district supervisory staff should preferably undergo an intensive orientation course in basic education for two to four weeks. Such courses may be organized by Post-Graduate Basic Training Colleges during the long vacations at the instance of the State Department of Education concerned.

The orientation programme is expected to be completed during the period of the current Plan. If executed rightly, this programme will serve a two-fold purpose, namely, improving elementary education as a whole, and laying a sound foundation for future conversion of all elementary schools into the basic type. A sum of Rs. 20 million is allocated for this in the Plan. This is

regarded sufficient for the purpose. If this programme materializes fully, India will have, by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, two main types of schools at the elementary stage: (1) those which are oriented toward the basic pattern, and (2) those which are wholly basic.

(d) Curriculum

The main objective of basic education is to train children for citizenship in the democratic society that India has adopted for herself as an ideal. In the words of the Zakir Husain Committee on Basic Education, 'In modern India citizenship is destined to become increasingly democratic in the social, political, economic and cultural life of the country. The new generation must at least have an opportunity of understanding its own problems and rights and obligations.' The basic school curriculum must, therefore, seek to establish an adequate background for such an understanding. Besides, it must provide for those elements of knowledge, skills and attitudes which are deemed essential for democratic living.

In basic education, the emphasis is not so much on mastery over subject matter, as on acquisition of equipment necessary for day-to-day living. The curriculum of basic schools should, therefore, be determined by those needs of life which are common to all citizens. It would, for this reason, be a wrong procedure to overload the basic curriculum with the subject matter which is required only for further studies.

But it does not mean that the basic curriculum should be inferior in academic content, and would not serve as a sure foundation upon which to build the next storey of education.

The children who would go in for higher education after passing out of the basic school, would already have acquired an adequate background of knowledge, skills, understandings, etc., to cope with the academic material in the high school because of their greater mental maturity at that stage.

In order to develop the basic curriculum we should start by drawing up a list of activities—productive, creative, social, cultural, physical, etc.—in which children are naturally interested. Then, with regard to each activity investigation should be made as to what particular learning experiences it would lead to. These learning

experiences should progressively be developed to such an extent that they may meet the common needs of the people's life in a democratic society. These needs, of course, have to be identified as precisely as possible through research and investigation. They would determine the scope of learning experiences necessary for the training for citizenship in its various aspects. Ultimately, the learning experiences that constitute the basic curriculum are to be graded in relation to maturity of children from year to year. This, too, needs research and experimentation.

(e) Technique of Correlation

Correlation is generally regarded as the greatest hurdle in basic education. The serious-minded academician objects to the very idea of correlation. For, he believes that this disturbs the logical order of the subject matter, that knowledge thus acquired is incoherent and patchy, that learning does not lead to acquisition of any disciplinary value of a permanent character, and so on. The light-hearted critic concentrates his fire at practical examples of correlation. He picks up the ridiculous ones from actual classroom practice—and there is no dearth of such examples—and thereby tries to show that the technique is faulty in itself. The short-sighted enthusiast advocates that correlation is the key to all educative experience, and that nothing can be effectively taught or learnt without making use of this technique. In such a state of affairs, the ordinary teacher is naturally bewildered; and in so far as the technique of correlation is concerned, he tends either to give it up as a hopeless job or tries to over-simplify it and claims anything that he does as correlated teaching.

But understood rightly, correlated teaching should seek to inter-relate the experiences that a learner acquires. Experiences thus gained become more meaningful. They are, therefore, functional and lasting. Isolated bits of information are not only hard to learn but very difficult to retain for a long time and still more difficult to use; for, their significance is not fully understood by the learner. But, if the inter-relationships of the facts learnt are made clear to the learner, he grasps them more quickly and can retain them longer; and what is more important he can put them to use as and when needed.

The first pre-requisite of correlated teaching is that children must be engaged in some worthwhile activity. Activities may be varied. An activity may be productive like spinning and weaving, woodwork, etc. It may be social like cleaning the classroom, school and its surroundings, arranging a picnic party, excursion or a field trip. It may be cultural as celebrating national days, staging plays, or organizing music and dance performances, etc. Or the activity may concern health and physical development like participating in games and sports, intramural contests and tournaments, organizing campaigns to fight out epidemics like malaria, cholera, or arranging for drinking water and mid-day meals, etc.

What may be regarded as the most important thing in carrying on any activity is that it must be exploited to the maximum for educational ends. That is, it must stimulate thinking and learning on the part of children. In order to achieve this objective, it is essential that in the first place, children must feel a need for this ; secondly, they should be guided and helped to plan it in its minutest details ; and thirdly, they should try to execute the plan as far as possible. If at this stage it is felt that in order to accomplish the activity the plan needs some modification, it should be effected accordingly. The fourth and the last stage of the activity should consist in making an assessment of the whole procedure in terms of its adequacy for the end in view. Unless all these four stages are consciously gone through, the activity cannot be expected to yield the desired result. An activity performed mechanically loses its educational purpose ; and it is not good even for correlated teaching.

One thing that should always be kept in view while selecting an activity is the maturity level of children. An activity may have immense educational possibilities, but it may be beyond the scope of children of a particular age-group to do justice to it. In that case the activity is likely to frustrate rather than to stimulate them.

A second requirement of successful correlation is that the information or correlated knowledge needed to carry on the activity must be integrally related to it and supplied at the appropriate moment, *i.e.* when the need for it arises. As to the lessons that follow a given activity, they too must emerge naturally out of the activity itself. For instance, while ginning cotton, if

the children find some moth-eaten seeds, the teacher may appropriately introduce the topic *Life-history of the Cotton Moth*. It would be correlated teaching in the right sense.

Another essential of correlated teaching is that the material to be correlated with an activity must be well-graded. It is common experience that almost the same subject matter is covered by children of various grades in the basic school over and over again irrespective of their mental maturity and the state of their previous experiences. This tends to make the whole educative process unsystematic and chaotic, and consequently lowers the standard of education in the basic school.

The situation pointed out above has stemmed mainly from the assumption that every teacher is competent enough to apply the principle of correlated teaching in relation to an activity, and to select the appropriate material for his day-to-day work. But what actually obtains belies the assumption. It is rather a difficult task to grade the material that can be correlated with various processes of a given craft or with any other activity in terms of its suitability for children of a particular age-group. This calls for imagination, wide knowledge and experience. What is to be done then? The teacher needs definite guidance as to what material would be appropriate for a certain grade in relation to a particular craft process or a given activity.

Here one important thing may be taken note of. It has been found easier to apply the technique of correlation as discussed above in the lower grades of the basic school. Up to the fifth grade it works out well; for, the academic content of the prescribed syllabus generally admits of a great measure of flexibility in its treatment. The situation changes somewhat in the upper three grades, where a more systematic organization of the subject matter is considered necessary. But even here the process of learning can be made meaningful and effective by connecting the subject matter with the other related experiences of children.

The problem of correlated teaching has only been tinkered with so far. We have been talking about it in a general way, as if any material connected with a centre of correlation were suitable for children of all grades. But in reality this is a part of a bigger problem, namely, the problem of curriculum development in basic

schools. Its solution demands systematic research and investigation. This is a legitimate task for teachers' training colleges and institutes of educational research to take up in right earnest.

(f) Coordination

The problem of coordination of basic education with higher education is assuming more and more importance, as the number of children passing out of basic schools increases. The difficulties created by the two parallel systems of education—one basic and the other non-basic—at the elementary stage have been fully realized, so much so that even those who would have liked to keep the pure stream of basic education unsullied also at the subsequent stage, do not think it advisable to advocate an independent system of post-basic schools.

The post-basic education must be integrated in the present system of secondary education. The post-basic school may be regarded just as one of the streams of the multipurpose school which will emphasize attainment of competence in the craft that a pupil has already learnt in his basic school. This arrangement will also safeguard the post-basic school against landing itself in the unhappy situation in which the basic school finds itself today on account of its being kept isolated from the system of elementary education. That is why the official view from the very beginning has tended to support integration of post-basic and multipurpose schools. A committee appointed by the Union Ministry of Education at the instance of the Central Advisory Board of Education in 1957 to study this matter in detail has underlined the need for integration of the post-basic school with the secondary school system of the country and has suggested as to how this could be done. The following recommendations of the Committee merit serious consideration:

1. The study of crafts in post-basic schools should be considered equivalent to the study of the electives in the multipurpose schools and for doing this, proper standards should be laid down for both.
2. Necessary assistance should be provided to every post-basic school to enable it to raise its standard of study in humanities and sciences to the same advanced level as is provided for them as electives in every higher secondary school.
3. While selecting schools for conversion of multipurpose schools, the post-basic schools should be given the same consideration for this conversion, wherever possible, as other higher secondary schools.

4. A common scheme of examination for both the post-basic schools and the multipurpose schools should be instituted by the State Boards of Secondary Education after giving due cognizance to the special features of the work done in post-basic schools. This should automatically imply the issue of the same certificate for students of the post-basic schools as for those of other higher secondary schools.
5. During the interim period the Governments should recognize the school final examination of the post-basic schools as equivalent to the certificates awarded to the students of other higher secondary schools for purposes of employment and urge upon the universities to accord the same recognition to that examination for purposes of admission to institutions of higher learning.
6. In order to enable post-basic schools to improve the quality of their teachers and strengthen their laboratory, library, etc., the same financial assistance and guidance should be made available to the post-basic schools as is being done to the higher secondary and multipurpose schools.
7. As a matter of policy the products of post-basic schools should, in the earlier stages, be given preference in the matter of employment on those special jobs for which their training has especially equipped them.
8. The recommendation of the All-India Commission for Secondary Education regarding the study of crafts as a compulsory subject should be implemented in all higher secondary and multipurpose schools with due emphasis on the productive aspect of that work.
9. The technique of correlation should be specifically emphasized in all higher secondary and multipurpose schools and utilised as an effective technique of teaching to the extent it is normally possible to do so at that stage of education.
10. Every post-basic school should suitably add the words 'Higher Secondary' to its name.

(g) Supervision

It was realized from the very inception of the scheme of basic education that a proper system of supervision should be devised to guide and help the basic school teacher in performing his duties in an efficient manner. In view of this the Zakir Husain Committee recommended that provision be made to train supervisors for this specialized work. Defining the role of the supervisor, the Committee underlined that he should serve as a leader in the educational experiment and offer cooperation and help to teachers who are relatively less experienced or less resourceful.

All members of supervisory personnel should function in close collaboration with teachers in working out a curriculum that covers both the individual and social needs of the pupil. They must utilize community resources and prepare pupils to play their rightful role in the productive activity of the community.

Supervisors should establish close contacts with representative groups in the community in order to study the problems of children and to determine the various ways in which local organizations like citizens' committees, panchayats, youth clubs, children's aid societies, Bharat Sewak Samaj, Bharat Boy Scouts and Girl Guides' Association, etc., can aid in an out-of-school educational programme.

Another function of supervisors is to guide teachers in organizing parent-teacher associations and in helping them to solve problems concerning the behaviour and activities of their children.

Teachers would benefit greatly, if the supervisor demonstrates better techniques of teaching, when he comes to visit the school. In certain countries it is regarded as a part of the supervisor's duty to devote some time to actual teaching. For instance, in Denmark an inspector is even required to teach in a school two days a week. It should be his duty to awaken healthy doubts as to the inadequacy of familiar routines, to provoke the unreflective to think, to stimulate experiments by discussion and suggestion and to spread progressive ideas in schools. The supervisor should help teachers in developing tests and examinations, in determining aims and objectives of subjects taught, in reorganizing and adapting courses of study, in developing assignments, units and teaching aids, and in improving the standard of productive work.

A comprehensive programme of supervision cannot be carried out by the traditional method of inspection. It would need the use of varied techniques. In small schools it is possible for the supervisor to guide and help teachers individually by supervising their work, conferring with them, studying the causes of their failure, analysing learning difficulties of pupils, adjusting teacher-pupil differences, etc. But if the school is too big to make this individual approach impracticable, the supervisor can use group-methods for the guidance of all teachers in the school. He can hold conferences, panel discussions, seminars, suggest relevant reading materials from books and magazines, arrange field trips, educational excursions and summer camps, give demonstration and model lessons, use films and other visual aids, and the like. What particular method is to be used and how, would depend upon the nature of the problem to be tackled, the situation of the school in question and the resources available for the purpose.

It is obvious that the programme of supervision mentioned above would not only require a change in the attitude of the supervisor but also substantial strengthening of the supervisory staff so as to make it possible to increase the frequency and duration of supervision, and also to pay more attention to the basic schools situated in remote rural areas. It is also necessary to make the supervisor's administrative and routine work as light as possible, so that he may devote most of his time to educational matters pertaining to the schools put under his charge. For the same reason the supervisory district and the number of schools entrusted to his care should be such as to be easily manageable.

(h) Teacher Education

If there is one single improvement that will go a long way in making basic education a success, that should be effected in the field of teacher education. It is stipulated that by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan all teacher training institutions numbering about 1,400 which are meant to prepare teachers for elementary schools will be of the basic type. It may not be possible to develop these training schools into first grade institutions all at once because of the lack of necessary resources. It is, therefore, suggested that in each district of every state at least one such training school be established so as to furnish the picture of basic education in concrete shape and substance. This training school should have four to five basic schools attached to it. This unit or centre of basic education should be adequately staffed and equipped, and be required to work out the total programme of basic education. It is hoped that such a centre would be able to provide practical guidance to other teachers in the field through extension work.

Any improvement in teacher education will inevitably depend on the level of general education that a prospective teacher has acquired. Now it is quite practicable to fix the minimum qualification for all entrants to basic teacher training institutions as the successful completion of secondary education. It should not be difficult for any state to set 1965-66 as the dead-line beyond which a person who has not passed the high school examination may be deemed disqualified for recruitment as a teacher in any elementary school. It may, however, be felt necessary to relax the condition

in respect of certain categories of teachers on account of their scarcity. For instance, women teachers possessing the prescribed qualification may not be available in the required number for some time to come, particularly to staff the rural schools, or there may be a temporary shortage of qualified teachers who are willing to work in tribal or remote areas. But it should be made possible to ensure a regular supply of fully qualified teachers even in such categories by the beginning of the Fifth Five-Year Plan *i.e.* 1970-71.

Another pre-requisite for effecting any significant improvement in this field is that everywhere the period of training must be increased as soon as possible to two years for those who hold at least the high school certificate and to three years for those who have completed their education in the middle or senior basic school. The three-year period in the latter case may, however, be divided into a two-year continuous pre-service training and a one-year in-service education a little later.

One of the most important sectors of teacher education which needs special attention and immediate modification is the curricular programme followed in basic teacher training institutions. With the exception of a few practical activities included in the community living programme, and some craft work, there is little in the current syllabus that is very well suited to basic or elementary education. Here the syllabus, textbooks and the methods of teaching in use have no particular relevance to the needs, interests and abilities of the basic school teacher. They are at best a watered-down version of what obtains in Secondary Teachers' Training Colleges. While revising the training programme, the specific needs of basic education must be kept in view. Both the curricular content and methodology should be in tune with the level of understanding of student-teachers. Textbooks and other teaching materials have to be prepared accordingly.

It is also necessary that the training institutions should take due note of the problems concerning multiple-class teaching and handling of large classes. For these are very crucial practical problems that teachers of basic schools have to face. Student teachers must, therefore, be given actual experience of multiple-class teaching and teaching large classes.

Besides vitalizing the regular pre-service teacher training pro-

gramme, there is an urgent need to organize in-service education programmes for the benefit of basic school teachers, so that they may keep on equipping themselves with all that is known to be better and effective both in theory and practice of education from time to time. It should be possible ultimately to provide every basic teacher an opportunity for in-service training of not less than two months' duration in every five years of service.

In-service training programmes need to be organized occasionally also for catering to the needs of headmasters and supervisors of basic schools.

(i) Research

There is need for research in various problems of basic education. Research organizations set up both at the national and state levels must take up this work in right earnest.

Apart from the administrative problems which must be looked into and solved, there is an urgent need for research in the following areas of basic education:

1. *Curriculum* : To an ordinary teacher of the basic school, the concept of activity-curriculum is a complicated affair. Through research, lines of development of the basic curriculum must be made clear and specific units of material for learning should be evolved in relation to children's activities in the basic school.
2. *Methodology of Teaching* : The technique of correlation is something like a puzzle to the basic teacher. Research should aim at bringing this technique home to him. Two other important problems of research in this sector are those of multiple-class teaching and teaching large classes.
3. *Craft and Productivity* : There seems to be either rigid orthodoxy or cynical light-heartedness in the matter of crafts suitable for basic schools in a particular area. Research is needed to identify educational possibilities of various crafts and develop them in terms of their techniques and productivity.
4. *Evaluation* : Basic education, being a big departure from the traditional education in its aims and objectives will not make much headway unless suitable techniques of evaluating the outcome against its aims and objectives are evolved, and these tools are put in the hands of teachers and administrators of basic education.

5. *Teacher Education* : The problems of basic teacher training institutions need investigation with a view to making the training programmes effective. Preparation of suitable literature for student teachers needs immediate attention.

The programme of action outlined above does not indicate how long it will take to establish basic education as the only system of elementary education throughout the country. It is mainly because the data needed for a perspective plan of this nature are not available. As it is, there is no reason for alarm or despondency. The experience of other countries which are now advanced but were backward a few decades ago may enlighten us in charting out our course of action. Even in countries with far better material resources, and far less population to educate, it proved too difficult to launch a programme of qualitative improvement of education on a large scale, until a minimum standard of education had been made available to all children of school-age.

Demands of our democracy are so pressing that we cannot afford to go slow with the programme of educational expansion under the plea that quality of education must be raised at all cost. We can fervently hope that after the Fifth Plan, when the problem of universal education will have been mostly solved, the expansion of basic education as an improved type of elementary education would take place by leaps and bounds. Till then, within the available resources, we must go on developing and refining the various aspects of basic education as indicated earlier. There is no doubt that the effort made during the interim period will provide the necessary conditions for a speedy conversion of the free, compulsory and universal system of elementary education into the basic pattern.

CHAPTER 16

Improving Physical Facilities in Elementary Schools

By and large, the average elementary school in India is very poorly equipped in respect of even the minimum essential physical facilities. In order to provide satisfactory conditions under which the teachers can impart effective instruction, and in order to be able to attract and retain children, the elementary schools need certain physical facilities such as a good site, an adequate campus (including a playground and some land for farming or kitchen-gardening), buildings for tuitional and other purposes (including, wherever possible, residential accommodation for teachers), and a good deal of equipment (including a fair collection of teaching aids and books). Only about 40 per cent of the schools have tuitional buildings of their own, many of which have become inadequate and stand in need of special repairs. Quarters for teachers are not available, with the solitary exception of a few quarters for women teachers which have been constructed very recently. It is obvious that any programme of improving physical facilities would involve not only financial outlay on a large scale but also an organization of considerable complexity to carry it out.

I. SCHOOL BUILDINGS

The problem of constructing and maintaining buildings for elementary schools is a major part of the total problem. In 1946-47, the provision of buildings for elementary schools was far from adequate. No accurate statistics are available for the country as a whole. But the available studies relating to selected areas show that only about 20 per cent of the schools had their 'own' buildings, that is, buildings specially constructed for schools. Some of these were old and inadequate and in need of urgent and large-scale repairs. But in spite of this handicap, they were the best buildings the elementary schools had. About 30 per cent of the schools were in rented buildings, which, by and large, were

unsatisfactory. Most of them were residential houses, especially in urban areas, and were very inconvenient for use as schools. The remaining 50 per cent of the schools were housed in 'rent-free' buildings which, on the whole, was the least satisfactory type of accommodation. These schools were located mostly in temples, *chaupals*, and such other public places. The tremendous expansion in enrolment that had taken place during the last fifteen years has made the situation worse. Additional school rooms could not be provided as fast as the enrolment grew. Consequently, there is now a much greater number of schools for which buildings have to be constructed. Moreover, a very large proportion of the existing buildings, which were put up long ago, are in a bad way at present and it has not been possible to provide funds even for the most essential repairs to them.

The problem of providing satisfactory buildings to the elementary schools is thus of very great importance and raises the following issues:

(1) What would be the approximate outlay required for providing satisfactory buildings to all elementary schools within a stipulated period, say, the end of the Fifth Five-Year Plan?

(2) How could the finances required for the construction of elementary school buildings be raised?

(3) What should be the appropriate administrative machinery for constructing and maintaining buildings for elementary schools?

(4) Since the total amount required for the provision of buildings would be very large and probably beyond the resources likely to be available in the near future, what measures could be adopted to reduce the cost of building construction per pupil?

A few tentative solutions to these difficult problems are proposed to be discussed in the following paragraphs.

Finances Required for the Programme of School Buildings

The total amount required for the construction of elementary school buildings can be divided into two parts: (1) the amount required for clearing the backlog and for providing adequate and satisfactory buildings for the existing enrolment at the elementary

stage ; and (2) the amount required for the additional children that would be brought into elementary schools.

It is easy to make an estimate of the second part, *i.e.*, of the outlay required for providing classrooms for the additional enrolment. At the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, the total enrolment in elementary schools would be about 60 million. It may be possible to reach 100 per cent enrolment in the age-group 6-11 and 50 per cent enrolment in the age-group 11-14 by 1975 or the end of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. On this assumption, the total enrolment in elementary schools will rise to 100 million by 1975. This implies an annual increase of about 4 million. Assuming a pupil-teacher ratio of 40:1, we shall need about 100,000 additional classrooms every year. This will require an annual outlay of Rs. 300 million, at the rate of Rs. 3,000 per classroom.*

With regard to the first part, no reliable data are available regarding the size of existing backlog in the provision of buildings for elementary schools. The first step, therefore, would be to collect some basic data on the subject. This could be done through sample surveys.

Pending such sample surveys, whose findings would be more reliable, we will have to depend upon such data as are available. Surveys of elementary schools have been made in small areas in some parts of the country ; and it is seen from them that, at the most, about 40 per cent of the existing enrolment may be said to have satisfactory accommodation and that we will have to provide new accommodation for the remaining 60 per cent. At the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, the total enrolment in elementary schools would be about 60 million. On the above basis, we may assume that 24 million of children are satisfactorily accommodated and that new school buildings would have to be put up for about 36 million children. This implies the construction of 900,000 classrooms (at the rate of 40 pupils to one class room), and a total cost of Rs. 2,700 million at Rs. 3,000 per classroom. Assuming that this backlog would be cleared in a period of ten years, we shall need an outlay of Rs. 270 million per year for this purpose.

Taking these two estimates together, we may assume that an amount of Rs. 570 million per year would be needed during the

* At 1960-61 prices.

Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans in order to provide adequate and satisfactory buildings for all elementary schools. The magnitude of this outlay becomes evident if we bear in mind that the total direct expenditure on elementary education is Rs. 1,198 million at present.

Raising Necessary Funds

It will thus be seen that the total amount required for the building programme of elementary schools would be very large, particularly during the next ten years, when we will have to clear the backlog of the past, and also to provide buildings for the rapidly increasing new enrolment. The main problem to be studied, therefore, is this: How can the funds required for this huge programme be raised?

(a) *Loans*: The Committee on School Buildings appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Education as early as in 1941 drew attention to the fact that, in Great Britain (as in every other advanced country) the financing of 'social construction out of revenue, except where the amount involved was comparatively small, is strongly discouraged by Government. Sites were purchased, schools built and furniture purchased out of loans spread over periods varying between 15 years in the case of temporary buildings, 30 to 40 years in the case of permanent ones and 60 in the case of sites. By this means it was possible to embark on a heavy building programme without placing an intolerable burden on the budgets of one or two years.' The Committee strongly recommended that 'all expenditure on school sites, buildings and equipment exceeding Rs. 5,000 for any one item should be met from loans*.' This recommendation of the School Buildings Committee was also endorsed by the Sargent Report and the estimates of recurring expenditure given in the Report made provision for interest and sinking fund charges only on the assumption that non-recurring expenditure on buildings would, as a rule, be met out of loans.

In spite of this recommendation, the idea of financing school buildings through loans has not yet been adopted on any appreciable scale. Some of the big municipal corporations, like

* *Report of the School Building Committee of the C.A.B.E., 1941.* See Reports of the Committees appointed by the C.A.B.E. (1938-43), Ministry of Education, p. 66.

Bombay or Ahmedabad, which have been entrusted with the administration of elementary education, have been constructing school buildings through a loan programme. The other conspicuous exception is the old Bombay State where an interesting scheme for the construction of buildings for elementary schools through loans was taken up in 1951. In this state the age-old provision made for the elementary teachers under local bodies was the institution of a contributory provident fund to which each teacher subscribed at the rate of $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of his salary and an equal amount was given by the employing authority. The total amount thus collected was generally invested in government securities and fetched interest which was added to the provident fund accumulations. Each local body maintained separate accounts of the provident funds of all the teachers working under it. The State Government took over the responsibility of maintaining the provident fund accounts of all the elementary teachers in the state and all the separate provident fund accounts which were maintained by the local bodies in the past were pooled together into one account. This made it possible for the State Government to utilise these funds for such purposes as it desired. Legislation was made authorizing government to invest the provident fund amounts of the elementary teachers in advancing loans to local authorities for construction of primary school buildings and an interest of 4 per cent per annum was guaranteed to the teachers. This made it possible to have a big sum at the disposal of government for the construction of school buildings, because the total deductions for the provident funds of the elementary teachers came to nearly Rs. 8 million per year. The State Government also started a scheme under which the local bodies undertook to construct a building for an elementary school in a given area if the people of the locality gave the site free of charge and raised 40 per cent of the total cost of the building. In the case of very poor and backward localities, government reserved the right to reduce the local contribution or to remit it altogether. The government at the same time set up an efficient and decentralized machinery for the construction of school buildings. For this purpose, special committees, known as Primary School Building Committees, which consisted of the officials concerned and a few non-officials, were

constituted at the district level to develop the programme. A special non-lapsable fund called the 'Primary School Buildings Fund' was created in each district and into it were credited all the grants and loans sanctioned by government, the contributions received from the public and the local bodies, and all other receipts related to the scheme. Wherever necessary, a special engineering establishment was also created at the district level to construct or to supervise the construction of school buildings. Type designs for school buildings, which varied from area to area in view of local conditions, were also prepared and the school building committees were instructed to follow them as closely as possible.

The manner in which the scheme worked may be briefly described. Whenever the people of a village wanted to construct a new school building or to expand an existing building, they applied to the School Building Committee of the District, offering a site, free of charge, and agreeing to pay 40 per cent of the total cost of the building. On approval of the proposal in principle by the Committee, the villagers collected their contribution and paid it to the Committee. The Building Committee then obtained a loan from the State Government for its share of the cost and sanctioned the construction of the building (the loan was repayable with interest at 4 per cent in 20 annual equated payments). The construction of the building was sometimes done by the official machinery under the Building Committee; but, in most cases, the villagers themselves came forward to construct the building and the Committee merely supervised the work. The amount required for repayment of these loans was provided in the annual budget of the local authority concerned which got a grant-in-aid thereon from the State Government in accordance with the rules.

Between 1952-53 (when the scheme was first introduced) and 1960-61, an amount of Rs. 25 million was advanced as loans and about 10,000 new classrooms were constructed and special repairs to about 1,200 classrooms were carried out.

It may be pointed out in this context that it is not necessary to make a programme for the construction of elementary school buildings depend exclusively on the provident fund accumulations of elementary teachers. This is merely a convenient

source from which loans for the school building programme can be raised and, where the teachers contribute to a provident fund, it will be possible to utilize its accumulations for this purpose on the lines of the Bombay experiment. But, in several states, elementary teachers are eligible for a pension and do not contribute to a provident fund. In others the total amount of provident fund accumulations is far too small in comparison with the total amount required for the programme. In such cases, therefore, it will be necessary to raise loans in the open market for financing elementary school buildings, either in addition to or in lieu of, loans from provident funds of elementary teachers.

(b) *Local Contributions and Donations* : We have referred so far to only one important source of raising funds for elementary school buildings, *viz.*, loans. But this need not be the only source and, in order to obtain the best results, it will be necessary to tap two other sources: (1) contributions of local communities and (2) private philanthropy.

It is possible to raise a considerable proportion of the funds required for the construction of elementary school buildings through contributions from local communities. In most states, the existing rules require that the local communities should pay a certain proportion of the cost of constructing a school building in their habitation. The usual experience is that this programme is failing, not so much because local communities are not coming forward with their share of contribution, but because the state governments do not have funds to provide their share of the cost. In Gujarat, for example, a recent study made by the State Government showed that the total amount of 'ripe' claims, that is, demands of villagers who had provided a site free of charge and deposited 50 per cent of the total cost of the building with the government, came to nearly Rs. 5.4 million and that it was not possible to construct these buildings simply because the State Government could not spare its share of Rs. 5.4 million. If loans could be raised by state governments and the demand made by the local communities met quickly, local enthusiasm would be encouraged and people would be coming forward in larger numbers to assist in the construction of buildings in their localities. It is true that the poorer communities, particularly in areas where the

scheduled tribes live, will not be able to pay such local contributions. But the rules always provide that, in such cases, the state government would reduce, or exempt the community from making the contribution and bear a correspondingly greater share of the cost of the building.

At present, there is no statutory machinery for the collection of local contributions for school buildings. Generally a few village leaders take the initiative in constructing a school building for their village, form a committee for the purpose, collect the necessary local contribution on some agreed basis (usually decided upon in a meeting of the village people) and credit it to government. While this spontaneous and unofficial method should be fully utilised, it is also necessary to develop a tradition that the initiative and responsibility for the collection of local contributions should be increasingly and legitimately assumed by local bodies at the village level. For instance, where village panchayats have been established, they should be authorized statutorily to collect the amount of local contributions. Even now, there are several village panchayats which accept this responsibility and collect their local contribution through the levy of a surcharge on house-tax or land-revenue, levied for one or more years. There are also several cases where the village panchayats have paid their local contribution by raising a loan which was later repaid in a period of 3 to 10 years from the current revenue. Such practices need to be encouraged and developed to the fullest extent possible.

Philanthropy also has an important role to play in this sector where the expenditure is of a non-recurring character. In this context, reference may be made to an interesting scheme in Surat district in Maharashtra which was started by a single individual, Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, a wealthy resident of the district. He decided to assist in the construction of buildings for the elementary schools and created a trust which agreed to pay half the cost of any building for an elementary school in the Surat district for which a free site was obtained, and half the cost of the building was contributed by the local community and the District Board of Surat jointly. The scheme was in operation for quite a few years and several hundred school buildings were constructed under it. There is hardly any village in Surat district now which does not

have a good school building. What was done here by one man for a whole district could be done by a number of people for other areas. What is needed is an organized effort and the right approach.

(c) *Non-lapsable Fund*: The different experiments which have been successfully tried point to the need for creating a non-lapsable fund for the construction of school buildings. The usual experience is that the construction of school buildings under a routine budget grant which lapses at the end of the year, presents several administrative problems, particularly if the programme is of a large size. The construction of any given school building takes a fairly long time. The selection of a proper site and its approval by the appropriate authorities, the preparation of plans and estimates, the collection of the local contribution and sanctioning the requisite government grant-in-aid, the actual construction of the building—these and other stages consume considerable time and very often, two to three years may elapse between the date on which the proposal to construct a school building is first put forward and the date on which it is completed and occupied by the school. To administer such a programme, with grants which lapse annually, becomes difficult. It may be pointed out that one of the major reasons for the success of the Bombay Plan referred to earlier, was the creation of a non-lapsable primary school buildings fund for each district. This idea now deserves to be generalized and each state should create a non-lapsable fund for elementary school buildings. All loans raised for elementary school buildings, all grants sanctioned by government for the purpose from time to time, and all donations and contributions of the public and the local community for the programme should be credited into it and the fund should be utilized exclusively for the construction of elementary school buildings.

Machinery for Construction and Maintenance of School Buildings

It is also essential to develop an efficient and economic machinery for the construction and maintenance of elementary school buildings if the large programme visualised in the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans is to be successfully implemented.

The problem of maintenance of school buildings is comparatively simpler. In respect of schools conducted by the state

governments or local bodies, it is the responsibility of the Public Works Department of the state or local body concerned to maintain their buildings. The private organizations maintain their own buildings; but the number of such schools is small and they do not present any difficult problem. Nor is there a problem about school buildings in urban areas because the Public Works Departments of the state government or the municipality concerned generally maintain them in fairly satisfactory condition. The problem of maintenance becomes difficult only in rural areas because the school buildings are scattered, often located in out of the way places, and extremely numerous. The centralized Public Works Departments of state governments or local bodies do not generally have the personnel (and sometimes, not even the funds) to maintain these buildings in proper repair. Two practices are, therefore, commonly adopted. First, a small amount for maintenance of a school building is provided in the contingent expenditure of the school and the head-teacher is expected to carry out the current repairs of the building from year to year and the utilization of the amount is supervised by the inspecting officer. The other practice—the more common one—is to make no provision at all for the maintenance of the school building in the contingent expenditure of the school and to lay down a rule that it is the responsibility of the local community to maintain the school building. As there is usually no satisfactory agency efficiently functioning at the village level which can assume this responsibility, this rule means little more than a total neglect of the school buildings, the only exception being the repairs which may be carried out by some enthusiastic teacher with the help of the local leaders and students.

Probably, the best solution of this problem would be to create an efficient agency at the local level to look after not only the maintenance of the school buildings, but also a number of other programmes connected with elementary schools such as the enforcement of compulsory attendance or local participation in the provision of ancillary services such as free supply of textbooks and of school meals. The details of this programme will be discussed in later chapters. It will, however, be enough to state here that we should try to establish school committees at the

village level for securing community support and participation in implementing certain local programmes connected with elementary schools. It should be the responsibility of this committee—which should ultimately be a statutory committee established by the local village panchayat—to provide for the maintenance of elementary school buildings from the funds placed at its disposal by the local village panchayat and the grant-in-aid received from government for the purpose. In the long run, this would be the most economical and efficient agency for the maintenance of elementary school buildings. In the meanwhile, and as a transitional measure, the funds necessary for the maintenance of elementary school buildings should be provided in the contingent expenditure of the schools.

Reduction in the Cost of Buildings

A very important problem in this regard is to reduce the cost of building construction per pupil. It has been pointed out earlier that, during the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans, building accommodation will have to be provided for about 76 million pupils of elementary schools. A reduction in the building costs even by a small amount per pupil would, therefore, go a long way in reducing the total cost of the programme. Unfortunately not much attention has been paid to this problem so far ; but it will obviously have to be highlighted in the near future.

A reference may be made here to some pioneer work which has been done in this regard during the last few years. The Ministry of Education carried out a study in the proper designing of school buildings with a view to making them more functionally useful and, at the same time, less costly and its findings have been published in the brochure *Planning Schools for India* (1959). The Committee on Plan Projects has carried out a study of the buildings of the higher secondary schools in Delhi and made some very useful recommendations which have been published in the *Report on Delhi School Buildings* (1960). Recently, the Team has also studied the construction of buildings for primary schools in Delhi and brought out a *Report on Primary School Buildings in Delhi* (1963). The Central Building Research Institute in the Roorkee University has also carried out extensive work on the designing of

low cost school buildings. There is a special unit for the designing of school buildings attached to the Directorate of Education in Bihar and it has also done some useful work in the field. These pioneer efforts mark a good beginning although it is obvious that more extensive and intensive work on these lines is needed in the future.

These and similar studies carried out so far show that the total cost of an elementary school building can be considerably reduced if due attention is paid to (a) proper space requirements, (b) proper designs and specifications, and (c) use of local materials. It is not within the scope of this chapter to describe the technical details of these studies. A general reference may however be made to that element in costs which is of particular importance—building materials.

By far the greatest economies can be effected by the use of local materials. For instance, where good stone is available locally, a stone wall of 15 or 18 inches in thickness would be more economical than a brick wall of 9 inch thickness (or even a cavity brick wall of 8 inch thickness), and probably more durable. Where plenty of grass is available for a thatched roof and local construction of houses is also done with thatched roof, there is no reason why the school building should have a flat R.C.C. roof or even a roof with asbestos sheets or Mangalore tiles. In low rainfall areas where houses are generally constructed with unburnt earthen bricks, it may be cheaper to adopt the same method of construction for a school building. In designing the school building, therefore, an attempt should always be made to make the maximum use of local materials available and to keep as close to local forms of construction as possible. This will diminish the pressure on the scarce building materials—cement and steel—and reduce, not only the costs of construction, but the maintenance costs as well.

One general observation can be made here. In designing buildings for elementary schools, especially in rural areas, one is likely to fall into one or the other of two errors: the school building may become too dull and drab in an exaggerated attempt at austerity and economy, or it might symbolise a romantic effort to create a dream in brick and mortar and may result in an ornamental structure which, besides being costly, is entirely out of keeping with its environment. Care has to be taken to see that

both these extremes are avoided. An imaginative use of local material and a design which makes use of open spaces rather than mere rectangular class rooms are more likely to give a building which will not only be inexpensive but also aesthetically satisfying.

Quarters for Teachers

Side by side with school buildings, it is also necessary to provide quarters for teachers. The provision of such quarters will enable teachers to stay in the villages where they are posted and will greatly assist in improving the standard of instruction in elementary schools. Desirable as they generally are, such quarters become a 'must' in the case of women teachers in rural areas and of both men and women teachers in tribal areas. In the Second and the Third Five-Year Plans, a number of such quarters have been constructed in all states with the help of central assistance ; but the scale of the programme is too small and its tempo will have to be increased considerably during the next 10 years.

II. EQUIPMENT

The provision of adequate equipment for elementary schools, including teaching aids, books and other reading material, is also of very great importance. By and large, our schools are very poorly equipped at present and this deficiency makes teaching considerably ineffective.

It is possible to make some rough estimate of the additional expenditure required for this programme, on the basis of some studies that have been carried out in small areas. They show that the total cost of equipping an elementary school adequately would come to Rs. 100 per child. This would include furniture, teaching aids, craft equipment, books, material for games, sanitary facilities and utensils for school meals. Even if equipment is restricted to a bare minimum of essential items, the cost per child will be about Rs. 50. Assuming further that the existing provision of equipment is almost the same as in the case of buildings, *i.e.*, only 40 per cent of the existing enrolment is provided with adequate equipment, it will be necessary to provide equipment for a total enrolment of 76 million children in the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year

Plans. At Rs. 50 per child, this involves a total expenditure of Rs. 3,800 million in a period of 10 years or Rs. 380 million per year. How huge this amount is can be realized when it is remembered that we now provide only a small sum of Rs. 5 per child when a new school is to be opened and very often, even this amount cannot be provided!

As in the case of buildings, it may also be possible to enlist the support of the local communities for providing elementary schools with adequate equipment. In this context, the programme of school improvement conferences developed in Madras State is of great interest. Here, a group of 50 to 60 schools in charge of an inspecting officer is taken up as a unit and a decision is taken to organize a School Improvement Conference for them. Generally the decision is taken at least six months before the date of the conference. The teachers then go to work, prepare lists of existing equipment and also of the additional equipment they need. Meetings are then held in each local community and the leaders are contacted. The needs of the local school are put before them and an appeal is made for raising funds to supply the deficiencies. Usually the response is very good and the people promise donations in cash and kind and these are systematically collected. Very often, the people give promises which have to be realised over a longish period of 6 to 12 months and the necessary follow-up in such cases also is done by the teachers. The School Improvement Conference itself is then held under the chairmanship of some distinguished guest. The list of contributions received is announced and several further donations are received at the conference itself. The whole programme brings the school much closer to the community and actually enriches the school with a good deal of equipment which would not have been otherwise available to it. So far more than 200 School Improvement Conferences have been held and the total amount thus collected is estimated to be nearly Rs. 40 million.

Another important point should be mentioned in this context. When the equipment is supplied by government or by the local body, neither the teachers nor the villagers have been very careful about its proper maintenance. When, however, the equipment is donated by the village people or purchased through their contributions, their entire attitude is changed. They begin to take interest

in the local school and very often want to find out as to what has happened to the equipment given by them. Not infrequently, they pay a visit to the school to see how the equipment given by them is being used. It has been the general experience in Madras that the care and upkeep of the school equipment has considerably improved through this programme.

This, therefore, is another area where the cooperation of the local community may go a great way in improving the equipment in elementary schools. This programme is now being taken up by other States but the rate of progress is not fast enough. What is needed is an all-India drive for the development of this programme in all parts of the country.

III. A PROGRAMME FOR ACTION

It will be seen from the foregoing discussion that, with a view to improving the efficiency of elementary schools, it is absolutely essential to devise a large scale programme to provide *every* elementary school with a good building and adequate equipment in a period of not more than ten years. This programme should have a high priority in the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans ; but preliminary work for its implementation may be started during the remaining two years of the Third Five-Year Plan itself.

Immediate surveys should be undertaken throughout the country, for ascertaining the exact provision of buildings and equipment which is made at present and for estimating the additional expenditure required in order to bring each elementary school to the prescribed minimum standard in these matters. Type designs for school buildings should be prepared separately for each region and in keeping with local conditions. Research should be undertaken on a fairly large scale for reducing the cost of school buildings through improved designs and specifications. Non-lapsable funds for school buildings should be instituted in every state and an adequate machinery should be created for undertaking and implementing this large-scale programme successfully in every part of the country.

A nation-wide movement for enlisting popular support and local participation in this huge programme should be immediately

launched, on the lines of the Madras School Improvement Conferences. It will soon strike roots and spread out on a large scale in the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans.

Supervision of Elementary Schools

The idea of improving standards in elementary schools through good supervision was accepted early in modern Indian education. In 1851, Mr. Thomason, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, proposed the creation of a three-tier system of inspection consisting of a Pargunnah Visitor for every two or more Tahseeldarees, a Zilla Visitor in each district and a Visitor-General for the whole of the province. According to his plan, it was the duty of the Pargunnah Visitors to visit all the towns and villages in their jurisdiction and to ascertain the means of instruction available to the people. Where there was no school, they were to persuade the people to have one and to offer their assistance in finding teachers and books. Where schools were in existence, they were to ascertain the nature of instruction and the number of scholars and to assist in improving standards in the school. The Zilla Visitors were to supervise the work of the Pargunnah Visitors and the Visitor-General was to supervise the working of the system as a whole. These proposals, which were approved by the Court of Directors, were really the precursors of the Education Departments and it was on these lines that the departments were constituted in 1855 in the provinces of Bombay, Madras, Bengal, North Western Provinces and Oudh, and the Punjab. By 1881-82, they had also been established in Central Provinces (1862), Berar (1866), Coorg (1870-71), and Assam (1874). Some of the big princely states also had their own independent Departments of Education; but information about these is not available.

By 1881, the organization of the inspecting staff as well as the general pattern of its working was fairly standardized. Under the Director of Public Instruction, who was the Head of the Department in the province as a whole, there were inspectors in charge of a division or a group of districts. They supervised the working of the entire inspecting staff under them and were personally responsible for the supervision of the secondary schools. The

elementary schools were generally looked after by the officers at the district level (known as Deputy or Assistant Inspectors) who, in their turn, were assisted by a number of subordinate officers (known as Assistant Deputy Inspectors, or Sub-Inspectors, or Sub-Deputy Inspectors). In 1881-82, the number of deputy inspectors (at the district level) was 238 and that of their subordinate officers was 241. Each subordinate officer was in charge of about 133 elementary schools. In view of the large number of schools entrusted to his care and the difficulty of communications, he had a very heavy touring job and was on tour for about 200 days in a year. It was his duty to pay a visit to every school and to ascertain its progress by examining every pupil in every subject. Sometimes he paid a visit to the school *in situ* while, on other occasions, the teachers and their pupils had to meet him at convenient central places for examination and inspection. He also gave advice to the teachers in improving the standards of education in their schools, and in government schools, wrote the confidential reports on teachers.

A significant development of this period was the appointment of women inspectors to supervise girls schools. It was found that, in the social conditions then prevailing, women teachers could not be attracted to the profession in adequate numbers unless there were women inspectors to supervise their work and to guide and assist them. A special cadre of women inspecting officers was, therefore, created and although their number was comparatively very small, their very presence was a great encouragement to women teachers and accelerated the expansion of the education of girls.

It may also be mentioned that the cost of inspection and supervision was comparatively high during this period, mainly because the total expansion achieved was limited. In 1881-82, the percentage of total expenditure on direction, inspection and supervision to total expenditure on education was 15.68 in Assam, 15.38 in Central Provinces, 13.51 in Bihar, 12.24 in North Western Provinces and Oudh, 10.40 in Punjab, 9.09 in Madras, 7.31 in Bombay, 7.02 in Bengal and 5.72 in Coorg.

Developments between 1881 and 1917

During the next 35 years, the inspecting staff appointed to supervise elementary schools increased very considerably. In

1916-17, there were, in British India as a whole, 81 inspectors, 86 assistant inspectors, 388 deputy or district inspectors, 1,041 sub-inspectors or officers of similar grade, 240 supervisors, 289 inspecting *Pandits*, 16 inspecting *Maulavis*, 31 inspectresses, 37 assistant and sub-assistant inspectresses—thus making a total of 2,209 inspecting officers as against a total of 45 inspectors and assistant inspectors, 238 deputy inspectors and 241 sub-deputy inspectors in 1881-82. In spite of this expansion, the inadequacy of the inspecting staff was still felt very keenly because, during the same period, the number of educational institutions, pupils and teachers had increased at an even faster rate. The standard adopted at this time was to allocate 80 primary schools to one inspecting officer. Even this was a very heavy burden because an inspecting officer could not do justice to more than about 50 schools. But the actual conditions were very much worse. In Madras, every sub-assistant inspector had an average of 196 schools in his charge and an assistant and a sub-assistant inspectress, 153 schools. In Bengal, the average number of institutions per officer was 114. Taking India as a whole, the number of boys' middle and primary schools for each officer of the rank of a deputy or sub-inspector was 91. In other words, the inspecting staff actually available was about half of what it should have been.

The total expenditure on inspection increased from Rs. 1.35 million in 1881-82 to Rs. 4.6 million in 1916-17. In spite of this increase in absolute figures, the proportion of the total expenditure on inspection to total educational expenditure decreased from 7.44 per cent in 1881-82 to 4.4 per cent in 1916-17. It showed some variations from province to province and stood at 5.9 per cent in Madras, 5.2 per cent in Bombay and Bengal, 5.9 per cent in the United Provinces and the Punjab, 9 per cent in Bihar and Orissa, 7.9 per cent in Central Provinces and 10.7 per cent in Assam. It cannot be said that this rate of expenditure on inspection was unduly large; and it is even possible to make out a case, in view of the heavy load on the inspecting officers described above, that it was considerably inadequate. The general feeling in the official circles at this time, however, was that these 'overheads' were unduly high and it was this feeling that mainly prevented further expansion of the inspectorate. The Education Departments pointed out

that India needs a larger inspectorate than the advanced countries of the West due to the long distances to be travelled, under-developed means of communication, lack of unofficial supervision and poor quality of teachers who required constant vigilance and advice. They also drew attention to the fact that the proportion of the expenditure on inspection to total educational expenditure 'appeared' large, not because it was really high, but because the general bill of education remained deplorably low on account of the poor salaries paid to teachers and the inadequate contingent expenditure provided for the schools. These arguments were, however, not appreciated adequately and the shortage of inspecting staff continued to be a major handicap for qualitative improvement.

The concept of school supervision began to change radically in this period under the influence of the strong movement for educational reform which began in England at the opening of the 20th century. The inspecting officers were now expected, not only to perform their routine duties of examining the pupils and looking after the administration of teacher personnel, but also to help and guide the teachers in adopting better methods of teaching and in improving educational standards in schools. In addition to examination and inspection of all primary and middle schools, therefore, the deputy inspectors and their assistants were also expected to hold conferences of teachers, to explain the methods to be followed in the teaching of different subjects, to watch model lessons being given by teachers, criticize these lessons and to give model lessons themselves. They had to maintain log books of instructions given to teachers and to watch their implementation in successive visits. They were also expected to meet the villagers, to ascertain their educational needs and to make an effort to increase school enrolments. They were particularly enjoined to look after the welfare of children from backward communities attending the schools. Some of them were provided with magic lanterns for carrying on educational propaganda. They were also required to keep in touch with the revenue and other district officers and to seek their assistance in educational development. It must be stated, however, that owing mainly to the heavy load of work, most of the inspecting officers devoted their time to routine functions of inspection and were not able to develop the newer

functions of guiding the teacher to improve the standards of education to the extent necessary.

Another important problem that arose during this period related to the status and remuneration of the inspecting staff. In some provinces, the inspecting staff formed part of the Education Department and had the status of government officers. In others, many of them were employees of the local bodies and had an inferior status. The remuneration of the deputy inspectors and their subordinates was not very satisfactory and it was particularly so among those who were the employees of the local bodies. A feeling, therefore, began to grow—this was a part of the general movement which arose in this period for improving the remuneration of teachers and other workers in the Education Departments—that in the interest of standards in elementary schools, it was necessary to give a high status to the inspecting officers and to improve their remuneration. Towards the end of this period, therefore, the inspecting staff under the local bodies was generally transferred to the provincial Education Department and their scales of pay were considerably improved.

Still another problem which came to the fore in this period was the need to separate 'administration' from supervision. Until then, the inspecting officers were charged, not only with the duties of supervision proper, but also with all the duties of administration. For instance, they had to recruit and appoint teachers, arrange for their postings and transfers, enquire into complaints against them, take disciplinary action where necessary and award promotions. They had to look after the construction and maintenance of buildings, and purchase and supply of school equipment. They also audited the school accounts and, in case of private schools, calculated the amounts of grant-in-aid due. This heavy burden of administrative work consumed most of the time of the inspecting staff. Next in order of importance came their responsibility of holding examinations in elementary schools and this was an extremely time-consuming job as *each* pupil had to be examined in *each* subject. Consequently, the time available for inspection proper and guidance to teachers was extremely limited, and, in many cases, these functions were just not performed. Proposals, therefore, began to be put forward to the effect that administration

should be separated from supervision and that the work of holding examinations in elementary schools should be entrusted to the teachers themselves. These reforms could not, however, be carried out during the period under review.

Developments between 1917 and 1947

During the next 30 years, there was an improvement in some directions but most of these problems remained unsolved.

During the earlier period, the proportion of graduates who worked as inspecting officers of elementary schools was very small and the number of trained graduates was smaller still. A large proportion of the posts of inspecting officers was, therefore, held by senior and experienced elementary teachers who were considered worthy of promotion. During this period, however, the large majority of inspecting officers were trained graduates: in some states, these posts could be held only by trained graduates while in others, a certain proportion of them was reserved for elementary teachers. Consequently, the scales of pay and allowances of the posts had also to be correspondingly upgraded. This improvement in remuneration and status brought about some improvement in the quality of the work done.

The actual position of the inspecting staff in 1946-47 is shown below:

<i>State</i>	<i>Designation</i>	<i>No. of Posts</i>	<i>Scale of Pay Rs.</i>
Assam	Assistant Inspectors	3	175-425
	Deputy Inspectors	21	150-350
	Sub-Inspectors	61	75-175
	Assistant Sub-Inspectors	39	40-70
Bengal	District Inspectors	27	150-700
	Sub-Divisional Inspectors	37	130-220
	Sub-Inspectors	267	75-175
Bihar	District Inspectors	16	200-700
	Deputy Inspectors	41	128-200
	Sub-Inspectors	202	(a) 128-200
			(b) 65-105
Bombay	Deputy Educational Inspectors	20	170-500
	Assistant Deputy Educational Inspectors	245	(a) 70-200
			(b) 45-175
			(c) 45-145
			(d) 40-135
			(e) 40-100

<i>State</i>	<i>Designation</i>	<i>No. of Posts</i>	<i>Scale of Pay</i> <i>Rs.</i>
C. P. & Berar	District Inspectors	19	200-500
	Assistant District Inspectors	(a) 3	175-200
		(b) 67	70-4-150
Madras	District Educational Officers	28	200-700
	Deputy Inspectors (Senior Grade)	224	85-175;
			165-245
	Deputy Inspectors (Junior Grade)	171	60-120
Orissa	Deputy Inspectors	6	128-200
	Sub-Inspectors	74	(a) 65-105
			(b) 122-200
Punjab	Deputy Inspectors	9	250-725
	Assistant District Inspectors	153	90-150;
			150-220;
			230-300
U.P.	Deputy Inspectors of Schools	49	80-360
	Sub-Deputy Inspectors of Schools	(a) 118	80-300
		(b) 150	70-180

Besides there was a fair number of women inspecting officers for girls' elementary schools.

To what extent did the quality of the work done by inspecting officers improve during this period? The answer is not easy to give because of both favourable and unfavourable developments. The favourable developments included: (i) the increase in the number of inspecting officers; (ii) the improvement in their remuneration and qualifications; (iii) the development of better means of communication; and (iv) the delegation of authority to the schools to hold the annual examinations of their pupils. This last reform was perhaps the most salutary as it freed a good deal of the time of inspecting officers and enabled them to devote more attention to the work of supervision proper. On the other hand, the unfavourable developments included: (i) the opening of elementary schools in more remote areas which were difficult of access; (ii) the general tightening of administrative routines which resulted in an increase in the paper work of each officer; and (iii) the large expansion of elementary education which outstripped the increase in the number of inspecting officers. The overall picture was thus a mixture of light and shade and the net gains, if any, were slight.

It may also be pointed out that the increase in the emoluments of inspecting officers had not been adequate and that it did not attract the right type of persons to the profession. For instance, it

was reported in 1946-47 that the pay and prospects offered to persons of ability were far higher in other branches of government service and that men and women with high qualifications were not attracted even to the higher posts in educational service in sufficient numbers. The position of recruitment to the lower ranks of the inspectorate was naturally even worse. The Directorate of Education repeatedly pointed out during this period, that the demands on the inspectorate had increased very greatly, that their salaries had not increased in proportion, and that this deteriorating situation was fraught with grave consequences to the future of education.* But, by and large, these warnings went unheeded.

In this context, a major deficiency in the system began to attract attention, *viz.*, the absence of any provision for pre-service or in-service training of inspecting officers. So far the general assumption had been that a good teacher could easily act as an inspecting officer without any specialized or formal training. Trained graduates with some experience of teaching were, therefore, recruited as inspecting officers and allowed to learn their new job in a rule-of-thumb manner under the guidance of his senior officers. It was soon realised, however, that an inspecting officer must have certain special skills and capacities to discharge his responsibilities satisfactorily. For instance, he must have a good knowledge of educational legislation and the relevant orders of the Government and the Education Department. He must be able to work with teachers, to secure their cooperation and confidence, and to impart to them the desire and the know-how for improving educational standards. He must be able to work with groups of village people and guide them to take a greater interest in their local schools and in the education and welfare of their children. He must also learn the difficult art of evaluating the work of teachers. It is true that these skills could be learnt through practical experience; but it would certainly be better to impart them through special organized courses of pre-service or in-service education. During this period, some of the provinces instituted departmental examinations which inspecting officers had to pass before confirmation. But no steps were taken anywhere for providing the special training needed by them.

* *Decennial Review of Education: 1937-47*, Vol. I, p. 33.

As a result of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918, local bodies were largely democratized during this period and the administration of elementary education was transferred to them, with very few restrictions, in all the provinces of British India. This reform affected the position of the inspecting staff very considerably. In some states, the principle adopted was to combine administration and supervision in a single agency and consequently, the inspecting staff also was transferred to the local bodies. In other provinces, it was decided to separate 'administration' from 'supervision'; and while some part of the inspecting staff was transferred to the local bodies for the purpose of administration, another part was retained with the state government for the purposes of supervision. Unfortunately, neither of these systems worked satisfactorily. When the entire inspecting staff was transferred to local bodies, as under the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1923, the Department had no officers through whom the work of the local bodies could be supervised. Besides, the independence which the inspecting staff enjoyed earlier as officers of the state government was now lost and some of them were even drawn into the vortex of local politics. When administration was separated from supervision and the local bodies were allowed to have their own staff for administration (which functioned side by side with the inspecting staff of the Education Department), as under the Bombay Primary Education (Amendment) Act, 1938, there was an increase in the overall expenditure due to some unavoidable overlap. Moreover, as the inspecting staff had no direct authority to enforce their suggestions, the inspection of schools very often became a sterile affair and the suggestions made by the inspecting officers were mostly ignored by the local bodies.

Post-independence Period

During the post-independence period, there have been two significant gains. The first is a large increase in the inspecting staff for elementary schools. The standard now adopted is that there should be an inspecting officer for about 50 elementary schools or about 150 teachers or about 5,000 students. It is true that it has not always been possible to provide inspecting staff on this basis and that the actual work-load of a large proportion of inspecting

officers is higher than this accepted norm. But by and large, the number of schools allocated to an inspecting officer at present is much smaller than what it was in 1946-47. Besides, the number of women inspecting officers has increased considerably during the last 14 years, although the overall position is not yet satisfactory. The scales of pay of the inspecting officers have also been improved and there is generally no discrimination between the remuneration offered to inspecting officers in the Education Departments and that offered to officers of other departments with similar responsibilities and qualifications. The total expenditure on direction and inspection has, therefore, increased from Rs. 18.2 million in 1946-47 to Rs. 69.0 million in 1960-61.

In spite of these gains, the problems and difficulties of the earlier period still continue to dominate the scene. There has been an unprecedented expansion in all sectors of education including elementary. Consequently, the average load of an inspecting officer still continues to be heavy in spite of the large increase in their numbers. In fact, the position may even be said to have deteriorated to some extent. In 1960-61, the proportion of expenditure on direction and inspection to total educational expenditure in India was only 2.1 per cent as against 3.2 per cent in 1946-47. The situation in some states was even worse. For instance, the percentage of the total expenditure on direction and inspection to total educational expenditure in West Bengal was as low as 1.0 per cent in 1960-61. The standard now accepted is that the expenditure on direction and inspection should be about 5 per cent of the total educational expenditure. From this point of view, it appears that the existing strength and scale of remuneration of the inspecting staff is far too inadequate.

It is not only this inadequacy of numbers or remuneration that is causing anxiety. The status of inspecting officers has also undergone some changes which are adversely affecting their morale. In states where the Panchayati Raj Institutions have been authorised to administer elementary and/or secondary education, the inspecting staff has often been transferred to local control on deputation terms. In Maharashtra, for instance, all inspecting staff at the district level and below (this includes gazetted officers of class I and II as well as subordinate inspecting staff) has been transferred

to the Zilla Parishads. In Rajasthan, the sub-inspector of primary schools has been made a member of the block team and placed under the direct control of the Block Development Officer. In Andhra Pradesh, the inspecting officers for primary schools have been placed under the direct control of the Block Development Officer as in Rajasthan. In addition, an officer at the district level has also been placed at the disposal of the Zilla Parishads which look after middle and secondary schools. In all such cases, the inspecting staff has to function under the joint control of the Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads on the one hand and the Education Department on the other. This is not a very happy position.

Similarly, no satisfactory arrangements have yet been evolved for the pre-service and in-service training of inspecting officers, although there has been a greater awareness of the problem and some *ad hoc* measures have been adopted to improve the situation. A few universities provide brief courses in inspection and supervision in their B.Ed. or M.Ed. syllabi. But both the content of these courses and their teaching leave much to be desired. In view of the adoption of basic education as the national pattern at the elementary stage, the need to orientate the inspecting officers to basic education was keenly felt; and accordingly, steps were taken in most areas to orientate all inspecting officers to basic education through short courses. Special training institutions which provide a one-year course in basic education to graduates have been established and they prepare, not only teacher educators, but inspecting officers for elementary and basic schools as well. The practice of holding conferences and seminars of inspecting officers has also become more common and serves a very useful purpose. While these developments are welcome, it is obvious that they cannot be a substitute to regular institutionalised programmes of pre-service or in-service training for inspecting staff. This is a major problem whose solution has still to be attempted.

Major Problems

It will be seen from the foregoing review that a few basic problems have been dogging the footsteps of the inspectorate in India right from its very inception. The first is the inadequacy

of numbers. During the last hundred years, the expansion of the inspectorate has never been able to keep pace with the growth in the number of elementary schools, pupils or teachers. Consequently, the average work load of an inspecting officer has always been very heavy and much above the desirable standards which have been accepted in this regard from time to time. Secondly, the remuneration offered to the inspecting staff, particularly at the elementary level, has been comparatively meagre and has generally not been adequate enough to attract the best talent available. There has no doubt been some improvement in this respect, especially in the post-independence period ; but the problem cannot be said to have been satisfactorily solved even now. Thirdly, the status of the inspecting staff, particularly with reference to the administration of elementary education by local bodies has not been defined. Fourthly, the quality of inspection has always left a good deal to be desired. This has been due to a number of factors, the most important of which are two: (1) excessive load of work on, and (2) lack of proper pre-service and in-service training to, the inspecting staff. In the early days, inspection had a strong 'police' character. The modern concept of the inspecting officer as a 'friend, philosopher and guide' of the teacher came to be accepted in theory early in the present century. But it has not yet been adequately translated into practice and it would be no exaggeration to say that, even today, the inspection of an elementary school has retained a good deal of its traditional police character and has not yet imbibed the new concept adequately. It is to the solution of these major problems that attention will have to be directed during the next 10 or 15 years.

Bombay Study

It is to be regretted that there is very little research in problems of inspection and supervision of elementary schools. The only known investigation on the subject is that conducted by the old Bombay State in five districts of Kolhapur, Kaira, Ahmedabad, Baroda and North Satara. The object of this study was to find out the total work-load of inspecting officers of elementary schools, the manner in which their total available time is utilized at present and the main difficulties which prevent their efficient functioning.

For this purpose, the problems involved were discussed with the inspecting officers in all the five districts. They were also required to maintain an hour-to-hour diary of their daily work spread over three months. On the basis of the data so collected, a final report on the problems facing the inspecting officers of elementary schools was prepared. Its main findings have been given below:

(1) The work load of an inspecting officer varied considerably. The number of schools allocated to each inspecting officer varied from 44 in one district to 112 in another. The large variations were due, partly to non-rationalization of staff and partly to a proportion of the sanctioned posts remaining unfilled for some reason or the other. Similarly, the number of teachers allocated to each inspecting officer varied from 94 in one district to 198 in another. The consensus of opinion of all the inspecting officers was that an optimum work-load of an inspecting officer in conditions obtaining today would be about 40 schools or 100 teachers. Judged on the basis of this criterion, most of the inspecting officers are over-worked.

(2) The total number of available working days per inspecting officer does not ordinarily exceed 240 in a year. Out of the 365 days in the year, each officer is entitled to 52 Sundays, 26 days in lieu of half holidays on 52 Saturdays, 22 public holidays, 15 days of casual leave and 30 days of earned leave. This makes a total of 145 days and leaves only about 220 working days. In practice, however, it was found that, on an average, not all the inspecting officers took full advantage of the leave facilities available to them and the average number of working days per officer came to about 240 in a year. The actual variations were from 194 to 293 days.

(3) On an average, each inspecting officer has to spend 180 days in a year on tour and make 150 night halts outside headquarters. This is a very heavy touring responsibility and it is one of the major reasons which discourages persons from accepting the job.

(4) An inspecting officer has to work, on an average, for 3,336 hours per year. On the assumption of 240 working days in the year, this comes to about 13.9 hours of work per day. This is almost an impossible load to carry. In practice, therefore, the inspecting officers are frequently required to work on holidays, to forego leave which is due to them, and to utilize all Saturdays as full working

days. Even with these adjustments, the load of work per day is about 10 hours at the minimum.

(5) On an average, each inspecting officer has to tour about 3,079 miles per year, the variations being from 2,835 miles a year in one case to 3,624 miles a year in another. This travelling is to be done throughout the year disregarding heat, rain, cold and other difficulties. In visiting remote villages, he is very often required to perform the journeys on foot. It was found that, on an average, an inspecting officer travelled about 827 miles a year by rail, about 1,021 miles a year by bus and 1,231 miles a year on foot. The bus journeys are usually very tiring and inconvenient. It is the difficulties of this travel that dissuade several people from joining the profession. Women are particularly unwilling to accept jobs with such heavy travelling responsibility.

(6) In places which the inspecting officer visits, he has to face great difficulties in securing decent accommodation to stay in. Very often, even food is not available except in the house of the teacher. This absence of essential creature comforts is another major trouble.

(7) The work of the inspecting officers could be divided into four main groups: (a) supervision proper; (b) unavoidable paper work of an administrative character; (c) administrative work; and (d) time spent in journeys. It was found that the actual allocation of time between these different categories of work was as shown below:

Item of Work	Hours of work per day on the assumption of 240 working days in a year	Percentage to total work
Supervision proper	6.3 hours	45 per cent
Paper work connected with official routine	3.5 "	25 " "
Administrative work	2.1 "	15 " "
Time spent in journeys	2.1 "	15 " "

It will be seen that supervision proper took about 6 hours a day; but it accounted only for 45 per cent of the total load of

work. Under proper conditions, this alone should occupy about 80 per cent of the time of the inspecting officer. In the present situation, a very large part of the time is taken up by paper work such as compilation of returns, replying to references, filling in prescribed proformas, maintenance of prescribed registers, preparing copies of inspection reports and other documents, etc. This takes about 25 per cent of the time. In fact, if some clerical assistance could be made available to the inspecting officers, the time which they now waste on administrative or mechanical work could be utilized for supervision proper. In the same way, a good deal of time was taken up by administrative work such as enquiries or checking up of accounts and an equal time was needed for mere travel from one place to another.

(8) The supervising officers found very little time for guiding teachers and for providing them with some form of in-service education. For instance, an inspecting officer spent only 24 hours per year in group conferences of teachers and only about 25 hours per year in professional guidance to them.

On the whole, the picture that emerged from the study was that the inspecting officer has to work under very difficult conditions. He is over-burdened with administrative and paper work and has very little time to look after the work of supervision proper which, by and large, gets neglected.

General Educational and Professional Training

Of the different problems which arise in the supervision of elementary schools, the problems of the general education and professional training of supervisors or inspecting officers are perhaps the most important. At present, it is generally agreed that the inspecting officer of an elementary school should be a trained graduate. But what kind of a training should be given to him? The average supervisor of today has undergone the B.T., L.T., or B.Ed., course which qualifies him as a trained teacher and entitles him to become an inspecting officer. But a study of the contents of the course for B.T., L.T., or B.Ed., examinations will show that they have been designed, by and large, for secondary schools and that they do not equip a person adequately, either for teaching in elementary schools or for supervising them. A person can get the

B.T. degree without putting his foot inside an elementary school and without having any idea of the problems of elementary education. It is here that the greatest weakness of the present system lies. What is needed is a training course which will prepare the graduate to be a good teacher for an elementary school and which will acquaint him with the problems of elementary education. Such a course does not exist in any university or State Department of Education. It is true that the training courses in basic education which are conducted by the Post-graduate Training Colleges give an orientation to the scheme of basic education and some practical training in craft-work. But they do not lay adequate emphasis on the methods of teaching the basic school subjects such as language, arithmetic and science at the elementary stage. The objective of providing good professional training for supervisors of elementary schools can be secured in two ways: (1) We may provide a pre-service training of one year specially oriented to teaching in elementary schools and problems of elementary education; or (2) we may provide an intensive in-service course of about three months to all persons who have been selected as supervisors of elementary schools and follow it up by a regular programme of further in-service training at specified intervals. It is a happy augury for the future that the need for such training has been accepted and that provision for it would be made in the proposed State Institutes of Education which will orientate all supervisors of elementary schools to their jobs and, in addition, will provide them in-service training for approximately three months in every five years of service. With the initiation of this programme, it is hoped that the professional competence of supervisors would be considerably increased.

Service Conditions

Another important problem is to improve the service conditions under which inspecting officers have to work. A reference has already been made to the difficulties involved in the heavy touring programme which they have to undertake at present. If vehicles could be provided to all inspecting officers, these difficulties would be greatly minimised. But this solution is ruled out on financial and other considerations. The only way to improve the position

to some extent, therefore, is to reduce the number of schools allocated to each supervising officer. In areas where means of communication are not developed and where most of the journeys have to be done on foot, the number of schools allocated to an inspecting officer should be smaller still. An increase in the conveyance allowance paid to inspecting officers would enable them to hire country transport on more occasions than they can at present and to command a higher level of creature comforts while on tour. Improvements of this type will not be financially prohibitive ; but they will add considerably to the comfort and efficiency of the officers and enhance the quality of their work.

Reference has also been made to the large amount of paper work which inspecting officers are now called upon to do. This problem will have to be carefully studied and ways and means would have to be devised to reduce it to the minimum. In the present system of administration, paper work has an inherent tendency to increase and unless special care is taken to see that the supervising officer does not degenerate into a glorified clerk, the situation will not improve. The general principle is that the largest time of the supervising officer should be left free for meeting teachers, parents and the pupils and that his paper work should be so reduced as to require not more than half to one hour per day. This is not impossible of achievement if the authorities were to pay their concerted attention to it.

The immense amount of time consumed by purely administrative work needs special notice. At present, a large number of purely administrative functions have been entrusted to supervising officers. The study in Bombay referred to earlier showed that these include (1) grant calculations, (2) enquiries, (3) confidential reports on the work of teachers, (4) audit of accounts, (5) checking up of the dead-stock registers maintained in schools, (6) submission of a large set of periodical returns, statistical or otherwise, and (7) making proposals to higher authorities on a large number of problems such as transfers and postings of teachers, opening of new schools, etc.

The system in England under which the Education Officers of the County Councils look after administrative work (along with some supervision) while Her Majesty's Inspectors look purely after

supervision work may be regarded as a model in this regard. At present, every inspecting officer is also an administrative officer of some sort. It is worth consideration whether an alternative arrangement in which some officers will be set aside mainly for administrative work and others for supervision proper would not be in the larger interests of educational development. Madras has now adopted a system which almost resembles this pattern. In each Community Development Block, the post of the Social Education Organiser is converted into that of an Education Officer who looks after all the administrative work of elementary schools. The Inspecting Officers continue to be directly under the Department and are responsible for supervision proper. It is rather early to pronounce any definite opinion on this experiment; but it has a great promise of success.

It is necessary to provide for interchangeability between supervising officers of elementary schools and the staff of training institutions for elementary teachers. The work of a supervisor is very taxing and involves arduous touring responsibilities. Persons working as supervisors, therefore, get tired of the work in 3 to 5 years and expect to have a stationary and easier life for some time at least. If the cadre of the supervising officers is made interchangeable with that of teacher educators, it will be possible to post an officer as a supervisor of elementary schools for a period of 3 to 5 years, then to post him in a training institution for elementary teachers for another period of 3 to 5 years and again to send him out as an inspecting officer for a further stretch. Such an interchangeability will have the further advantage that supervising officers would become good teacher educators through their practical experience of the field. The teacher educators in their turn, would improve their efficiency through direct contact with the schools and by meeting and watching their own students at work.

An essential condition for such interchangeability is that the scale of pay for inspecting officers should be the same as for teacher educators. This is not always so. Wherever the scale of pay for teacher educators is higher, it is suggested that a selection grade may be given to supervising officers which should be on a par with the scale of pay given to teacher educators. Such an arrangement

would make it possible to interchange the best supervising officers with teacher educators. Another problem which often arises in such an arrangement is that it is the weaker inspecting officers that get generally transferred to training schools. Whenever there is a complaint or difficulty about any supervising officer, the line of least resistance is to transfer him to the innocuous post of a teacher educator in a training institution for elementary teachers. Such a tendency should be strongly discouraged and an effort should be made to see that the best inspecting officers alone are inter-changed with teacher educators.

The scale of pay of supervising officers will have to be improved still further in most states, partly with a view to attract a better type of person and partly with a view to compensate for the arduous duties which the supervisors have to shoulder.

The problem of the status of the supervising officers is also very important. The vexed question whether the supervising officer should be an employee of the local authority or of the State Government and whether he should work directly under the Department or under the local body, or under the joint control of both, has to be solved finally at an early date. It is suggested that the best results would be obtained by giving the status of an officer of the state government to the supervising officer and by placing him directly under the control of one master, *viz.*, the State Education Department. This solution need not necessarily conflict with the transfer of the administration of elementary education to the Panchayati Raj Institutions. As stated above, Madras has been able to retain the supervising officer as a Government servant working directly under the Education Department in spite of the transfer of the administration of elementary education to the Panchayat Unions. The same or a similar solution can be tried out in other areas also.

One more point needs attention in this context. Promotion as a supervising officer should be open to competent and experienced elementary teachers. This is not always so at present. In states like Maharashtra and Gujarat, 35 per cent of the posts of supervising officers are reserved for elementary teachers on promotion. But in most other states, an elementary teacher cannot look forward to be a supervising officer unless he first becomes a graduate

through private study. Some elementary teachers are extremely competent and would make invaluable supervising officers. It would, therefore, be advantageous to universalize the practice of Maharashtra and Gujarat and to reserve a certain percentage of posts of supervising officers for extremely competent and experienced elementary teachers.

Inter-state Contacts and Studies

It is very essential for supervising officers to know, not only the system of supervision of elementary education in their own state, but also have some knowledge of the system of elementary education and supervisory practices in other states of India. For this purpose, opportunities will have to be provided to supervising officers to pay visits to other states and to come in contact with supervising officers in different parts of the country. This is essentially a responsibility of the Federal Government who should, through appropriate agencies like the National Council of Educational Research and Training, organize seminars and refresher courses for supervising officers on a regional or inter-state basis and also arrange for conducted tours of supervising officers from one state to another to study specific developments and projects.

Problems of Research

It is also essential to promote research in supervision and inspection. Apart from investigations into existing supervisory practices, conducted with a view to improving conditions of work of supervising officers, research will have to be conducted in devising proper evaluating criteria for the supervision of elementary schools. At present, the work of supervision is conducted more or less in a rule-of-thumb manner and inspection still smacks strongly of a police character. If it is to be raised to the level of scientific and democratic supervision, we shall have to undertake research into methods of working with teachers, evaluation of their work, evaluation of schools as functional entities in the communities where they are located, etc. These are problems to which the National Council of Educational Research and Training and the proposed State Institutes of Education would have to devote a good deal of their time.

An Alternative System

It may be worthwhile to examine the possibility and the desirability of adopting an alternative system of supervision which obtains in some countries of the world. The organization of supervision in India is based on the assumption that a cadre of whole-time supervisory officers will evaluate the work of elementary schools and teachers. An alternative arrangement would be to divide the elementary schools into suitable groups, each group consisting of 10-15 schools within a distance of 5 to 7 miles from a central school. The headmaster of the central school should be designated as the teacher-supervisor. He will have two responsibilities: (1) to conduct his own school as a model institution; and (2) to act as supervisor for neighbouring schools within a distance of 5 to 7 miles which would be assigned to his group. The state cadre of supervisors would still be there; but it would be much smaller. These supervisors will not inspect every school—this would be the responsibility of teacher-supervisors—and their responsibilities would be restricted to (1) supervision of the central school and (2) looking into certain matters which may be beyond the authority of the teacher-supervisors of the central schools.

This decentralized pattern of supervision has certain obvious advantages. It will bring the supervisor much closer to the schools than he is at present; and if the teacher-supervisors of central schools could be trained graduates, it would help materially in raising standards. On the other hand, it may be a little costly, and the combination of teaching and supervision may not always be very helpful. All the same, such an arrangement is worthy of notice and deserves closer scrutiny. It may even be adopted on an experimental basis in a few areas and generalised if the results are satisfactory.

General Conclusions

Two important points have to be remembered in organizing supervision for elementary schools and in improving its quality. The first is that the responsibilities of a supervising agency in India are far greater than those of similar agencies in other countries where a number of official and non-official agencies are at work to improve the standards of education. For instance, in the advanced

countries of the West, elementary teachers are highly qualified and have received good general education and excellent professional training. A good deal of educational literature is readily available and it enables the teachers to improve themselves. Organizations of teachers are active and conduct a large number of in-service training programmes for raising professional standards. Besides, programmes of in-service training and extension are regularly organized on a fairly large scale through well-established institutions. Against such a background, the task of the supervisor obviously becomes less onerous. In India, on the other hand, such agencies of assistance to the teacher to improve his professional competence either do not exist or are still in their infancy. The Indian supervisor, therefore, has to take over all the residual responsibility for assisting the teacher to improve his competence. This is obviously a far more difficult and onerous task.

The second point to be remembered is that, with the broadening of the concept of elementary education, the responsibilities of the supervisors have increased manifold. About 100 years ago, the supervisor of elementary schools was concerned only with the elementary teachers or their pupils and he had only to see that the school performed the simple function of imparting literacy. Today, the concept of elementary education has become much broader and we are educating children, not merely for literacy, but as useful and responsible citizens in a democratic and socialistic society. The supervisor is now concerned, not only with elementary school pupils and teachers, but also with the leaders of the local community. He is to help in making the school a community centre. This has two implications. On the one hand, the school has to develop a programme of instruction which will assist the community to improve its standard of living; and on the other hand, the community itself has to be educated to take a greater interest in the school and to provide more generously for its support. The supervisor is required, not only to look after mere instruction in the classroom, but also to look after such programmes as liquidation of adult illiteracy, out-of-school youth activities, development of reading rooms and libraries, and the provision of ancillary services like school health, mid-day meals or free supply of uniforms, textbooks and writing materials. All in all, the supervisor now is

responsible, not for imparting literacy to a few children in the local community, but for the education of the community as a whole, for integrating the school with its environment, and for developing a comprehensive programme of health (including school meals) and education for all the children in the community.

If these wider responsibilities are to be properly attended to, we must try to obtain a better type of person to work as a supervisor and train him or her properly to do his or her job. This implies an improvement in the scales of pay, status and service conditions of supervisory officers and also the provision of a comprehensive programme of pre-service and in-service training. It is on these problems that attention will have to be focussed in the immediate future ; and it is largely on their solution that the success of the programme of raising standards in elementary education will ultimately depend.

CHAPTER 18

Ancillary Services

If the education given in an elementary school is to be fully effective, it is not enough to provide teachers, buildings and equipment and school supervisors and to design curricula and teaching methods. These programmes will have to be supplemented by certain ancillary services whose primary objective is to help the children to benefit better from the instruction provided in the schools. They include (1) medical inspection and treatment or health services, (2) provision of school meals, (3) free supply of textbooks and writing materials, and (4) provision of school uniforms. The growth of these services in India, their present position and the broad lines of their development in the near future would be briefly discussed in this chapter.

I. HEALTH SERVICES

A proper attention to the health and physical well-being of the pupil is as important as the development of his intellectual powers. The two, in fact, are inter-dependent, and intellectual development is hardly possible if the health and physical development of the child are neglected. This is particularly so in the age-group 6-14 when children are exposed to several dangers to their health and are undergoing developmental changes which call for watchful care. It is also in this stage that the foundations of future health and well-being are laid. While, therefore, the provision of adequate health services is important at all stages of education, it assumes very great significance at the elementary stage.

The provision of health services in the elementary schools of India is still in its infancy. Attention to its need was first drawn only in the beginning of the present century and Baroda was the first to introduce a scheme of school medical inspection in 1909. In the next 15 years, almost every province of British India made some effort to provide school health service. The usual pattern

adopted was to appoint a few doctors, with the necessary assisting staff, to carry out medical inspection of the school children in selected areas. Some arrangements for treatment were made in most cases; but by and large, these were not satisfactory. There was hardly any provision for preventive work and follow-up service. Unfortunately, even these modest attempts were not pursued further and when the need for economy arose, they were the first to fall to retrenchment. In large urban corporations like Bombay or Madras, however, resources in medical personnel, hospital and dispensary facilities and funds were available. In these areas, therefore, a fairly adequate health service for the children of elementary schools was developed as a part of the general health service which these corporations provided to their community. Barring these few exceptions, school health services may be said to have made little or no progress in the country prior to 1947.

Greater attention has been paid to the provision of school health services in the post-independence period and a few states have set up school health services but they are largely confined to urban areas. Most of them, as in the attempts made in the earlier period, look after medical inspection only and facilities for treatment are not generally adequate. In the rural areas, the provision of school health services has been made a responsibility of the primary health centres which are now being established in the community development blocks. Hedged in as they are with difficulties in getting trained personnel in adequate number, the primary health centres generally are able to handle only medical inspection of children at the headquarters of the centres and adequate follow-up work has yet to develop on a large scale. It may, therefore, be said that, even today, excepting in the big cities, provision for health services on an adequate scale has yet to be made for children attending elementary schools, particularly in the rural areas.

The problem was examined in detail by the School Health Committee appointed by the Government of India sometime ago under the chairmanship of Smt. Renuka Ray, M.P. The Report of the Committee is a valuable document which suggests a practicable programme for the development of school health services. While agreeing that all children should ultimately be examined

medically and treated to the extent necessary, the Committee recommended that, in view of the shortage of medical personnel and financial resources, attention should be concentrated on the age-group 6-11 which is a very vulnerable and important stage in the life of the child. In the urban areas, the provision of health services is comparatively easy. The general health services to the community, which provide the basic structure on which alone school health services can be planned, are better developed; and medical personnel are more easily available. In the rural areas, however, the situation is very different. Here the basic difficulty is the lack of adequate provision of health services to the community itself. The establishment of a primary health centre in each Community Development Block is an attempt to rectify this general deficiency. The Committee, therefore, recommended that the provision of health services in rural elementary schools should be built around the primary health centre. It suggested that the staff of each primary health centre should be immediately strengthened by the addition of an auxiliary nurse-midwife and that its contingent grant should be increased in order to enable the doctor in-charge to provide health services (including medical inspection and treatment) to about 2,000 children in the primary schools in close proximity to the centre. The Committee estimated that this modest scheme would provide health services to about 44 per cent of the children of school going age in rural areas and that its cost during the Third Five-Year Plan period would come to about Rs. 40 million. The Committee further recommended that the scheme should be expanded in the Fourth Plan period by the addition of one medical officer and three auxiliary nurse-midwives to the staff of each primary health centre. This would make it possible for the Centre to provide health services to all children in the age-group 6-11 in the C.D. Block concerned. The cost of this phase was estimated at Rs. 140 million for the Fourth Plan period. According to the recommendations made by the Committee, therefore, the provision of health services to all children in the age-group 6-11 should be the first priority in the programme and should be implemented in two stages. In the first stage, the urban areas and villages in the immediate neighbourhood of the primary health centres would be covered; and in the

second stage, all children in the age-group 6-11, both in urban and rural areas, would be brought under the scheme.

The programme suggested by the Committee is obviously modest and eminently practicable and realistic. It is to be hoped that it will be possible to put across this programme during the next seven years.

II. SCHOOL MEALS

Even more important than medical inspection and treatment is the need to provide school meals. Malnutrition is the prime factor in the erosion of health. The diet surveys carried out in the country by the Indian Council of Medical Research since 1935 have shown that the average diet of an Indian is unbalanced, partly because of its lack of adequate quantities of proteins, vitamins, fats and minerals. About two-thirds of the families do not consume any fruits or nuts; about one-third of the families do not consume sugar, jaggery or meat, fish or fresh fruits; and about one-fourth of them do not consume milk and milk products or leafy vegetables. In about four-fifths of the families surveyed, the intake of protective foods was either nil or below standard. It is thus evident that under-nutrition and malnutrition exist widely in our country and that young children are, therefore, particularly liable to diseases arising from them.

The medical inspections of school children which have been carried out in several parts of the country have shown that sickness and mortality rates of children in India are among the highest in the world and that the proportion of children suffering from malnutrition and other preventable causes are distressingly high. The Indian Council of Medical Research and the World Health Organization recently surveyed several states in South India and found that 2 per cent of the children belonging to the poorer socio-economic groups suffered from 'frank' signs of deficiency. If it is assumed that for every case of 'frank' signs there are probably 10 children on the border line of malnutrition, the magnitude of the problem becomes colossal. In Baroda, a survey of 32,500 children carried out in 1959-60 showed that over 26,000 had some kind of defect or the other. A survey carried out in Calcutta in

1954 showed that 75 per cent of the children had some defect ; and nutritional disorders constituted the biggest deficiency (40 per cent). Surveys carried out in various schools in 16 districts of Uttar Pradesh in 1949-51 showed that, out of 6,400 boys examined, more than 3,700 had one or more defects. In a Delhi survey of 8,400 children, the percentage of defective children was as high as 84. The results of other surveys are also similar and it may, therefore, be concluded that the existence of disease is very high amongst Indian children and that one of the most important contributory causes is under-nutrition or malnutrition.

In conditions of this type, the significance of a school meal programme is obvious. It will assist in improving the health and physical development of the child. It will also play an important role in education because children who are better fed and healthier will make quicker and sounder progress in their studies. India will, therefore, have to develop a universal programme of school meals as an integral part of its programme of universal, free and compulsory primary education.

Prior to 1947, a programme of school meals was not in operation outside the big corporation towns. The Madras Corporation was the first in the field and inaugurated a modest school meal programme in 1925. The scheme, however, made rapid progress. The Corporation of Bombay was the next to follow and it introduced a scheme for providing snacks to under-nourished children. The Corporation of Ahmedabad and of some other big cities also introduced experimental schemes on a small scale. But, by and large, it may be said that this programme hardly received any attention in the pre-independence period.

Even after independence, the school meal programme was not taken up on any adequate scale until 1956 when the Madras scheme of free school meals to poor children in elementary schools was launched. The main objectives of this scheme were two: (1) to enrol poor children who remained outside the school on account of poverty, and (2) to give at least one satisfactory meal to poor children in school. Initially the movement was purely voluntary and was started by contributions from the people. A school desiring to provide school meals constituted a committee of donors who collected the funds, selected the poor children who

were to receive meals and also organized and supervised the preparation and serving of food. Under the dynamic leadership of the State Education Department, the scheme made very rapid progress. In 1957, the State Government stepped in with a view to stabilizing and expanding the scheme to all the schools in the State. Under a programme approved by the Government, the cost of a school meal was estimated at 10 nP. The local donors were expected to contribute 4 nP. out of this, and 6 nP. were given by Government as a grant-in-aid. With this assistance from the State, the scheme developed still further and now about 1.3 million children or about one-third of the total number of children enrolled in elementary schools, are provided with a school meal every day. Recently CARE has been assisting with gifts of milk powder, corn meal and vegetable oil. By the end of the Third Plan, it is expected that the number of children served by the school meal programme would rise to about 1.7 millions.

It was this dynamic programme in Madras that really attracted national attention to the utility and significance of school meals. Other State Governments, therefore, took up the programme one after another. Kerala has organized a school meal programme with the assistance of CARE, which has now almost 100 per cent coverage at the elementary stage and provides school meals to about 1.8 million children every day. Andhra Pradesh provides school meals to about one million children and Mysore has recently started a programme for feeding 500,000 children. School milk is provided in Rajasthan (1 million children) and Punjab (500,000 children, proposed to be increased to 1 million very shortly). All these programmes are assisted by CARE.

In addition, UNICEF provides milk powder for school feeding programmes and under this scheme, a large-scale school feeding programme has been developed in Orissa. Smaller programmes are also in operation in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. Besides, the Church organizations—Church World Service and Catholic Relief Services—also provide assistance for school feeding programmes to individual schools and between them, they cover about one million children. In order to assist the development of the programme still further, the Government of India has approved, since 1962-63, a centrally sponsored scheme of grant-in-aid to

state governments. Under this scheme, assistance is offered to state governments to the extent of one-third of the total expenditure incurred by them on school feeding programmes (excluding the value of the commodities received free through CARE, UNICEF or similar organizations and local contributions) outside the State Plan ceilings. It is expected that by the end of the Third Plan, about 10 to 12 million children would be covered by the school meals programme. This implies that in the country as a whole one school-going child out of every five will receive school meals. This is fairly satisfactory. But the main difficulty is that the programme has developed very unequally in the different parts of the country. What is needed is to make a fairly large-scale beginning in states which have not introduced it so far or are operating it on a very small scale, *viz.*, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Jammu & Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal.

A reference may also be made to other useful programmes or ideas that are being developed in this sector. The Indian Council of Medical Research, after many years of study, has standardized the dietary requirements of children from birth to 21 years. These will be of great use in providing supplementary school meals to children as a part of the school feeding programme. It has also been found, by a comparative study of the prevailing diet with the standard requirements, that the major types of malnutrition encountered among children are attributable to deficiencies of proteins, vitamins A and B complex and calcium. Besides, there is evidence of gross caloric under-nutrition. It has also been found that the nutritional deficiencies vary from region to region. Considerable research work has, therefore, been done by the Nutrition Research Laboratories of the Indian Council of Medical Research on the preparation of menus for school meals suited to different regions of the country. These menus take into consideration the common dietary deficiencies in that region and also the locally available food materials and are so designed that a nutritional meal according to standard requirements could be provided at low cost which varies, at the present day prices, from 8 nP to 12 nP per meal per day. As many as 52 such menus have been designed so far and the work is in progress.

The Central Food Technological Research Institute at Mysore

has prepared a multipurpose food of a very good quality consisting of defatted groundnut flour. One ounce of multipurpose food yields about 12 grammes of proteins and a substantial amount of calcium, vitamin A and riboflavin. Its cost is about 64 nP at present and is expected to be reduced, with improvements in the process of manufacture, by about 25 per cent. It is, therefore, estimated that multipurpose food would not cost more than 2 nP per meal per day and serve as a nutritional strengthening of the school meal. The main difficulty in expanding this programme, however, is the limited production available at present and the lack of popularity of this new article of diet.

Another interesting programme is the expanded nutrition programme initiated in Orissa by the community development organization with the assistance of UNICEF. The main object of this project is to increase village, school and home production of nutritional foods such as poultry, eggs, fish, fruits, and vegetables, and to distribute the supplies produced through schools, mothers' clubs and community development and extension personnel, to expectant and nursing mothers and young children in homes and in schools. The scheme has now been taken up in a few Blocks, and is gradually being extended. The idea has been caught up by other states as well. If suitably developed, it will not only provide school meals to children but also make us self-sufficient in this matter.

Wherever school meal programmes have been introduced, the enrolment of children has increased and their daily attendance at school sessions has shown remarkable improvement. The health of the children has shown distinct improvement and so has their progress in studies. The popular opinion in favour of an early expansion of the programme is, therefore, growing very rapidly. The main difficulty which prevents expansion, however, is the paucity of resources. Even in the Madras pattern, which is the least expensive, the cost of a school meal works out at 12 nP per day or Rs. 20 per child per year. The total enrolment in the age-group 6-11 alone will be 50 million at the end of the Third Plan and, about 70 million by the end of the Fourth Plan. The recurring expenditure on a school meal programme for this age-group only would, therefore, be about Rs. 1000 million a year at the end of the

Third Five-Year Plan and Rs. 1400 million per year at the end of the Fourth Plan. How resources of this order are to be found and in what form for a programme of such high priority is one of the important and difficult problems for the planner.

III. TEXTBOOKS AND WRITING MATERIALS

The third significant ancillary service to be provided under the programme of universal education is to supply, free of charge, textbooks and writing materials to all children. Under the compulsory education law, the parent can only be compelled to send his children to school and he cannot be compelled to purchase the textbooks and writing materials required by them. It is, therefore, necessary to devise a scheme for free supply of textbooks and writing materials in all programmes of compulsory education.

In developing countries, the usual experience is that the progress of the children from poorer families suffers considerably because they do not have an adequate and timely supply of textbooks and writing materials. Studies carried out in the rural areas of this country show that, at the elementary stage, only about 30 per cent of the children have a complete set of all the textbooks prescribed and also the necessary writing materials. About 40 per cent of the children have some textbooks and some supply of writing materials, although this is inadequate and some of the books are purchased, not at the beginning of the school year, but rather late in the session. About 30 per cent of the children have such an inadequate supply of textbooks and writing materials that their progress is adversely affected. Some of these children do not own a single book; and several others do not get them in time at the beginning of the school year. It is obvious, therefore, that the standards in elementary schools would improve materially if a complete set of textbooks and adequate writing materials are made available to every pupil at the beginning of the school year.

It may also be pointed out that the poverty of the parent is not the only reason for the proposal to provide free textbooks and writing materials to all children in elementary schools. In England, for instance, the general standard of living is such that it may not be necessary to supply free textbooks and writing materials to any

child. But the local authorities have adopted a system of supplying free textbooks and writing materials in *all* their elementary schools on the ground that such a provision improves the standard of education. The programme is, therefore, essential on educational grounds ; and the case for it gets doubly strengthened in developing countries where the poverty of the average parent makes it difficult for children to get the necessary textbooks and writing materials in time.

This programme is not entirely new. The need to provide free textbooks and writing materials to poor children has long been recognised and, in every state, some financial provision is always made for the free supply of textbooks to poor and needy children. With the increase in expansion and the introduction of compulsory education, the scale of this programme has to be considerably increased. The exact proportion of children to whom free textbooks and writing materials would have to be provided on economic grounds will vary from area to area. But, by and large, it is felt that about 30 per cent of the children will have to be given this facility in the country as a whole. There are some who suggest a target of 50 per cent in this respect on the ground that textbooks and writing materials should be given free to all children of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and also to all girls, as a form of encouragement. It would, therefore, not be wrong to assume that, on economic and social grounds alone, we may have to provide free textbooks and writing materials to at least 30-50 per cent of the children in elementary schools. This is the minimum inescapable programme and, if possible, it would be desirable to go a step further and to provide free textbooks and writing materials to *all* children.

Two important issues arise in this context. The first refers to the cost of the programme. It has been estimated that the cost of textbooks and writing materials varies, on an average, from Rs. 3 per child per year in class I to Rs. 30 per child per year in class VIII. There are also variations from state to state ; but as a rough estimate, it may be said that the total cost of the programme of supplying textbooks and writing materials to all children in elementary schools in the country as a whole would be very large, about Rs. 360 million a year, at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan.

This works out at an average of about Rs. 6 per child per year for an enrolment of 60 million children. The second point refers to the difficulties of obtaining the necessary supplies of paper. Even at present, when a fairly large proportion of children do not have adequate supplies of textbooks and writing materials, it is very difficult to get the necessary paper required for textbooks and writing materials. The overall production of paper in the country is inadequate to meet the total demand and this deficiency seems to become more acute every year.

In order to meet both these difficulties, a number of useful programmes have been suggested. The first is that the State Governments should take over the production of textbooks at the elementary school stage. This is absolutely essential in view of the fact that, under a scheme of universal compulsory education, the State itself becomes the largest buyer of textbooks for elementary schools. The main argument urged against this policy is that the quality of textbooks would deteriorate if the free competition that now operates in the field is eliminated by the creation of a state monopoly. This danger can be avoided by creating a suitable machinery for the purpose in each state and by making the necessary guidance and assistance available at the national level through organisations like the National Council of Educational Research and Training. The academic aspects of this programme have already been discussed in Chapter 15 and need not be repeated here. From the financial point of view, with which alone we are concerned here, it may be said that state production of textbooks would reduce their prices to the lowest level possible and would result in a corresponding diminution in the total cost of the programme of supplying free textbooks to all children.

The second important suggestion put forward is that attempts should be made to prolong the average life of a textbook. From the studies which have been conducted in this field, it appears that the average life of a textbook in India is between one and two years only at the primary stage. Children who have been newly enrolled in schools generally require two to three copies of their first primer and reader before they pass class I, so that the average life of a textbook in this class may be said to be three to six months only. As against this, the average life of a school book in England

is eight years, so that even if the English book costs a little more at the beginning, it is ultimately far more economical than the cheap but poorly produced school books of our country. From the point of view of paper supply too, the longer the life of a textbook, the less is the demand for additional paper. In view of all these considerations, it is clear that our first concern should be to prolong the life of school books as much as possible.

Studies have shown that the following factors affect the life of school textbook:

- (a) The paper, binding and production of the book ;
- (b) The attractiveness of the book: children generally tend to preserve carefully a beautiful book while they tend to destroy a bad one ;
- (c) The home atmosphere of children: in cultured homes with traditions of reading and proper care of books, children also grow up to love and respect books and to treat them properly, while under contrary conditions, they generally tend to treat books with scant respect and to destroy them ;
- (d) The attitude of the teacher and the emphasis that is laid by him in teaching children on how to take care of books ;
- (e) The total number of books available in the school: the larger the total number of books available, the greater is the life of each individual book ; and
- (f) Whether the books are kept in the school or given to children to be taken home: books kept in the school in the custody of teachers, and made available to children during school hours only, last longer. Books entrusted to children and taken home by them are generally destroyed more quickly because children are found to be most careless with books at home and on the way to school and back.

Our first concern should, therefore, be to find out what the average life of a school book is, to ascertain the factors which affect the life of a school book, and to take steps, through proper education of teachers and through other suitable methods, to prolong this life as much as possible. It would be the greatest measure

of economy in funds and paper and it will also improve the efficiency of schooling.

Three important programmes can be suggested to prolong the average life of a textbook. The first is to improve production, to use good paper and binding and to increase the attractiveness of the book. The second is to train the elementary teachers to emphasize the need to educate children to take proper care of books and to look upon a child's care of his books as an integral part of the school discipline. Our minimum target in this respect should be that each textbook should last at least 4 years and should be used successively by four different groups of children. The third and probably the most important suggestion put forward is that textbooks should be kept in the school itself in the custody of the teacher and should be made available to children during school hours only. Even if this experiment is tried only in classes I and II, the resulting economy in cost and paper would be considerable. For instance, a child requires, on an average, two or three copies of its primer and reader before he passes class I. If these books are kept in school, it is found that the average wastage per year is only about 6 to 10 copies in a class of 40 to 50 children. In these lower classes, there is no home work also and no academic problems need arise if books are made available to children during school hours only. This suggestion has great potentialities and deserves a fair trial.

IV. SCHOOL UNIFORMS

The provision of school uniforms is another programme awaiting to be developed in an imaginative way. The school should be a community in itself. It is very difficult to create a common community atmosphere in a situation where children's clothes, their books and writing materials act as reminders of social differences. If it were possible to provide school meals to all children so that all of them share the same common food once a day, to provide them with free textbooks and writing materials on a basis of equality, and also to provide them with a common uniform, the school will immediately become a cooperative commonwealth of students in which all considerations of caste, religion, economic status, etc., would be

eliminated and the children would be trained to be citizens of a welfare state based on equality, fraternity and justice. Side by side with the ancillary services to provide school meals and free textbooks and writing materials, therefore, it is also necessary to provide common school uniforms.

It is not necessary to provide school uniforms at state cost to all children. The first step in the programme would be to prescribe a school uniform which could be prepared at the minimum cost possible. Parents should then be persuaded to buy this uniform for their children, whenever they buy new clothes for them. If the programme is explained to the parents by the teachers, it may be possible to provide school uniforms to about 75 to 80 per cent of the children entirely through family purchases and it may be necessary to provide financial assistance only to 20 to 25 per cent of the children for purchasing school uniforms. Funds for this will have to be provided by community effort or from the state exchequer.

In this field also, Madras has given a very encouraging lead. A movement for providing uniforms to school children has already been started in this state. A very simple uniform has been prescribed and this is being introduced rapidly in school after school. Most of the children purchase the uniform for themselves; but where they cannot do so, local school committees collect funds and give free uniforms to the poor and needy children. So far about 1.3 million children have been provided with free school uniforms and the movement is growing every day. It is entirely a voluntary movement and receives no assistance from the state.

In the Nanavatty School at Bombay, an interesting practice has been introduced. Every pupil joins in spinning for half an hour a day and this enables him to spin enough yarn to provide himself with khadi uniforms. This is another programme which may be developed with advantage.

These experiments point the way in which large scale community and school effort can be mobilised to make the elementary school an institution of the community and give the children what is their right to receive.

CHAPTER 19

Single-Teacher Schools

One of the most frequently discussed problems in elementary education is the single-teacher school. The most common view held is that these schools are, by and large, less efficient than multi-teacher schools for the simple reason that the teacher in charge of these schools has to instruct five classes at a time. The most common line of reform suggested, therefore, is to eliminate the single-teacher schools altogether, or to reduce their number to the minimum, or at least to reduce the number of classes taught in a single-teacher school. Unfortunately, none of these programmes seems to be succeeding. To say nothing of elimination, the total number of single-teacher schools is steadily increasing because schools are now being opened in small and scattered habitations. The effort to reduce the number of classes taught in a single-teacher school has also not succeeded. In some states, a rule has been adopted to the effect that the total number of classes taught in a single-teacher school should be restricted to three (classes I-III) and that a second teacher should be added whenever there are more than three classes. Although the objective of this proposal is laudable, it is not always financially possible to add a second teacher, with the result that most of the single-teacher schools under this system remain incomplete schools teaching three classes only. This actually increases wastage because a large number of pupils are unable to pursue their studies beyond class III. The overall situation in Indian elementary education may, therefore, be summed up by saying that the possibility of developing the single-teacher schools to function efficiently has not been accepted and efforts are, therefore, directed to reducing their number to the minimum, or to eliminating them altogether. This concentration on the negative aspects of the problem makes us neglect the adoption of a programme to improve them. At the same time, the attempt at elimination also fails because of irremediable physical conditions and the number of these schools continues to increase in spite of

all efforts to the contrary. This is a very unhappy situation. We must, therefore, make up our mind about the single-teacher schools and decide, once for all, whether we shall permit them to exist or not. If it is possible to eliminate them, we should take steps to do so very quickly. On the other hand, if they cannot be eliminated, we shall have to plan and implement a realistic and intelligent programme of improving their standards.

An Old Tradition

It must be pointed out that single-teacher schools are one of our very old traditions. In ancient India, most of the educational institutions were single-teacher institutions and each teacher worked as a self-employed person and taught a small group of students who came to him for study. At Taxila, the most important seat of learning in ancient India, where hundreds of students came from all parts of the then known world, there was neither a college nor an organised university as such. Every teacher, assisted by his advanced students, formed a small institution by himself. Banaras which has been a centre of education for more than two thousand years and has attracted students from all parts of the country, also developed on similar lines. Bernier, for instance, has observed that 'Benares is a kind of a university, but it has no college or regular classes as in our universities. It resembles rather the schools of the ancients, the masters being spread over the different parts of the town in private houses. . . . Some teachers have four and some six disciples; the most eminent may have 12 or 15, but this is the largest number.' This early tradition survived right till the end of the eighteenth century and the indigenous schools of elementary and higher education which existed at this time in all parts of the country, were mostly single-teacher institutions with classes which varied in size from 1 to about 30 or 40.

It must also be remembered that these single-teacher institutions did not have pupils learning in one class or at one stage only. At this time, the idea of grouping students into 'classes' was almost unknown and the usual practice was to regard each student as a class by himself. The teacher, therefore, paid individual attention to each student who was thus able to join the school at any time, to go ahead at his own pace, and to leave the institution when he

had learnt all that he wanted to learn or the teacher had to teach. These institutions, therefore, did not teach a single 'class' in the modern sense of the term; on the other hand, they may be said to have had as many 'classes' as there were students.

Recent Prejudices

The strong prejudice which is now seen in almost all educational circles against the single-teacher school is, therefore, a very recent development and it may be said to have arisen only in the early years of this century when the British administrators of education were trying to develop a programme of qualitative improvement in elementary education. The social background in England, where 80 per cent of the population is urban, is entirely different from that in India. The average English elementary school is a multi-teacher institution where a teacher is in charge of one grade only or at the most of two grades at a time. To the British administrators, therefore, the idea of a single teacher managing five classes at a time appeared to be absolutely unworkable and they made attempts to eliminate or reduce the single-teacher schools. The Royal Commission on Agriculture, for instance, commented on the inefficiency of these schools and opined that 'no primary school can be efficient which has less than two teachers. Unless the school which has at present one teacher can be provided with an additional teacher, or converted into a branch school consisting of one or two classes only with the object of providing teaching for young children until they are old enough to walk to the central school, it is better closed, for it is both unattractive and extravagant.*' The Hartog Committee also gave the same opinion and observed that 'there is not much promise of effective progress in a system which depends so predominantly on the single-teacher schools.'**

Efforts to implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture or of the Hartog Committee were made in all Provinces of British India. None of them succeeded. But some account of the most intensive of these efforts, which was made in Baroda, might be of interest. The Baroda State decided that

* *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture*, p. 525.

** *Report*, pp. 60-62. At this time the number of single-teacher schools varied from 15.7 per cent in the Central Provinces to 76 per cent in Bengal.

the minimum number of teachers in an elementary school should be two and refused to open an elementary school in a place which had less than 75 pupils. The result was that most of the villages with less than 500 population (which contained about one-fifth of the entire population of the State) remained without any educational facilities whatsoever. The following comments of Mr. Littlehailes, the retired Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, who was invited in 1933 to examine the educational progress of the State and to suggest improvements, will be of interest in this context:

- Single-teacher schools under trained teachers may be quite satisfactory; they are not objectionable. I should go further and allow temporary single-teacher schools under untrained teachers, and knowing that a school once closed down is difficult to resuscitate, I would rather not close a school because its single-teacher was untrained. Many schools which were formerly provided with only a single teacher have been closed and others have been provided with an additional teacher. This policy, I submit, is not to the good of the country, especially in its present state of educational advancement. In places where the school has been closed, facilities for education no longer exist and children remain illiterate. In places where the additional teacher has been added, though the individual instruction given to pupils may have been slightly improved, the strength of the school is not appreciably increased; it has certainly not doubled; furthermore the cost of the school has increased twofold though the instruction given has not improved to anything like the same extent.

There will always be small villages, where the employment of a single teacher is all that can be economically justified and wastage in school effort will always be with us especially when illiteracy is large, so that single-teacher schools will have to remain in parts of Baroda just as they remain in small and out of way villages in other parts of the world. What is desirable is that where a single-teacher school exists, the teacher should be conscientious in character and trained. It has not been found impossible in other countries for a single teacher to conduct several small classes in a small village; it should not be impossible in Baroda. I advise the opening of single-teacher schools in places where they have been closed and transfer to them of trained teachers.*

Unfortunately, this sound advice given by Mr. Littlehailes went unheeded and the Baroda State continued to follow its earlier policy of eliminating single-teacher schools with consequences which proved to be disastrous to the development of education. But the viewpoint of Mr. Littlehailes was taken up by Shri R. V. Parulekar who pointed out that those educationists who advocated the abolition

* J. P. Naik: *Compulsory Primary Education in Baroda State* (The Progress of Education, Feb. 1941, pp. 361-2).

of single-teacher schools did not visualise their indispensable place in the framework of the Indian educational system and advised that the right approach to the problem was to 'mend' these institutions rather than to 'end' them.¹ Considerable work on the problem was also done by Shri J. P. Naik whose brochure on *The Single-teacher School* has been published by the Ministry of Education.² As a result of the work of these two educationists, it is being gradually realised that an attempt to eliminate the single-teacher schools is not practicable and that it would be better to organize a realistic programme for their improvement. But very few concrete steps have been taken so far in this direction in any state.

Examples from Other Countries

Formerly, the educational developments in India were almost exclusively influenced by the educational system of England. There are hardly any single-teacher schools in England and consequently the British educationists have paid scant attention to their problems. But the position in countries like U.S.A., Australia, Norway and Sweden is entirely different. In these countries, there are a large number of small local communities which can afford to maintain only a single-teacher school; and these schools teach, not only five grades at a time as in India, but sometimes as many as 7 or 8 grades, depending upon the duration of the compulsory course of education. In all these countries, therefore, attempts have been made, not to eliminate the single-teacher schools, but to improve them, and valuable research work has been carried out to discover the techniques which could make single-teacher schools more efficient in spite of their obvious handicaps. Studies have also been carried out to ascertain whether the pupils in single-teacher schools have any disadvantage as compared to those in multi-teacher schools and the findings have generally been that, if properly organized, the single-teacher schools can afford almost equal opportunities to their pupils as in the multi-teacher schools. We have recently begun to study all this literature that is available on this subject; and it is to be hoped that a massive effort to improve single-teacher schools would be undertaken in the near future.

¹ R. V. Parulekar: *Literacy in India*, Chapter 10.

² J. P. Naik: *The Single-teacher School*, Ministry of Education, Government of India, 1953.

The Main Problems

A programme of action regarding single-teacher schools will have to be developed along three sectors:

(1) *Reduction in Numbers*: While it is true that single-teacher schools cannot be eliminated altogether so long as there is a large number of small villages in the country, it is necessary to take steps to see that the number of single-teacher schools is reduced to the minimum. The first programme of action should, therefore, be directed to this end.

(2) *Studies into the Problems of Single-teacher Schools*: The second part of the programme would be to conduct research into the different pedagogical, organizational and administrative problems which face single-teacher schools. It is on this research that the programme of qualitative improvement of single-teacher schools will have to be based.

(3) *Qualitative Improvement of Single-teacher Schools*: In this part of the programme, a massive campaign would have to be launched to improve the functioning of all single-teacher schools on the lines of the accepted programme.

The salient features of these three sectors of the programme will be briefly discussed in the following paragraphs.

Reducing the Number of Single-teacher Schools

The single-teacher schools of today fall into the following major categories:

(1) *Separate Schools for Girls*: In many villages the people demand separate schools for girls under women teachers. Very often, these remain single-teacher schools because the total number of girls attending them is not large enough to justify the appointment of additional teachers.

(2) *Schools for Minorities*: Even in big towns and cities, the number of children belonging to a minority linguistic group and living in a given neighbourhood is so small that only a single-teacher school can be organized for them. Of course, the total number of such single-teacher schools is very small; but they form a distinct and significant group.

(3) *Schools in Villages with a Population of more than 500*: Single-teacher schools are often found to exist even in villages with

a population of more than 500, because only a small number of children attend them. If compulsory education is introduced in the age-group 6-11, the enrolment in the schools would be about 15 per cent of the total population ; and if compulsion is extended to the age-group 11-14, the total number of children enrolled would be about 20 per cent of the total population. In a village with a population of 500, therefore, the minimum number of children who will attend schools under a system of compulsory education would be 75 and the maximum would be about 100. In either case, it would be financially feasible to appoint two teachers in such a school. When compulsory education is not introduced and only a small proportion of the total number of children is enrolled, single-teacher schools have to be established even in villages where the population is 500 or more.

(4) *Schools for Villages with a Population of less than 500 :* For reasons stated above, most of the schools in villages with a population of less than 500 would be single-teacher schools. If compulsion is introduced in the age-group 6-14, most of the schools in villages with a population of less than 300 would have only a single teacher.

It will be seen from the above classification that there is really no justification for some categories of single-teacher schools which we have at present. For instance, we should be able to adopt co-education as a normal pattern at the elementary stage of education. If this is done, the large number of single-teacher girls schools which we have at present would disappear. Similarly, there is no justification for maintaining single-teacher schools in villages with a population of more than 400 to 500. If compulsory education is introduced in these villages, it would be possible to increase the total enrolment to a point where the appointment of two teachers would be financially feasible. When the duration of compulsory education increases to eight years, it may be possible to abolish all single-teacher schools in villages with more than 300 population. In the last analysis, therefore, single-teacher schools need exist only (1) for minority linguistic groups, and (2) in small villages with less than 300 to 500 people. These will, of course, always remain with us ; and in their case, the only programme of action would be to improve the schools to the maximum extent possible.

The Rajasthan Study

Very little research has been done in regard to single-teacher schools and the problems facing them. A reference may, however, be made here to a small pilot study of 25 single-teacher schools in Rajasthan which was recently carried out by the National Institute of Basic Education, New Delhi. The main findings of this survey highlight the major problems which the single-teacher schools have to face at present.

(1) The schools selected for study were located in the districts of Bikaner, Udaipur, and Jaipur. The population of the villages in which they were located varied from 315 to 2500. Two of the single-teacher schools were separate schools for girls and were located in places where the population was 1500 and 2500 respectively. Obviously, these could have disappeared under a system of co-education.

(2) Most of these places were difficult of access, being about 9 to 40 miles from the nearest railway station or main road.

(3) Four of these schools had three classes, eleven had four and ten had all the five classes.

(4) The enrolment of these institutions varied from 13 at the lowest to 89 at the highest. The median of enrolment was 37. The average daily attendance was 82.9 per cent on the whole and actually varied from 44 per cent in one school to almost 100 per cent in another. The median of attendance was 32. Seven of these schools had enrolments of more than 50 and needed a second teacher.

(5) Of the total enrolment of 1,090, as many as 563 children (or 51.6 per cent) were in class I, 227 (or 20.8 per cent) were in class II, 155 (or 14.2 per cent) were in class III, 94 (or 8.6 per cent) were in class IV, and 51 (or 4.8 per cent) were in class V. It will be seen that the proportion of wastage is greater in single-teacher schools than in other schools. This does not necessarily imply that these institutions are less efficient. The fall in enrolment in classes IV and V is more due to the fact that four of these schools do not provide for the teaching of classes IV and V and 11 of them had only classes I-IV. In fact, the studies conducted by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics in Poona show that the extent

of wastage in single-teacher schools is not significantly greater than in multi-teacher schools.

(6) The total number of girls in 23 schools (excluding the enrolment of two separate schools for girls which have been included in the sample) was 125 or 13.1 per cent of the total enrolment. This proportion is much less than the overall enrolment of girls in the primary schools of Rajasthan. This is mainly due to the backwardness of the villages in which these schools are located.

(7) Of the 25 teachers in charge of these schools, two were trained intermediates; 14 were trained matriculates; two were matriculates but untrained; one was middle passed and trained; one was middle passed and untrained; and one had failed middle but had received a short-term course of teacher training. The qualifications of teachers of single-teacher schools were broadly in keeping with the overall position in Rajasthan State.

(8) At the time of their first appointment to single-teacher schools, however, it was found that only 6 teachers were trained matriculates. The single-teacher schools should invariably be placed in charge of trained and experienced teachers. By and large, however, it appears that this policy had not been followed in Rajasthan.

(9) In 16 out of the 25 schools examined, no time-table of daily studies had been prepared. In 7 schools, the time-table showed only the programme of each class and did not indicate how the teacher would divide his time between the different classes. In only two time-tables was the programme of work to be carried out by the teacher indicated; but a closer examination showed that even these time-tables were not followed in practice. It, therefore, appeared that the teachers in charge of these schools generally work in an *ad hoc* and rule-of-thumb manner.

(10) Eighteen out of the 25 teachers reported that their principal method of instruction was to work separately with each grade, although they combined two or more grades occasionally. The grouping of grades for craft-work was, however, frequent. Craft-work was being done in only 19 schools out of 25; and 18 of these reported that they grouped grades for craft-work. Groups were also formed for co-curricular activities.

(11) The usual method adopted by the teachers was to deal with one group at a time and to keep the other groups occupied in programmes of self-study or under senior monitors.

(12) The teachers mentioned the following advantages of working in single-teacher schools:

- a. greater freedom of action for the teacher ;
- b. greater contact of the teacher with the community ;
- c. teacher commands greater respect from the community ;
- d. teacher has contacts with every child in the school ;
- e. it is easier for the teacher to obtain residential accommodation in a village ; and
- f. there is no problem of quarrels with other teachers.

(13) On the other hand, the teachers also pointed out a number of difficulties while working in single-teacher schools:

- a. The teacher has no companion and feels lonely ;
- b. Single-teacher schools generally exist in very small villages where living conditions are difficult ;
- c. The need to teach several grades simultaneously creates difficult problems ;
- d. The equipment provided is inadequate ;
- e. It is difficult to get leave and the teacher has, on the whole, to shoulder a larger responsibility ; and
- f. It is not generally possible to cover the entire syllabus.

(14) When the teacher in charge of the school proceeds on leave, the school often remains closed. In this particular study, it was found that the school remained invariably closed when the leave was of a short duration, *i.e.* less than 7 days. Out of five cases in which the leave period was more than 7 days but less than 30 days, substitute teachers were appointed in three. In cases of leave for more than 30 days, substitutes were generally appointed.

(15) The inspection of these schools left a good deal to be desired. During 1961-62, for instance, 10 schools had remained without inspection ; and in 7 more, there was no record available to show whether the school had been inspected or not. Only 6 schools had been inspected once and only 2 had received one or two visits in addition to the inspection.

(16) The teachers reported that they needed assistance from inspecting officers and training in respect of (a) preparation of

time-tables, (b) devising methods to keep every group of children fully occupied, (c) methods of grouping children for instruction, craft-work and co-curricular activities, (d) maintaining discipline and (e) making and using audio-visual aids. Most of them complained that they had not been trained to meet these problems and that they received very little help from inspecting officers in these matters.

It will be seen from the above study that, out of the total of 25 single-teacher schools included in the sample, the two separate schools for girls and the seven schools where the enrolment is already more than 50 could be eliminated easily by adopting co-education or appointing additional teachers. Even in the remaining 16 schools, at least 5 more would need an additional teacher if all the children locally available could be enrolled. It may thus be possible to reduce the total number of single-teacher schools by at least fifty per cent.

A single-teacher school needs larger space because the children have to work in a number of separate groups and it also needs considerable equipment. Most of the teachers in these single-teacher schools complained that they had inadequate equipment. Improving physical facilities and providing single-teacher schools with larger classrooms, better equipment and more teaching aids would, therefore, be a very important programme for improving their standards.

By far the most important deficiency that comes out from this study is the fact that only a few of the teachers in charge of these schools have received adequate professional training. Even those persons who had been formally trained had not received that special instruction which is needed by heads of single-teacher schools. The inspection of these schools is not as frequent as it should be, probably because they are located in out-of-the-way places; and what is worse, the inspecting officers are not in a position to give the necessary guidance to the teachers to enable them to solve their problems. This is the crux of the problem and the success or otherwise of single-teacher schools will ultimately depend upon the manner in which we train their teachers and the extent to which the supervising officers are able to give them good guidance and assistance.

The study also brings out certain other important problems. For instance, life in the small and backward villages where the single-teacher schools are located is generally difficult. The teacher is cut off from intellectual company of his colleagues and feels isolated and depressed. The school often remains closed when he has to go on short periods of leave and he also finds it more difficult to obtain leave. These and other problems of administration and personnel will also have to be studied and suitable methods for their solution will have to be devised.

Pedagogical Problems

The most important and difficult problems that face the single-teacher schools are pedagogic. Here the teacher in charge is required to teach as many as five classes at a time. Very often, the total number of children in his charge is also large—40, 50 or even 60 and more. He is expected to teach in accordance with the established routine, *viz.*, to divide the whole school into different classes and then to teach each class according to a prescribed timetable. He has also to put across a heavy curriculum which is mainly designed for the bigger schools where one teacher is expected to be in charge of a whole class. The net result is that he usually complains of 'too many children, too many classes and too many subjects' and of being under the stress of a curriculum which he can never hope to complete. It is to the solution of these difficult problems that our attempts have to be directed.

On the basis of the experimental and research work done in countries like U.S.A., Australia, Sweden and Switzerland, and also in the light of our own traditions, it is possible to indicate a broad programme of action which can meet these difficulties. What is needed is a new approach to the organization of teaching in single-teacher schools. For instance, we will have to accept the position that the teaching methods which we have now evolved and which are generally put across in training institutions are unsuitable to the conditions in single-teacher schools. In the present teaching methods, the basic unit is a 'lesson', and this has to be taught generally in the five well-known Herbartian steps. This method was primarily evolved for secondary schools where the school is organized into different classes, each class has a time-table in which

one subject after another is studied for a specified period, and there is a different teacher for each subject. It can also be applied, with some modifications, to such elementary schools as have a separate teacher in charge of each class. But this is possible only when the total enrolment is more than 300 in classes I-VIII or 200 in classes I-V. The number of such big schools, however, is very small. In all other schools, the teachers have to be in charge of more than one class: the number of classes entrusted to a teacher varies from 2 to 3 in multi-teacher schools and is as large as five in single-teacher schools. The unit or lesson method of teaching cannot obviously be used under such conditions. But the tragedy of the situation is that this is almost the only method taught in training institutions. Our training programmes, therefore, do not give any material assistance to teachers in solving the pedagogical problems they have to face in single-teacher schools.

It is not suggested that the lesson method has no application at all in a single-teacher school. It can and should be used to the extent possible. But, by and large, the lesson method will have to be used to a small extent only and the major programme of teaching in a single-teacher school will have to be based on a number of other methods such as the combination of classes, use of the shift system to reduce the number of classes to be handled at a time, plural-class teaching, monitorial system, self-instruction and individual attention. It is not possible to describe these different techniques in detail; but a broad description of them is necessary to illustrate the new approach that is needed to the solution of the pedagogical problems in single-teacher schools.

Reduction in the Number of Classes: Let us first consider whether we can reduce the number of classes to be handled at a time. In Sweden, an interesting system is often adopted for this purpose. The Swedish teacher is required to handle, not five classes as in India, but as many as eight classes, covering the entire duration of compulsory schooling. Two consecutive classes are, therefore, combined. Thus classes I and II, III and IV, V and VI and VII and VIII are grouped together. The course for each group lasts for two years and fresh admissions to the school are made every alternate year. The result is that the teacher has only four different groups of children to handle at a time instead of eight. This is an

interesting experiment which can be tried out in our conditions as well. Where the primary course is spread over four years, for instance, we may divide the school into two groups covering classes I-II and III-IV and make fresh admissions to the school every alternate year. Where the primary course is spread over five classes, we may still have the same groups and treat class V as a separate unit by itself ; in the alternative, we may leave class I as it is and combine classes I and II, and IV and V into two-year classes. This is a rather unorthodox programme, but it deserves a trial.

The shift system may also be used to reduce the number of classes which a teacher will have to handle at a time. For instance, the teacher may take classes I and III in the morning and classes II, IV and V in the afternoon or *vice versa*. Other combinations can also be made, the main idea being that the four or five classes which have to be handled by the single-teacher school should be divided into two groups, each of which will have three hours instruction per day. If the teacher prefers this method and works it out carefully, there is no reason why the standard of attainment of the children should suffer under this programme. This is another and less radical experiment which deserves a fair trial.

Plural-class Teaching: In the two experiments suggested above, the objective is to reduce the number of classes to be handled at a time ; but this is not absolutely essential. Even if all the five classes of a single-teacher school attend together throughout the school day, it is possible to evolve techniques under which the time of the teacher is most profitably utilized and the progress of the pupils is best accelerated. For instance, it is not necessary to teach *every* class separately in *every* subject. In fact, the advanced countries which have to deal with single-teacher schools have evolved techniques which enable a teacher to combine classes for teaching different subjects. In Tasmania, the curriculum of the single-teacher school, which has seven or eight classes, is so arranged that all classes are taught separately in a few subjects only and that two or more classes are grouped together for most subjects. In subjects where sequential teaching is necessary, as for example in reading or arithmetic, each class is taught separately. But in physical training, singing and religious instruction, all classes are taken together. For nature study, drawing and manual work, the

entire school is divided into two groups and in history and geography, there are three groups. In South Australia, where the single-teacher schools have to handle eight classes, each class is taken separately in writing, arithmetic and manual work ; but all classes are combined for physical training, music, nature study, needle work and religious instruction. There are five groups in reading, three in geography and two in drawing and history. In Victoria, each class is taken separately for arithmetic and spelling, and all classes are taken together in music. There are two school groups in speech training, health and physical training ; three in writing, poetry, grammar, nature study, science, handwork, domestic science and social studies ; four in composition and art ; and five in reading. In New South Wales, the entire school is divided into two sections. Each class in each section works more or less independently in English and Arithmetic and two classes are combined for nature study, history, art, handwork, singing, hygiene and religious instruction. Both the sections of the school may also be combined for observation and picture talks and physical education. In all these countries, no attempt is made to prescribe a rigid scheme of class groupings and there is considerable freedom given to the teacher to change the grouping according to his convenience. But the emphasis is on combination of different classes in different subjects in such a manner as to lighten the burden of the teacher and to use his time to the best advantage of the pupils. It is obvious that similar combinations can be easily worked out for India also. But it needs considerable experimentation and research.

As a special form of plural-class teaching, a method is being evolved in which the entire school may work on projects which have great educational significance and which can provide useful instruction to children at all the different levels. This method, which is being extensively used is known as the 'perpendicular unit of teaching'. The following example of a project worked out in a single-teacher school of Switzerland may be of interest to illustrate the basic techniques involved in this method of teaching:

'The city of Zurich was to hold a Swiss National Exhibition, an event which takes place every twenty-five years. The children were planning their trip to the exhibition. All pupils were to go

except the first- and second-graders. While the older youngsters studied the more intricate aspects of the journey, such as the important monuments to visit, things worth seeing at the exhibition, amount and wise distribution of time necessary for the entire trip, expenses involved, and other languages likely to be known, the fifth-graders were discussing various means of transportation and were determining what distance could be covered by foot. These semi-mountain youngsters wanted to use as many kinds of travel conveyances as possible for not one of them had ever been on a bus, a boat, or a fast train. They were eager to get maximum results out of this eventful experience.

"They planned to leave the village on foot so that the little ones could go part of the way with them; next, they would climb over the nearby pass and later take a train to the shore of Lake Thun. Here they would transfer to a boat. Once on the other shore they would hike across a second pass and take a bus to Zurich. The return journey was to be routed differently. Not only did the pupils know the necessary time and cost involved but they had started to save money and were studying the history of the cantons through which they were to pass, the various costumes formerly worn by the people there, and the languages spoken. The pictures they had collected of Swiss costumes were remarkable. While at Zurich the young travellers expected to sleep in one of the city schools held open for this purpose, since the city children would be on summer vacation at that time. It can readily be seen that the teacher had enough curriculum material on hand to last a year. The children asked if they might sing one of the songs they had learnt for the trip. The teacher gave them permission, and after he had given them the pitch with the help of a tuning fork, the whole group sang with well-trained voices a four-part song.*

If such units are possible in a school with eight classes, it should be possible to develop them in our single-teacher schools which have only five classes or even less. But even here the basic need is experimentation and research for the development of suitable programmes which could be put across to the elementary teachers.

* I. E. Schatzmann: *The Country School*, pp. 14-15.

Monitorial System : Another method which can be effectively used in the organization of instruction in single-teacher schools is the monitorial system. In this programme, capable students of the senior class are trained as monitors and are utilized for giving instruction, under the guidance of the teacher, to children in the junior classes. The obvious simplicity of this method is also responsible for its popularity. It is officially recognized and extensively practised in all Western countries where single-teacher schools are common and teachers are specially instructed in the proper training and use of monitors. As the Rajasthan study revealed, this method is also used very largely in all our single-teacher schools. But unfortunately, very little attention has been paid to guiding the teachers in the training and use of monitors so that we do not always obtain the best results which the system is capable of yielding. What is worse, the system is not always officially recognized and in some quarters, it is even discouraged on the ground that it wastes the time of the good students. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the problem and to decide whether we should or should not utilize this technique for organizing instruction in our single-teacher schools.

All the evidence available on the subject clearly shows that the monitorial system, like the quality of mercy, is twice blessed ; it blesses him that teaches as well as him that learns. The assumption that the time of the good students is wasted under this system is not, therefore, quite valid. On the other hand, it has a beneficial effect upon the entire atmosphere of the school. In a special enquiry conducted in Victoria by Mr. J. M. Braithwaite, an Inspector of Schools, and Mr. McRae, a Lecturer in Education, in the practical working of the monitorial system in single-teacher schools, the unexceptional conclusion reached was the good results obtained through a proper use of the monitorial system. They observed :

'No one who has seen one of Victoria's small county schools at work could fail to be impressed by the value of the monitorial system as it is used in that state. It certainly enables the head teacher to do more and better work. Without it, his services would often be spread so thin as to be of little avail. It ensures that the youngest pupils will have, almost constantly, the guidance

without which they would waste much time. Best of all, perhaps, it develops in the small school a spirit of cooperation and a feeling of partnership in a well-conducted concern which are rarely to be observed in any other kind of school. To illustrate its value, a few lines from one of our Victorian returns are worth quoting:

I have seen rural children, aged 9 to 14 years, take a keen delight in making wall-charts in their home time for grades I and II. Children living near the school need to be almost forced to go home in the evening, so enthusiastic are their efforts to prepare aids for their monitorial duties.

A healthier relationship frequently develops between brothers and sisters from the monitorial system. Older boys and girls learn the superior value of persuasion and sympathy over hectoring and force. The younger ones feel that they can better rely on the judgment of their senior brothers and sisters.

From the view-point of life-service, of being valuable members of a corporate society, the monitorial systems lay foundations as secure as they are essential, on which altruism may safely flourish. From junior to supplementary departments, first as being ministered to and then as ministering, the child feels, gropes his way along. He acquires the virtue of obedience, that will later enable him to command, pleasantly, persuasively, productively. He leaves school realizing that he has contributed to the process of educating a generation.

And if he is not consciously aware of this, it cannot be denied that he has contributed. His reach has exceeded his grasp: he has done without being aware of doing.

It will be noted that this teacher writes of his young assistants feelingly, and with enthusiasm. We are of the opinion that he does so on good grounds*.

It was possible to obtain these results in Victoria because the Education Department paid special attention to the problems involved, such as, selection and training of monitors, determining the duties to be assigned to them and supervising their work. Special instructions were prepared for the guidance of the teachers on the use of monitorial system and it was greatly emphasised in their training programmes. If we can adopt a similar policy, there is no doubt that the instructional standards in our single-teacher schools will improve considerably.

In this connection, it has to be remembered that the monitorial system has been an Indian tradition in origin. It was practised universally in the indigenous elementary schools. In these schools, the teacher gave his personal attention to different pupils or groups of pupils successively; and while he was engaged with one group,

* P. R. Cole: *The Rural School in Australia*, pp. 207-208.

the other groups of pupils were kept busy, either with some assignment or more particularly by asking the monitors or senior pupils to teach the less advanced ones. Several forms of the monitorial system were in vogue. In one form, a monitor would be in charge of a small group of pupils for a particular subject ; in another, the monitors would be in charge of two or three pupils in all subjects ; and in a third, the boys were paired off and every junior boy was attracted to a senior boy who was responsible to see that he makes adequate progress and to assist him in learning. The system first came to the notice of Rev. Dr. Andrew Bell, Chaplain of Madras, who was so impressed by its effectiveness that he introduced it in England where it came to be known as the monitorial or the Madras system. From England, the system travelled to European countries on the one hand and to British colonies in America or Australia and New Zealand on the other. The use of this method was later abandoned in England because the single-teacher schools mostly disappeared. In the single-teacher schools of U.S.A., Australia, New Zealand and continental countries like Sweden and Switzerland, the method still survives and is largely practised and regarded as a useful and sound educational technique. In India, on the other hand, we have come to despise the method under the influence of a British tradition which is not at all applicable to our conditions. It is time that we reinstated this system in our single-teacher schools and provided proper instruction in its use in our training institutions.

Self-instruction : One of the most significant developments in modern education is the increasing emphasis that is now placed upon self-instruction by pupils. In a single-teacher school, the main difficulty is that the teacher can give a limited attention to each pupil and the total attention given by a teacher to a pupil in the course of a school day is much less than what is given in a situation where a teacher is in charge of one class only. But this ceases to be a disadvantage if we consider that self-instruction by a pupil is even better than his being spoon-fed by the teacher. Of course, in the lower classes (that is in classes I and II), the method of self-instruction cannot be used very largely, but in the upper classes (classes III and V), it can be used largely and effectively. The general suggestion, therefore, is that a person in charge of a single-

teacher school should devote more personal attention to classes I and II and that he should utilize self-instruction techniques to a larger extent in classes III and IV. Where this is actually done, as in the schools of Australia, the results are encouraging. The Australian educationists and administrators claim that the work in single-teacher schools can give excellent results, that pupils trained to rely to a larger extent on their own initiative receive an education which is superior to that given in a large class through collective methods; that the average parent in Australia does not regard enrolment in a single-teacher school as a handicap for his child; and that, in some cases, it is even looked upon as a privilege to be sought and competed for. Even in this respect, therefore, it will be seen that there is a need to reorientate our educational thinking which is most commonly based on the conditions prevailing in large urban schools and to modify it suitably for the requirements of single-teacher schools.

Syllabus: The syllabus also poses an important problem. One view is that the present syllabus, which is drawn up on the assumption that a teacher will be in charge of one class only, cannot be satisfactorily taught in single-teacher schools. It is, therefore, suggested that a separate and simpler syllabus should be prepared for single-teacher schools. This was also done in some areas, as in the old Bombay State. The results obtained, however, were not encouraging. The preparation of a simpler syllabus for the single-teacher schools implies a certain inferiority which is largely objected to, and rightly, by the parents. It also places the children from these schools at a handicap if they want to proceed further to middle or secondary schools. It is not also necessary to do so. What the single-teacher schools need is not a separate or a simpler syllabus, but a different organization of the syllabus. If this can be done on the lines indicated above, the need for a separate syllabus will disappear. In U.S.A., and Australia, it is a common practice to issue handbooks for the guidance of persons in charge of single-teacher schools, containing detailed instructions regarding the manner in which they can reorganize the general curriculum to meet their special needs. In these publications, no attempt is made to dictate any specified methods of reorganization; but a wealth of reorganized material is

placed at the teacher's disposal and he is allowed the freedom to invent, add or alter it according to his inclinations and capacities. In India, such handbooks are conspicuous by their absence and their production would be an important programme for improving the instruction in single-teacher schools.

These new techniques of teaching in single-teacher schools need four essential factors for their successful adoption: (1) a large classroom area which would enable the teacher to divide his pupils into a number of small groups which can work by themselves; (2) plenty of equipment, especially that which can be used for self-instruction techniques; (3) adequate training of teachers; and (4) provision of competent guidance through inspecting officers. The success of the instruction in single-teacher schools will depend mainly upon the extent to which we provide these basic requirements.

Administrative Problems

Finally, a brief reference may be made to some administrative problems of single-teacher schools. The first and the most important of these is to make arrangements for holding the school when the teacher is away on short leave. In a multi-teacher school, even if one or two teachers go on leave, the work of the absentees is distributed among the other members of the staff and the school is not required to be closed. But if the teacher goes on leave in a single-teacher school, the institution just comes to a standstill. A method has, therefore, to be developed under which it would be possible to appoint a substitute teacher immediately in all cases when the person in charge of a single-teacher school proceeds on leave.

If the leave applied for by the teacher is long, say, more than 30 days, it is generally possible to appoint a substitute. But in a leave of shorter duration, the appointment of a substitute becomes difficult and generally the school remains closed. Three proposals can be made to overcome this difficulty. The first is to attach leave reserve teachers to the inspecting officer in charge of the single-teacher schools so that they could be immediately posted whenever a person in charge of a single-teacher school proceeds on leave. The second is to send a teacher from a neighbouring big

school to work in the single-teacher school until arrangements for the appointment of a substitute can be made. This method does not involve any additional expenditure; but it merely transfers the inconvenience from the single-teacher school to a multi-teacher school which is in a better position to bear it. The third method is to approve a panel of one or more local persons who may remain in charge of the school in the short absence of the teacher. Payment at fixed rates should be made to such persons and the teachers should be instructed to hand over charge of the school to one of them while proceeding on leave. These local persons may not be highly educated or trained; but they would be of help in keeping the school going with some order. Where the monitorial system is successfully adopted, it is often found that the senior pupils keep the school going fairly satisfactorily for short periods in the occasional absence of the teacher on leave.

The posting of teachers to single-teacher schools also deserves some consideration. These schools are generally located in out-of-the-way villages where conditions of life are rather hard. It is, therefore, natural that teachers are unwilling to work in single-teacher schools for a very long time. One good rule to be adopted, therefore, is that every teacher should be expected to put in at least three years of service in a single-teacher school. It should be a practice to appoint a teacher, early in his service, to a single-teacher school, say, within a year or two of his being trained. At this time, the teacher is young, can bear hardships more cheerfully and does not generally have grown up children whose education presents problems. After such posting, the teacher should not be disturbed for a period of about three years and then he should be transferred to a bigger school. If such a system of rotation, where every teacher puts in a specified period of service in a single-teacher school in the earlier part of his career is adopted, the quality of work in single-teacher schools will considerably improve. What happens today is that some teachers are posted for years together in single-teacher schools; others are never posted there; and some are transferred to these schools late in their service when they desire to be posted in bigger villages for the middle school or secondary education of their children. It is this arbitrariness in postings that makes the single-teacher schools unpopular with the

teachers and, therefore, less efficient. It is highly desirable to evolve a proper policy in this regard.

It is obvious that teaching in a single-teacher school is more difficult than in a multi-teacher school. It is, therefore, desirable to appoint only trained and somewhat experienced teachers to single-teacher schools. As the Rajasthan study showed, untrained or even unqualified teachers are frequently appointed to these institutions. Very often, a teacher is transferred to a single-teacher school by way of punishment. These are highly undesirable administrative practices.

General Conclusions

It will be seen from the foregoing account that single-teacher schools exist in our educational system in very large numbers and that they will continue to exist so long as small habitations remain. A programme of eliminating the single-teacher schools is, therefore, unworkable; and it would be far better to concentrate on an effective programme of improvement of these institutions.

Such improvement can be secured if special techniques required for the organization of instruction in single-teacher schools are evolved and popularised. The evolution of these techniques needs competent and extensive research. Unfortunately, very little research has been done in this field in India. The problem, therefore, needs high priority and will have to be taken up early by the National Council of Educational Research and Training and the proposed State Institutes of Education. What is needed is conducting experimental single-teacher schools under competent research workers with a view to trying out different techniques of teaching suited to single-teacher schools. These experimental schools may be conducted, either independently or in connection with training institutions for elementary teachers.

For popularising the techniques that would be so discovered, special arrangements will have to be made for the training of teachers of single-teacher schools. At present, very little emphasis is placed in training institutions on these special techniques. It is, however, necessary to orientate every elementary school teacher in the special methods of instruction suited to single-teacher schools. For

this purpose, the subject has to be included prominently in the curriculum of training institutions. Suitable handbooks and textbooks in regional languages will have to be prepared for the guidance of teacher-educators.

As has been pointed out, these new techniques necessarily need larger classrooms and more equipment and teaching aids and steps would have to be taken to provide these to all the single-teacher schools.

Research in Elementary Education

Research is one of the most potent tools of reform in education. It enables the teachers and administrators to identify and understand educational problems, to devise appropriate solutions for them and to evaluate the effectiveness of different educational programmes. The development of research in elementary education is, therefore, badly needed if standards have to be improved.

Unfortunately, research in elementary education is still in its infancy. The reasons are not far to seek. Educational research itself is comparatively new in India. Attention to its significance was first drawn by the Government Resolution on Educational Policy, 1913, and more particularly by the Calcutta University Commission, 1917-19. Training colleges and university departments of education are the main institutions where such research can be expected to grow. But training colleges in India began to be established only towards the end of the nineteenth century and the university departments of education began later still in the third decade of the twentieth century. For a number of years, the functions of these institutions were mainly restricted to the preparation of teachers, and degrees in educational research were not instituted for a long time. By 1947, only 5 universities had instituted degrees in educational research and the total number of theses or dissertations approved by them was 153 only. Outside the universities and training colleges, a few individuals carried out some research work on their own; but the total volume of this research was extremely small, due partly to lack of recognition of its significance. The development of educational research in India is, therefore, very recent, and the bulk of whatever educational research has been done so far is in the post-independence period.

Within education itself, the problems of elementary education have received very little attention because the university departments of education and the training colleges have mainly concerned themselves with the problems of secondary education.

There is also a general feeling that the problems of elementary education are extremely simple and that they do not need the exertions of the best mind or high level research. University teachers who have specialised in elementary education and can guide research into its problems, are very few. Elementary teachers are not intellectually competent to undertake research in problems of elementary education, and outside their field, very few persons are interested in elementary education as such. For instance, an examination of all the researches done in connection with Indian University degrees till 1961 shows that, out of 83 theses for the Ph.D. degree, only 6 related to elementary education. Out of 114 theses for the M.Ed. degree, only 18 related to elementary education ; and out of 2744 dissertations for the M.Ed. degree, only 238 related to elementary education.

This situation has to be altered very early. Research in the different problems of elementary education should be organized. Competent persons should be induced to specialise in problems of elementary education and special institutions should be established for developing educational research in general and that in elementary education in particular. This would be a major programme of action during the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans and the success of the programme of providing free and compulsory education of a high standard to all the children in the age-group 6-14 will largely depend upon the extent and quality of the research work that can be developed in elementary education during the next few years.

The main object of this chapter is to indicate the broad areas and problems of elementary education in which research is urgently needed. It is neither possible nor necessary to suggest detailed designs for the research projects proposed.

The Problem of Small Villages or Habitations

The problem of providing school facilities in small villages or habitations where the total population is less than 200 is of great importance. It has been suggested that education can be taken to these areas only through three programmes: (i) a suitable grouping of the villages so as to make it economically possible to establish a common school for them ; (ii) peripatetic teachers ; and (iii) residen-

tial schools. The last of these is probably the most effective but the costliest of the solutions. Research will, therefore, have to be carried out to exploit the possibilities of the first two methods to the full. In particular, the experiment of peripatetic schools will have to be carefully developed and special methods of teaching which the organization of these schools demand will have to be evolved.*

Problems of Enrolment

One of the major objectives of a programme of elementary education is to enrol every child in the age-group 6-14 into schools. Research is, therefore, necessary to find out the main causes of non-enrolment and to discover the methods of overcoming them. The following research projects are essential in this context:

(a) *Studies of Non-attending Children* : It is necessary to find out who the non-attending children are, how they are utilizing their time at present, the causes that prevent their enrolment in schools and the manner in which an educational programme could be organized for them, either on a whole-time or part-time basis. For this purpose, studies of non-attending children will have to be organized in selected areas in all parts of the country. Lists of non-attending children will have to be first prepared by moving from house to house. For each non-attending child, full data will have to be collected regarding his family, social and economic background, the nature of work which he does for the family at present and the time during which he is engaged in it from day to day. The causes of his non-enrolment will have to be examined in detail and, in consultation with the parent, a suitable programme will have to be drawn up regarding the manner in which the child can be sent to school, without greatly upsetting the work he is doing for the family. What happens at present is that we offer only a full-time school (which functions for five to six hours a day) to all the children and ask them to take it or leave it. This mechanical and inelastic approach has to be replaced by a sympathetic understanding of the economic needs of the family and by a readiness to adjust the working hours of the school to the work which a child has to do for his family.

* See Chapter 6.

(b) *Absenteeism* : It is not enough to have a child enrolled in school. He must also be made to attend regularly and must be present in school for about 80 per cent of the days and sessions on which the school is open. In actual practice, it is found that the attendance of children in elementary schools is very irregular. Unfortunately, no attention has been paid to this problem so far and we have little or no data regarding the average number of days on which a child attends school in an academic year and the manner in which the regularity of his attendance varies from one season to another. In order to obtain a clear idea of the problem, it will be necessary to organize studies into absenteeism of pupils. Each state may select some areas for study of the problem on a random sample basis and watch the attendance of each child from day-to-day and the variations caused in it at different times of the year. The causes of such absenteeism would also have to be studied separately for each individual case. These studies will provide enough data on the nature of absenteeism and its causes and will also suggest a programme of remedial action.

In particular, it will often be noticed in rural areas, that the absenteeism of children increases considerably when the agricultural season is in full swing and the help of the children is required by the family. Studies in absenteeism will enable the administration to ascertain the nature of the problems and to adjust school vacations to the demands of the agricultural seasons.*

(c) *Wastage and Stagnation* : It is not enough to enrol a child into school and to see that he attends regularly from day to day. We have also to see that he progresses regularly from class to class and is not withdrawn from school till he completes the compulsory age or the elementary course. In other words, we have to eliminate, or reduce to the minimum, the twin evils of wastage and stagnation.

Some research has been done, particularly in Maharashtra, regarding the extent of wastage and stagnation. These preliminary studies have clarified the nature of the problem and evolved some useful concepts for future research. But no such research has been done in other parts of India and, in particular, no work has

* See Chapter 7.

been done regarding the causes of stagnation and wastage and the extent to which each cause operates.

For this purpose, we have to organize detailed studies of the problem in all parts of the country. A fairly large sample of students will have to be selected, on a random basis, in each selected area and the case of each pupil will have to be studied from the time he enters the elementary school to the time when he leaves it or completes the elementary course. This case study should show the family, social and economic background of the pupil, his attendance at school from year to year, his progress in studies and the results of his annual promotions, the total time spent in the school, the stage of leaving the school, and the causes for each failure as well as for premature withdrawal from school, if any. The value of these studies will depend mainly on their depth so that the causes of stagnation or wastage will have to be ascertained, after a very careful enquiry, with the school teachers, parents and the pupils themselves. If such studies are carried out with fairly large samples—5 to 10 thousand pupils in each selected area—a good deal of useful data would be available regarding the causes of wastage and stagnation and they will enable us to devise a suitable programme of reform. Needless to say, these studies will also have to be repeated from time to time so that the progress made in the reduction of these evils could be watched.*

(d) *Part-time Education*: In the economic conditions that now prevail in the country, it will not be possible for large numbers of children, especially those belonging to the poorer families, to attend school on a whole-time basis as they are required to do some work in or for the family. This inability becomes more accentuated as the children grow older and particularly in the age-group 9 or 10 to 14. It is, therefore, necessary to provide part-time education for such children and to adjust school hours in such a way that it will not interfere materially with the work that they do for their family. It is estimated that such part-time instruction may have to be provided, in the Fourth and the Fifth Plans, to about 25 to 30 per cent of the total number of children in the age-group 11-14.

Very little work on this problem has been done so far. Studies are needed for evolving curricula and special methods of teaching

* See Chapter 8.

for part-time education. A good deal of experimental work is also necessary to find out the difficulties which these institutions will have to face and the manner in which they could be overcome. Orientation of teachers in the techniques suited to these institutions is another problem that needs investigation.

(e) *Special Groups*: Problems (a) to (d) described above are particularly relevant in the case of girls and children from the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. In all such studies, therefore, it will be necessary to make special investigations regarding them.*

(f) *Handicapped Children*: The handicapped children form a small but significant group whose education is very little developed at present. A number of studies are required to make progress in this sector. We have little or no data on the size of the problem so that sample surveys for ascertaining the proportion of handicapped children will have to be conducted in different parts of the country. The existing schools for the handicapped children are very costly and methods of reducing this cost will have to be found. It is possible to educate certain groups of handicapped children in the ordinary schools by providing some special equipment and giving a special orientation to the teachers. This will obviate the necessity of increasing the number of special schools and reduce costs. Research and experiments will, however, have to be done to evolve proper techniques for educating the handicapped children in common schools and in orientating the teachers of the ordinary schools to use these special methods and techniques.**

Teachers

A number of problems relating to teachers need detailed examination. Hardly any studies are available to show the social backgrounds from which the elementary teachers come and the common motivations which make a person choose teaching in an elementary school as a profession. Only a few small-scale studies are available to throw light on the economic conditions and academic life of the elementary teachers. It is, therefore, necessary to organize fairly large-scale random sample studies, in all parts of India, for under-

* See Chapters 9 and 10.

** See Chapter 11.

standing the social, economic and academic life of the elementary school teachers, their motivations, the common difficulties they have to face, and the manner in which they can be best assisted to lead a better social life and to improve their academic status.

The selection of teachers for admission to training institutions and their recruitment to the profession is another area in which research is needed and can be very fruitful. At present, the methods of selection or recruitment vary largely from state to state. But the most common element in the selection or recruitment procedures is to take into consideration the marks obtained in the last school leaving and/or teacher training examination, and also the performance at an interview before a committee which generally consists of officials and non-officials. In some cases, tests are also held and their results are taken into consideration in the final selection. But, by and large, the selection and recruitment procedures tend to be either too mechanical and related almost exclusively to the performance in the school leaving examination or too subjective and too largely influenced by an 'interview' whose character remains far too nebulous. No tests of successful teaching competence have been devised or are ever used. A number of studies are, therefore, needed in this sector. To begin with, even a comparative study of the existing selection or recruitment practices would be of great use and, by throwing light on the merits and demerits of each practice, would pave the way for their improvement in the future. Research is also needed for determining the qualities that make for successful teaching and for evolving objective tests for their measurement.

Research also needs to be developed in regard to the evaluation of the training programmes that we conduct at present and to ascertain their effectiveness. Most of our training programmes have been organized on an *ad hoc* basis, as a result of the labours of committees which have reported from time to time. But no attempt has been made to evaluate them scientifically. Our curricula for teacher-training tend to get over-burdened. But do they really include all that is essential or is everything included in them really worthwhile? Do we utilize the right methods of teacher training or what is the effectiveness of the methods that we actually use? Are the objectives of teacher-training clearly defined and known to

the teacher educators and teacher trainees? To what extent are these objectives being realized? How do the teacher trainees react to the programmes of teacher education devised at present? These and several other allied questions need answers and they can only be provided by carefully conducted research to assess the efficiency of the teachers before and after training and into the effectiveness of the different programmes of teacher education.

Research into the different aspects of the service conditions of teachers is also badly needed. In particular, careful and detailed studies are needed in regard to the practices followed at present in the postings and transfers of teachers with a view to evolving equitable and practical solutions to guide the authorities entrusted with these responsibilities. The intellectual isolation which prevents elementary teachers, especially those working in rural areas, from keeping in touch with the latest thought in the field has to be broken and a good deal of work is needed to develop suitable techniques for the purpose. Other problems that need investigation are the work load of elementary teachers, their involvement with local politics, the common pressures to which elementary teachers are subject and the relationship of teachers to the functionaries of other departments working in rural areas.*

Curricula, Teaching Methods, Textbooks and Reading Materials

There is almost an infinite scope for the development of research in devising curricula and teaching methods for elementary schools and in regard to the preparation of textbooks and other reading materials needed by elementary school children.

There are hardly any studies relating to the development of Indian children and our knowledge of the subject is at present derived mainly from studies conducted in Western countries. Although a good deal of this is applicable to India, there are significant differences as well due to differences in climate, race, food and social environment. A precise knowledge of the development of Indian children would be of great use for evolving appropriate curricula and teaching methods. For this purpose, longitudinal studies of children from birth to 18 years of age will have to be conducted in all parts of the country.

* See Chapters 13 and 14.

Very little scientific work has been done on curriculum construction so far. During the last 60 years, the curricula of elementary schools have been revised from time to time and each revision has made them bulkier than before. It is now necessary to systematically analyse the existing curricula and to eliminate all the redundant and inert information or programmes included in them as well as to incorporate several essential matters that have been left out at present, with a view to making them more meaningful to children at the particular stage of their development. A proper grading of the different units of the curricula and their sequential arrangement according to classes also needs considerable attention.

The development of proper techniques of teaching in elementary schools has not yet received adequate attention, owing mainly to the fact that the training institutions for elementary teachers are not generally of the standard to undertake competent research in this field and the university departments of education and training colleges, which have the competence to undertake the studies if they so desire, have not interested themselves in elementary education. The teaching of the mother tongue and in particular, the teaching of reading, needs a good deal of research. In England and America, a good deal of research has been done in the teaching of reading. But this is related to the English language which has special problems of spelling and a very simple script. It is not, therefore, quite applicable to Indian languages which are phonetic in character but have a script with numerous characters. Original research in the teaching of reading of the Indian languages will, therefore, have to be undertaken. Similarly, good methods for teaching arithmetic, social studies, general science, arts and crafts at the elementary stage will also have to be developed.

Research is also needed for preparing standard vocabularies in all Indian languages for use in elementary schools. For this purpose, the recognition and reproduction vocabularies of children in the different age-groups will have to be compiled and lists of words most commonly used will have to be prepared in all the Indian languages. These will be of great assistance to writers of textbooks and to teachers.

Reading interests of children have not been studied on an adequate scale. A good deal of research in this field is necessary,

especially for planning the supplementary reading material for children.

Very little work has been done so far in preparing guide books for the use of teachers in elementary schools. Such guide books are urgently needed on problems relating to child psychology and development in order to enable them to understand children better and to deal more efficiently with their problems, for the teaching of all the different subjects included in the curriculum, for extra-curricular activities, for general organization of elementary schools and such other related matters. These will have to be prepared in all the Indian languages and their use popularised through the training institutions.

The problems of single-teacher schools need special attention and a good deal of experimental work has to be undertaken to develop good methods of teaching which are specially suitable to these institutions.

Methods of teaching suited to large-size classes have to be evolved on financial grounds because classes of large size seem to be inescapable in the near future. The methods of teaching which are now dealt with in training institutions are mainly applicable to small sized classes and this creates problems when teachers trained in these methods are required to face huge classes. It is, therefore, essential to evolve proper methods of handling bigger classes. This research has a very high priority and if properly developed, it will yield very significant and useful results.*

Physical Facilities and Ancillary Services

At present, very little data is available regarding building costs in elementary education. Random sample studies will, therefore, have to be conducted in all states to ascertain the extent to which satisfactory building accommodation is provided at present to elementary schools and the additional accommodation needed to meet the needs of existing enrolment. Such studies will enable us to determine the approximate expenditure required for bringing all the elementary schools to the prescribed minimum standards in respect of buildings. Similarly, we have very little data about the building

* See Chapters 15 and 19.

costs per pupil in different parts of the country. For this purpose, type designs will have to be prepared for buildings of all types, from single-teacher schools in small villages to multi-teacher schools in big towns and cities, and the cost per pupil for building construction would have to be worked out in detail for all the different conditions one generally comes across. Studies on the same lines will also have to be carried out to prepare standardized lists of equipment required by elementary schools of all types, the extent to which existing elementary schools are adequately provided with equipment and the additional expenditure that would be necessary in order to bring all the existing elementary schools to a prescribed minimum standard in regard to equipment.

Studies are also needed to determine the capital costs involved in the establishment of training institutions for elementary teachers. The details will have to be worked out separately for buildings (including classrooms, hostels, staff quarters, craft sheds, administrative offices, gymnasium etc.) and equipment (including furniture for the school and the hostel, library, laboratory, teaching aids and craft materials).

It is also necessary to conduct research in the proper designing of buildings and in evolving new methods of construction and in the economic use of materials with a view to reducing the capital cost per pupil. The Central Building Research Institute of the Roorkee University has done a good deal of useful work on this subject. The COPP Team on School Buildings has also made important recommendations ; but considerably more research is needed in the field and the problem has to be studied in all the different climatic and local conditions that exist in the country. Since a large-scale building programme will have to be taken up in the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans, research in this sector will have to be given the highest priority. It will also lead to significant and useful results.

Hardly any work has been done in designing suitable and economic equipment and teaching aids for schools. It is necessary to examine this matter immediately because a programme to provide adequate equipment to all elementary schools will have to be given the highest priority in the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans. Methods will also have to be evolved for preparing as much of this

material as possible in educational institutions themselves through the introduction of productive work in schools and colleges. Here is another area where research would have a significant and immediately useful role to play.*

Experimental research work is needed in developing health services for elementary schools. On financial grounds, the costs of this scheme will have to be kept down to the minimum. There is also a great shortage of technical personnel. Methods will, therefore, have to be evolved to train elementary teachers in providing health services in such a way that the maximum use could be made of the limited number of doctors available. More emphasis will have to be placed on the preventive aspects of the problem and teachers will have to be trained for this. Scientific surveys and studies of the health problems of children will have to be carried out from time to time and in different parts of the country with a view to making school health programme efficient, effective and economic. For instance, the School Health Committee has pointed out that we have to undertake surveys and investigations (1) to obtain detailed knowledge of health and disease in the school population in different areas of the country with reference to incidence, prevalence of morbidity and mortality and other data related to the epidemiology of specific diseases and defects; (2) community understanding of and participation in problems and programmes of school health and school meals; (3) evaluation of different procedures used in school health programme to determine the effect of the school meals programme on growth and development, social adjustment, emotional reaction and food practices followed at home, and to develop suitable minimum standards of sanitary facilities, local nutrition requirements, health teaching and training of personnel.

Research and experimental work will also have to be undertaken with a view to ascertaining and lengthening the average life of textbooks, and programmes would have to be evolved with the object of providing books and reading materials to all children in elementary schools at a minimum financial cost and with the minimum demands on the supplies of paper.**

* See Chapter 16.

** See Chapter 18.

Administration, Supervision and Finance

The administrative and financial issues of elementary education are extremely important ; and yet they have received very little attention so far. This is, therefore, a very significant area for research.

The existing system of supervision is largely ineffective. Studies will, therefore, have to be carried out to ascertain the manner in which it is functioning at present and to determine the several points at which wastage results. Research is also needed to evolve democratic and scientific methods of supervision and working with teachers and for training the supervisors adequately in their new role of the friend, philosopher and guide of teachers.*

The administration of elementary education involves a very large number of functions. Some of these, such as the maintenance of a school building, are extremely simple ; while others, such as equalisation of educational opportunities at the national level, are extremely complex. Research is needed to study each separate function involved in the administration of elementary education to determine the most effective and economical methods of performing it and to decide the level (village, block, district, state or Centre) at which it can be best performed.

The basic issues in the administration of elementary education are three: (i) The financial responsibility for elementary education has to be *centralised*, and apart from the parent, the local, State and the Central Governments have to share the burden ; (ii) the administrative responsibility for elementary education has to be *decentralised* so that, in the final analysis, the responsibilities at the local level become the heaviest and those at the national level, the least ; and (iii) this imbalance between centralisation of financial responsibility on the one hand and decentralisation of administrative responsibility on the other, should be adjusted through a suitable system of grant-in-aid which transfers funds from the higher to the lower levels. This complex problem raises innumerable issues which need detailed investigation.

It is essential that the elementary school should become a real community centre. For this purpose, the functioning of the school

* See Chapter 17.

has to be so oriented that it would best assist in the development of an overall reconstruction programme of the local community. On the other hand, a local organization of adult public has also to be built up and charged with the responsibility of looking after the needs and development of the local elementary school. This programme will have to be developed intensively during the next 10 years and research is, therefore, essential in school-community relations and for evolving suitable techniques of taking the school closer to the community and for training teachers and the local leaders.

Very little work has been done so far in the costing of elementary education. In the last analysis, it is the cost per pupil of the programme as a whole that matters most ; but this itself is dependent on a large number of factors such as salaries and allowances of teachers, the components of various non-teacher costs and capital expenditure involved in providing buildings and equipment. The precise manner in which all these factors operate, the areas where avoidable wastages occur and the manner in which they can be prevented, and the methods by which the best results can be attained with the minimum of financial investment have to be studied. In view of the limited resources available, these programmes which try to increase efficiency, reduce costs and stop leakages will obviously have a very high priority.*

General Conclusions

A few of the major issues in elementary education in which research could be immediately developed with advantage have been indicated above. This is, by no means, an exhaustive list and it covers only a fraction of the total volume of research needed. This exercise would, however, have served its purpose if it indicates a few areas of priority and also suggests their connection with the vast programme of developing elementary education that would have to be undertaken during the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans with a view to fulfilling the Directive of Article 45 of the Constitution.

* See Chapters 21 to 25.

Government should be responsible for providing the necessary conditions for the realization of the right to education. This includes the provision of financial resources, the training of teachers, and the development of educational institutions. The government should also ensure that the educational system is accessible to all, regardless of social and economic status. The role of the government is to create an environment in which education can flourish and to ensure that the needs of all students are met.

General Comments
The Committee is concerned that the Government has not taken sufficient measures to ensure the realization of the right to education. It notes that the educational system is facing significant challenges, including a shortage of teachers, inadequate funding, and a lack of access to quality education for all. The Committee urges the Government to take immediate action to address these issues and to ensure that the right to education is fully realized for all.

It is to be observed that it would be useful to have more information on the progress of the Government in implementing the recommendations of the Committee. The Committee is particularly concerned about the lack of progress in the area of teacher training and the provision of financial resources. It urges the Government to provide more detailed information on the steps it has taken to address these issues and to ensure that the right to education is fully realized for all.

SECTION FOUR

Administration and Finance

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This Section is devoted to the discussion of the administrative and financial aspects of elementary education. Chapter 21 examines the role of the central, state and local governments and voluntary organisations in expanding and improving elementary education. Chapter 22 deals with the concept of democratic decentralization under which the administration of elementary education is now being transferred to Panchayati Raj institutions and discusses the *pros* and *cons* of the proposal. Chapter 23 deals with the problem of finance, including such aspects as the total cost of elementary education, priority accorded to elementary education *vis-à-vis* other sectors and methods of improving the utilization of available resources. Chapters 24 and 25 deal with the important problem of legislation for compulsory education and techniques for the enforcement of compulsory attendance.

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CHAPTER 21

The Role of the Central, State and Local Governments and Voluntary Agencies

Article 45 of the Constitution lays down that the state shall endeavour to provide free and compulsory education for all children till they reach the age of 14 years. The word 'State' occurring in this Article is defined in Article 12 to include 'the Government and Parliament of India, and all local or other authorities within the territory of India or under the control of the Government of India'. It is, therefore, evident that the framers of the Constitution visualized the task of universal elementary education as the joint responsibility of the Union, the states and the local bodies. Besides, it is inherent in the very nature of democracy which we have adopted, both as a way of life and as a system of Government, that the parents of children and local communities should also voluntarily strive for the improvement of elementary education and be suitably associated with the administration of its programmes. Consequently, elementary education will have to be provided and developed through the governmental activities of the Centre, states and local bodies and the voluntary exertion of the local communities and parents. One of the most important problems in the administration of elementary education, therefore, is the determination of the appropriate roles of all these official and non-official agencies and to coordinate them.

I. THE ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Under Entry 11 of the list of 'State' functions appended to the Constitution, education is a state subject except to the extent provided for in the lists of 'Union' or 'concurrent' functions. In none of these is there any reference to elementary education. The strictly legal position, therefore, is that elementary education is exclusively a state subject and that the Centre has no direct responsibility for it. While this is technically correct, there are

several arguments to show that the Government of India has an *indirect* but *significant* responsibility for elementary education. The first of these has been referred to already—the implication of Article 45 which requires ‘the Government and Parliament of India’ also to strive for the provision of free and compulsory education. The second is the fundamental responsibility of a Federal Government to maintain an equitable standard of social services in all parts of the country. Universal elementary education is the most significant social service. But owing to inequalities in social, political and economic conditions, it will not be possible for all the states to provide this service at a comparable standard. Consequently, it becomes the responsibility of the Centre to see that every state does provide a minimum of free education to all children on a compulsory basis. Still another reason in support of the argument is the existing allocation of financial resources between the Centre and the states. The resources vested in the states under the Constitution are so meagre that, left to themselves, they will never be able to provide this costliest of social services to the public unless Central grants for the purpose are liberally made available.

What could or should the Government of India do for elementary education? Here is a tentative answer:

(a) The Centre can act as a clearing house and a coordinating agency in respect of elementary education (as in respect of every other sector of education).

(b) It can develop a programme of significant and fundamental research in elementary education to assist state governments in improving the quality of elementary education.

(c) It can conduct pilot projects which can be generalized by the states.

(d) It can try to level out the differences between the different states in respect of elementary education or, in other words, try to provide equality of educational opportunity to every child. For this purpose, it will have to fix the minimum targets to be reached by each state and assist the weaker states in achieving these targets.

(e) It can provide financial assistance in such a way that the weaker or less advanced states will be able to catch up with the

forward states or at least reduce the large discrepancies that exist at present between them and the advanced states in respect of elementary education.

Of these five functions, the first is the least significant but an inherent function of a federal government. The second and the third will enable the Centre to 'provide leadership'. The most important of all these functions are (d) and (e) whose object is to provide equality of educational opportunity as between one state or area and another.

It may be pointed out that there is no other agency which can perform this function of equalizing educational opportunities. The first function can be done by the states themselves on a cooperative basis. The second and third can be done by any number of academic bodies such as teachers organizations, State Institutes of Education, and universities. But equalization of educational opportunities as between one state or area and another can only be done by a higher authority in administration, *i.e.*, the Government of India.

In this context, it may be pointed out that, when the responsibility of education rests on the family, inequalities develop at the family level and can be equalised only if a higher level, *i.e.*, a local authority for a given area, takes over the responsibility and assists poorer families to receive education. But very soon, inequalities develop at the local level also, some local bodies taxing themselves more and yet having a lower standard of education, while others, with a smaller tax effort, can manage to have a better standard. Such a situation can be improved only if the responsibility for elementary education is taken up one step higher, *i.e.*, at the state level, and the state assists weaker local bodies to get ahead. But even at this stage, it is soon found that inequalities develop at the state level. These can be cured only if the responsibility for elementary education is taken up higher still, to the Central Government, and the latter develops a programme of assisting the weaker states to forge ahead.

This theoretical view can also be supported by a historical analysis. Between 1833 and 1870, elementary education (like every other sector) was a Central responsibility. In the decentralisation introduced in 1870, elementary education became a provin-

cial responsibility ; but the Centre did continue to have certain supervisory powers, and also assigned revenues for elementary education as a whole. Between 1901 and 1921, it also sanctioned large *ad hoc* grants for education over and above the usual contract grant for education as a whole. It was only in 1921 that the Government of India became divorced from most of education, including elementary education. But the Central interest in education was again revived in 1935 and has continually been increasing ever since. Even the Central grants to education in general and elementary education in particular, were revived with the First Plan. It will thus be seen that Central interest in elementary education was always active, except for the short period between 1921 and 1935, and that Central grants for education and elementary education have always been in existence except for the short period between 1921 and 1947. To expect the Centre to play an active role in elementary education and especially to equalize educational opportunities between states is, therefore, nothing new. It is merely the consummation of an activity which has been in existence for most of the time.

II. THE ROLE OF THE STATE GOVERNMENTS

Under the Constitution, education is a state responsibility. Elementary education, therefore, is essentially a responsibility of the state government subject only to two reservations: the role assigned to the federal government on the one hand, and the responsibilities which the state government itself may choose to delegate to local authorities. In practice, therefore, the nature of the responsibility for elementary education assumed at the state level varies largely from state to state. At one extreme is a state like Punjab or Kerala, both of which have made little devolution of authority to local bodies and are administering elementary education directly. At the other extreme are states like Maharashtra, Rajasthan or Andhra Pradesh which have transferred very large powers over elementary education to local bodies. There is also a considerable variation in the nature of local bodies to which authority over elementary education is devolved: in some areas, as in Maharashtra, the authority is devolved both on municipalities in urban areas and Zilla Parishads in

rural areas. In Rajasthan, the devolution is confined to rural areas only. Even in respect of rural areas, the devolution may be at the village level as in Assam, or at the block level as in Andhra Pradesh or at the district level as in Maharashtra. Obviously, the extent and nature of the devolution of authority depends, to some extent, upon the type of local authority to be entrusted with responsibility for elementary education.

In spite of these large variations it is possible to sum up the responsibility of the state governments for elementary education in the following broad terms:

(1) A state government has to find all the financial resources needed for elementary education. At the state level, elementary education is the single most expensive service to be provided to the people. This responsibility is subject only to two limitations: central grants that may be received from time to time, and the contributions raised by local bodies and voluntary agencies, if any.

(2) Legislating for elementary education is a state responsibility. The minimum legislation necessary is that required for the enforcement of compulsory attendance. If responsibility is to be transferred to local bodies, further legislation defining the extent and nature of this transfer is essential. All legislation on elementary education is thus a state function; but the authority for subordinate legislation in matters of detail may be left to local bodies.

(3) Supervision and inspection of elementary schools is a state function. Since the state provides the vast bulk of the funds required for elementary education and is responsible to account for it to the state legislature, it has to maintain an agency to supervise elementary schools in all cases where authority has not been transferred to local bodies. Even where authority over elementary education has been transferred, the state sometimes retains the full right to supervise and inspect elementary schools, as in Madras. In other cases, as in Maharashtra, where large powers over supervision have been transferred to Zilla Parishads, the state has still to maintain a supervising machinery of its own to watch over the manner in which the Zilla Parishads are discharging the functions transferred to them. Where they fail to do so, the state usually arms itself with the power to take over the delegated responsibilities.

(4) The state has large responsibilities for teachers even when local bodies are associated with the administration of elementary education. The training of elementary teachers has remained an exclusive state function and nowhere has it been transferred to local bodies. The states have also retained the right, in the interest of uniformity, to prescribe the remuneration and other service conditions of teachers. Where pension is provided to elementary teachers, the state generally takes over the responsibility to pay them as it has not been found practicable to institute separate pension funds for local bodies. The recruitment of teachers is sometimes done by the Public Services Commission and sometimes by authorities appointed by the state. Even when it is transferred to local bodies, the state retains the right to frame recruitment rules and to lay down the procedures for recruitment. In some cases, the teachers have rights of appeal to the state government in certain matters and are also eligible for promotion to certain cadres of government service.

(5) Prescription of curricula has been an exclusive state subject and nowhere has the authority been delegated to local bodies. Textbooks also are generally prescribed by the state government. Even when the authority is delegated to a local body, it carries severe limitations and only books approved by the state can be prescribed. Under the recent trend to take over the production of elementary school textbooks directly under the state, the production of textbooks is becoming an exclusive state function.

It may be pointed out that, when the responsibility for elementary education is transferred to local bodies, the state government has to take over to itself, in relation to the local bodies under its control, all those functions which the Centre has to perform in respect of the states: it has to act as a clearing house and coordinating agency; it has to provide leadership through training of staff, supervision, research and pilot projects; and it has to equalize educational opportunities by providing special assistance to the poorer and more backward local bodies.

It will thus be seen that the state governments have a supreme responsibility for elementary education and that, even when local bodies are made to share the burden, the residual responsibilities of the state are still large and of very great significance.

III. ROLE OF LOCAL BODIES

Perhaps the most controversial issue in the administration of elementary education is the role of local bodies. Controversies on this issue are not peculiar to India. They have been raised in several countries, both in the past and in the present.

Wanted—An Evaluation: It may also be mentioned that a number of different proposals are strongly advocated by different groups of thinkers. Some would have nothing to do with local control in the administration of elementary education while others advocate the exactly opposite view and would prefer to delegate full powers to local bodies and to trust them implicitly. A third group of thinkers would prefer the transfer of certain powers over elementary education to local bodies and would also like to impose a number of safeguards. The proposals made by this group are generally complex depending, as they do, on a number of variables: the functions to be decentralised, the level and type of the local bodies in whose favour the decentralisation is to be made, and the availability or otherwise of local leadership in the local bodies.

In India, these problems have been continuously discussed since 1882, when the Indian Education Commission first proposed a transfer of primary education to local control, and periods of intensive controversy have generally alternated with those of comparative quietude. For instance, the discussions were very active between 1882 and 1889 when the recommendations of the Indian Education Commission were being implemented. Then came another wave of discussion between 1918 and 1926 when the administration of elementary education was being largely transferred to local bodies under the Montague-Chelmsford proposals. They became active a third time between 1930 and 1937 when the Hartog Committee opined that the delegation of authority to local bodies had been excessive and detrimental to the interests of education. Controversies have again been revived after the Report of the Balwantrai Mehta Committee (1957) which proposed the experiment of democratic decentralisation and the transfer of the administration of elementary education to Panchayati Raj Institutions, preferably at the block level. It is idle to expect, in the light of this history, for these controversies to come to an early end or even for a uniform policy

to be adopted in the whole of India. Nevertheless, it may be desirable to evaluate all the available historical evidence on the subject and to suggest a broad framework of policy within which each state government may adjust its own programme in accordance with local conditions.

It may also be pointed out that studies in comparative education do not provide an adequate basis for policy making in this important sector. Both systems of administration of elementary education—the centralised system functioning directly under the state governments and the decentralised system operating through the local bodies—are found in different areas of the world, and strictly from the point of efficiency, both are functioning satisfactorily. U.S.A., for example, has a highly decentralised pattern of administration for elementary education while Australia has a centralised one. The question of decentralisation of authority to local bodies is not even connected with the concept of democracy, and a democratic country like Australia may have a highly centralised pattern for the administration of elementary education, while a communist country like the U.S.S.R. may decentralise its administration of elementary education very greatly to local authorities. International experience, therefore, may not guide one to a decision on the relevant issues involved and each country will have to decide for itself whether to decentralise administration of elementary education or not, in the light of local conditions. This is one reason why the problem becomes a little more difficult of solution and why, in a vast country like India, there can be a justification for the adoption of different policies in different states.

A historical analysis of the Indian traditions in this respect will show two specific trends which have grown up over more than 100 years. In the erstwhile British Indian Provinces, the policy adopted was in favour of creating local bodies at various levels, both in urban and rural areas, and entrusting them with a number of governmental functions including elementary education. This trend was due partly to the influence from England where local bodies were playing an important role in the administration of all local services including elementary education, and partly to the political need of associating the people with the government and entrusting them with certain responsibilities. The development of 'local-self-

government' institutions, in which the principle of democracy was introduced and powers transferred to the representatives of the people, became, therefore, an important political programme in British India. In transferring governmental functions to these institutions, the general principle adopted by the British Government was to transfer 'those in which Indians had shown keen interest, those which provided ample opportunities for social service, those in which mistakes were not likely to be made, and even if made were not likely to be fraught with great consequences.' Education, under this principle, was considered an ideal subject for transfer to Indian control. Even within education, there were several reservations and it was felt that it might not be desirable to transfer secondary or university education. But in so far as elementary education was concerned, it was regarded as the most innocuous activity which could be safely transferred to the people. The proposal was, therefore, put forward as early as 1882 by the Indian Education Commission and was implemented between 1882 and 1889. The association of local bodies with the administration of elementary education in the erstwhile British Indian Provinces is thus about 80 years old. On the other hand, the erstwhile princely states developed an entirely different tradition. Here the background influence was not of the democratic developments in England, but of the autocratic rule of the middle ages. Moreover, the political need of transferring governmental functions and authority to the people did not arise because the rulers themselves were Indians. No local authorities, therefore, grew up in the areas under the princely states and even when they were established in imitation of the development in the British Indian Provinces, they were more like departments of the state than democratic organizations of the people. In these areas, therefore, elementary education was generally developed directly under the control of the state and in the most educationally advanced princely states, such as Travancore, Cochin or Baroda or even in the less advanced of them such as Hyderabad or Gwalior, the local bodies had nothing to do with elementary education. These erstwhile British Indian Provinces became Part A States under the Constitution in 1950 and most of the princely states became Part B States in the same year. In Part A States, we had the tradition of local bodies administering elementary

education while in Part B States, exactly the opposite tradition prevailed and elementary education was administered directly by the state. In the post-independence period, when both these parts of India became subject to the same influence, the reactions have been rather mixed. In some of the erstwhile British Indian Provinces, as in the Punjab, a decision has been taken to transfer the administration of elementary education from the local bodies to the state; while in others, as in Maharashtra or Gujarat, the old tradition has been continued. In Part B States, Kerala has maintained the old tradition of administering elementary education directly under state control while Rajasthan has gone to the other extreme and introduced full-scale decentralisation. In a state like Bihar, local bodies have been retained but their powers over the administration of elementary education have been greatly curtailed; while in a state like Madras or Mysore, a restricted form of decentralisation, with a number of important safeguards, has been adopted. The two traditions, therefore, have mingled and created a situation where the position varies from state to state. This is another reason why a stage has now been reached when a full appraisal of the programme has become essential and urgent.

A Fundamental Issue

A number of issues have to be decided with reference to the appropriate role of the local bodies in education. The first is whether the local bodies should or should not be associated with the administration of elementary education. The main arguments in favour of the proposal are that such association stimulates local interest in elementary education and also assists in securing greater local support for its maintenance. In certain administrative functions like construction or maintenance of school buildings, purchase and upkeep of equipment, provision of mid-day meals, and supply of free books to poor and needy children, the association of local bodies or local communities has certain advantages from the point of view of quicker and more efficient service. The advantage of an enlightened local supervision over schools in improving standards is also admitted. On the other hand, there are serious disadvantages in the proposal as revealed in the practical experience of local control in elementary education in different parts of India

during the last 80 years. For instance, local bodies do not have adequate financial resources for elementary education and consequently the progress of elementary education is often hindered by its transfer to local control. The leadership now available at local levels is not sufficiently competent and experienced to deal satisfactorily with the varied and difficult problems of elementary education. But by far the most adverse effect is felt on the body of teachers. Local influences in this regard are very strong and frequent complaints are received to the effect that the appointments of teachers are not judicious, the transfers are too frequent, the provision for remuneration and old-age is inadequate and that discipline is undermined under the pressure of local politics. As against these arguments, it is pointed out that these difficulties are due, not to local control of education as such, but to inappropriate policies of grant-in-aid and the non-availability of proper leadership at the local level. The first of these causes can be administratively remedied. But the second is far too intractable. In deciding the question of transfer of responsibility in elementary education to local bodies, therefore, one has to weigh carefully these advantages and disadvantages and then take a final decision, the most important factor to be taken into consideration being the availability or otherwise of proper leadership at the local level.

It is at this point that the argument generally takes a different turn. A group of thinkers agree that the proper type of leadership is not available at the local level at present. But in spite of it, it proposes the adoption of local control in elementary education on the ground that it is through such experiments that the leadership at the local level can be trained and built up. They argue that there are no short cuts to the development of democracy and that one must be prepared to trust the local bodies and to give them the right to commit mistakes, if necessary, in order that a better democratic order may arise tomorrow. This argument is not accepted by another group of thinkers who feel that elementary education should not be treated as a guinea-pig.

The stage when elementary education should be transferred to local control also becomes a point in the discussion. According to one view, local bodies cannot function properly unless the people as a whole are sufficiently educated. They, therefore, suggest that elemen-

tary education should be kept under government control and developed quickly through a phased programme till illiteracy is liquidated, and that elementary education may be handed over to the local bodies only after fulfilling this task. In their opinion, the transfer of elementary education to local control, here and now, is an inopportune decision and is likely to do more harm than good. In opposition to this view, it is pointed out that the bureaucratic administration of elementary education can never enthuse the people and achieve the desired results. Besides, to argue that decentralisation of authority should follow the development of mass education is to beg the question and to put the cart before the horse. The correct position is that the development of mass education and training in democratic citizenship will have to proceed side by side and that the transfer of elementary education to local control, here and now, can expedite this process.

In this context, it may be of interest to refer to the French system, which is not as widely known in this country as it deserves to be.

Under the French system, the State Government remains exclusively responsible for inspection and supervision of schools and provision of teachers. It has exclusive authority to recruit teachers and to control their service conditions. It also prescribes standards for their general education and training and bears all expenditure on account of their salaries and allowances. The local bodies, called *communes* in France, are entrusted with responsibility only for the non-teacher part of the expenditure on elementary education, *viz.*, the construction and maintenance of buildings, the provision of equipment and playgrounds, provision of textbooks, and welfare services such as school meals, school health, etc. Even for these services, they receive a grant-in-aid which is generally regulated in proportion to their wealth, the richer communes getting less and the poorer communes, more. Moreover, all communes have the same status in elementary education—from the smallest village to the metropolitan city of Paris. It may be recalled that, in the Indian conditions, the transfer of control in elementary education to local bodies affects the teachers most adversely and that it is they who are its strongest opponents. The French model entirely meets the wishes of the teachers. At the same time, it also enlists local support

for elementary education and creates local interest in its problems. The State Government of Assam has passed a compulsory education law in 1962 and has created a system which is very similar to the French one. The results would be interesting to watch.

Levels of Delegation

Another basic issue which arises in this respect is the level at which authority in elementary education is to be decentralised. Three different levels are possible: district, block (or taluk or tehsil or any other smaller unit of administration), and the village. In so far as the village level is concerned, educational opinion is generally in favour of the proposal. At this level, the decentralisation of authority could, at best, be on the French model. The most common proposal made is that the village Panchayat should elect a school committee, consisting of some of its members and some non-members interested in education. The committee should have its own chairman and the headmaster of the local school should work as its secretary. Where village panchayats do not exist, these committees may be nominated by the Education Department. The following should be the powers and duties of these committees:

- (1) To provide adequate accommodation and equipment for primary schools ;
- (2) To carry out current repairs of school buildings and, if authorised, to also carry out special repairs and to construct new buildings ;
- (3) To exercise such supervision over the school as may be prescribed ;
- (4) To be responsible for the enforcement of compulsory attendance within its area ;
- (5) To provide and maintain playgrounds and school gardens ;
- (6) To make provision for drinking water and other necessary amenities required by school children ;
- (7) To provide, wherever, possible, mid-day meals ;
- (8) To provide school uniforms ; and
- (9) To celebrate school functions and to organize excursions and other social and cultural programmes.

For meeting expenditure on account of these responsibilities, the school committees should receive (1) a certain proportion of the income of the local village Panchayat and (2) a grant-in-aid fixed on the basis of equalisation, *i.e.* a larger grant being given to poorer areas and a smaller one to richer areas. The committee should supplement these receipts through voluntary contributions of the local community.

It is obvious that this programme has great potentialities but it has to be patiently worked out for some time before results can be seen.

Delegation at the district level has the sanctity of tradition and, in the programme of decentralisation which was initiated under the Montague-Chelmsford Report, delegation at the district level was the order of the day. The Balwantrai Mehta Committee, however, did not accept the district as a proper unit for local administration. There are three arguments in favour of the district unit: (1) leadership of a higher type is available at the district level; (2) the official personnel which can be provided at the district level would ordinarily be superior in quality; and (3) the administrative costs would be less if the district is taken as a unit of administration. The Balwantrai Mehta Committee felt that these advantages were more than counter-balanced by the disadvantages of the programme. The district was, for instance, too big a unit for effective decentralisation and the administration of elementary education on a district basis was still a centralised administration and it did not evoke effective participation of the public. Even granting that the leadership at the block level may not be of a high quality at present, the committee felt that, if authority was decentralised to the block level, the right type of leadership would be created very soon. The Committee, therefore, recommended that the principle unit of local administration should be, not the district, but the block which is a group of about 100 villages with a population of about 60 to 70 thousand.

There is, however, considerable opposition to decentralising the administration of elementary education at the block level. The most important arguments urged in this respect are two: (1) the leadership now available at the block level is not of the right calibre; and (2) the transfer of the administration of elementary education to the block level will make the position of teachers extremely vulnerable

and throw them right into the vortex of local politics. A compromise is, therefore, often proposed under which important functions like recruitment of teachers or control of their services, planning and development, etc. are decentralised at the district level while other details of administration are transferred to the block level. The controversies on the subject are still 'hot' and the practices adopted in this respect also vary from state to state. For instance, in Maharashtra, the district has been accepted as the unit of local administration and all powers are delegated to the district level. In Rajasthan, the block is accepted as the unit of administration but powers are delegated to both the levels, the block and the district. In Andhra Pradesh, both the block and the district are accepted as units of administration and powers over primary education are transferred to the block level and those over middle school and secondary education are transferred to the district level.

Safeguards and Reservations

Even if it is decided to decentralise authority in elementary education to some level—district, block or village—one additional problem has still to be solved: what should be the safeguards and reservations in such a programme of decentralisation? There are two schools of thought here. The first advocates trust and a complete transfer of authority, with few or no reservations and safeguards. The other view is that we cannot take too many risks with so significant a programme as that of elementary education, and if transfer of authority to local bodies becomes inevitable on political grounds, it is equally essential in the interest of education, to provide adequate safeguards and reservations.

The first safeguard is that of inspection. It is argued that the state must maintain an inspectorate of its own to supervise the working of local bodies and elementary schools. The practice in England where a big cadre of Her Majesty's Inspectors is maintained in spite of the transfer of elementary education to local bodies is cited in support of this view. This has been the view taken in Madras where, in spite of the transfer of elementary education to Panchayati Raj Institutions, inspection is still reserved with the state. The arguments against this proposal are two: (1) it involves a certain duplication—the inspectors of the state are to be maintained in

addition to those that may be provided by the local bodies themselves ; and (2) such reservation of inspection creates a dyarchy which leads more to friction and wastage than to any good results. The educationists, however, still support this view and point out that the small additional cost involved is probably worth it and that, given ordinary tact and tolerance on the part of the Department and the local bodies, a joint system like this can be made to work well.

The most important category of safeguards relates to teachers. One proposal is that the recruitment of teachers should be made at the district level and not at the block level. It is also suggested that definite rules should be framed by the state government for recruitment of teachers to see that local influences interfere the least with judicious selections. It is also suggested that the local bodies should have very few powers over the teachers, that these should be exercised through the executive staff, and that they should be subject to an appeal to a higher authority. There should be strict rules for transfers of teachers. Most of the solutions are complicated and their chances of success are not very good. But it is obviously not in the interest of education to give a *carte blanche* to the local bodies in dealing with teachers.

The third type of safeguards relates to certain usual administrative provisions. For instance, officers of Government must have the authority to supervise the work of local bodies, to call for their records and to inspect them, and even to suspend their resolutions in emergencies. In extreme cases, the state must also have the power to suspend or dissolve a local body and to take over its functions. The members of the local bodies should also be made responsible for all their acts as public servants and be liable for prosecution for abuse or misuse of authority.

A very important argument put forward is that experiments of this type will not succeed unless three essential conditions are fulfilled. The first is to educate the non-official leaders to appreciate their responsibility properly and to adjust themselves to a system of proper relations with the executive. The second is to train the executive itself in this new form of democratic functioning and to make it realise that, in some ways, it is even better than the autocratic form of administration which it superseded. The third is the need to provide an independent machinery under the state government to

act as a harmonising and conciliatory influence between the official and the non-official view points in all matters where differences are likely to arise. No significant efforts to provide these three requisites have been made so far and that is one of the major reasons why local control in elementary education has not worked satisfactorily. Adequate provision for this will have to be made in future if the experiment in democratic decentralisation is to be tried in earnest.

IV. ROLE OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

Voluntary agencies have played a very important part in the development of Indian education and even today they are playing a very important role in secondary and higher education. In elementary education, however, their role has changed considerably during the last 160 years. At the opening of the nineteenth century, there were no public elementary schools and all elementary education was provided, through the indigenous schools, by the voluntary enterprise of the people. Since then a system of public elementary schools—established by Government as well as local authorities—has been gradually evolved and today private elementary schools play a minor role in providing facilities for elementary education. Taking the country as a whole, there were, in 1960-61, a total of 3,81,359 elementary schools of which only 86,751 were private. Their number varied from area to area. In states like Punjab or Maharashtra, where the tradition of public schools has been developed over a very long period, the number of private elementary schools is the smallest ; while states like Madras or Bengal, where the policy of encouraging indigenous schools through grants-in-aid was adopted over a long period, have a much larger proportion of private elementary schools. The future role of private enterprise in elementary education is thus a subject of great interest at present. According to one view, private enterprise has no place in a programme of universal elementary education. It is pointed out that, under Article 45 of the Constitution, free and compulsory education is to be provided for all children until the age of 14 years. This is interpreted to mean that no fees are to be charged in any elementary school, public or private, so that the entire cost of private elementary schools will ultimately have to be borne by public funds through

grant-in-aid. Under these circumstances, it is suggested that a more straightforward course would be to permit only public elementary schools which provide free education. Another argument put forward in support of this view is that the existence of private schools tends to perpetuate class distinctions. The richer classes of people send their children to private schools which provide a higher standard of education and consequently, the difference between them and the children of poorer classes who are compelled to attend the free public elementary schools continues to remain wide. Some persons even argue that private schools should be abolished for the purpose of raising standards in the public elementary schools. They feel that the richer, more vocal and more influential classes of society are not interested in improving standards in public elementary schools at present because their own children attend private schools where satisfactory standards are maintained ; and they feel that these classes would take greater interest in the improvement of public elementary schools if their children were compelled to attend them. In effect, they advocate a common system of free public elementary schools which all children alike would be compelled to attend.

Whatever the academic justification of such a view may be, there are several objections to its acceptance in India. It will be constitutionally impossible to abolish private elementary schools because the minority groups, whether based on religion or language, have been given the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice, (Article 30(1) of the Constitution). Moreover, private schools cannot be prevented from charging fees. The provision of free and compulsory education does not imply the abolition of fees in all elementary schools. It only implies that the state shall maintain an adequate number of free public elementary schools and that it shall take effective steps to see that free education is provided for the child of every parent who demands it. In a democracy, the parent has the basic right to choose the school for his child and if he chooses a private school which charges fees, the state has hardly any justification to interfere in the matter. It is true that existence of private schools tends to conform to distinctions of social classes. This is, however, inevitable so long as economic inequalities continue to exist in the society itself. The abolition of private schools is only a negative solution of the problem and probably a more appro-

priate approach would be to raise the standards in public schools. Moreover, this disadvantage of maintaining different standards is counter-balanced by the fact that the public treasury is saved the expenditure which the parents contribute to the elementary education of their children in private schools.

The general opinion in the country, therefore, is that private elementary schools should be allowed to function and even encouraged to the extent possible. There should be no restrictions on their charging fees; but grants-in-aid to them may be either refused totally or be given on such a basis that the cost per child in a private elementary school is much less to the public treasury than that in a public elementary school. If the grant-in-aid policies to private elementary schools are regulated on these principles, private enterprise will continue to play a minor but significant role in elementary education and about 10 per cent of the children will receive their elementary education without throwing any burden on the public treasury. This will be a great advantage to the programme of universal education, especially at the present moment when we have so large a number of children to be brought into schools and the resources available are so limited.

*Democratic Decentralisation***The Balwantrai Mehta Committee**

One of the most significant changes introduced in the administrative set-up in rural areas in the post-independence period is the creation of a new and compact administrative unit known as the Community Development Block—which consists of about 100 villages and a population of about 90,000, the total number of Community Development Blocks in the entire country being about 5,000—and to place its entire development programme under a team of officers headed by the Block Development Officer and consisting of Extension Officers in all fields of development such as agriculture, public works, health and sanitation, industries, cooperation, live-stock improvement and education. In the initial stages, the functioning of this team was closely associated with the non-official leaders in the Community Development Block through the establishment of Block Development Advisory Committees. This revolutionary programme was introduced in 1952 and expanded rapidly so that by 1963, it had covered almost the entire country.

Two main advantages were claimed from the adoption of this new pattern of administration for the rural developmental services. The first was the reduction in the size of the unit for local administration. Prior to 1952, the main unit of rural administration was the district. But a feeling had been growing in the country that the districts had become too large and unmanageable. When the districts were accepted as units in rural administration about 150 years ago, their population was less than half of what it is today. Developmental services did not exist at this time and even when they were introduced at a later date, their scale of operation was limited right up to 1947. The public was not as conscious then as it is today, and the concept of democratic administration and of associating the local people with the programmes of improvement in their own environment had not been conceived. It was, therefore, felt that a stage had now been reached when a more convenient unit for local

administration should be evolved and the idea of a Community Development Block was conceived mainly on the ground that it was a small, compact and manageable area where it would be genuinely possible to stimulate local interest in programmes of development and to bring to bear upon it the full impact of local knowledge and local enthusiasm. The second advantage of this arrangement was its comprehensive and coordinated approach to the problem of development. Prior to the creation of this set-up, each department in charge of a developmental service functioned in an isolated manner and had its own chain of officers from the Director at the state level to the smallest officer working in the field. Consequently, the field officers of the different development departments did not have any effective platform for coordination of their activities. This was a major problem in administration because development never takes place in isolation. Under the Community Development Administration, the field officers of all the development departments are brought together in a team and have to work jointly and in a co-operative manner, under the guidance of the Block Development Officer and the Block Development Committee. It was felt that such an arrangement would secure much better coordination between different official enterprises on the one hand and the official and non-official enterprises on the other.

The Community Development Projects were first started as an experimental measure in a few areas and, as stated earlier, local leadership was associated with the Block Development Team of Extension Officers through the constitution of Block Development Advisory Committees. In the light of the experience gained, it was felt that this *ad hoc* arrangement of association between official and non-official workers had to be placed on a firm statutory basis and made an integral part of the administrative pattern of the country. This problem was studied by a special committee under the chairmanship of Shri Balwantrai Mehta, which recommended the creation of strong statutory local bodies at the block level and suggested that all responsibilities of local development, including that of elementary education, should be transferred to them. In addition, the Committee also suggested the creation of a second tier of local bodies at the district level which would coordinate and supervise, in the prescribed manner, the work of the local bodies at the block level

and which would also undertake additional functions of local development which cannot be delegated to the block level. These proposals have now come to be popularly known as 'democratic decentralisation'. These recommendations were accepted in principle by the Government of India and by most of the state governments and are now at various stages of implementation.

In this chapter, we are not concerned with the broader aspects of democratic decentralisation which deals, not only with education, but with all developmental programmes. We shall, therefore, consider only one aspect of democratic decentralisation, *viz.*, the transfer of the administration of elementary education to the Panchayati Raj Institutions, *i.e.*, local bodies constituted at the block and district levels.

The Present Position

Some states have come forward boldly and actually implemented the programme. Rajasthan, which was the first state to do so, passed the Rajasthan Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads Act in 1959, and constituted Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads, broadly on the pattern suggested by the Balwantrai Mehta Committee. Primary education (classes I to V) was transferred to the Panchayat Samitis for administration ; but middle school education was reserved with the State and not transferred to Zilla Parishads, even though they were constituted. Andhra Pradesh was the next state to take up the programme. In the same year as Rajasthan, it passed the Andhra Pradesh Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads Act and transferred the control of primary education to the Panchayat Samitis and that of middle and secondary education to the Zilla Parishads. Madras has also undertaken this experiment and under the Madras Panchayat Act of 1958, it is proposed to cover the entire state by Panchayat Unions (*i.e.*, local bodies at the block level) in a period of three years beginning with October 1960 and ending with October 1963. In Maharashtra, the principle of democratic decentralisation has been accepted and a strong local body with a coordinated approach to the entire problem of development has been established, not at the block level, but at the district level. The Maharashtra Zilla Parishad and Panchayat Samitis Act of 1961 has come into force from 1962. In Gujarat, the Gujarat Panchayat Act of 1961 was

introduced with effect from 1st April 1963. It created statutory local bodies at the block (which is equated with a taluka, a slightly bigger area than a block) and also at the district level and transferred the administration of elementary education to them. In Orissa, the Orissa Zilla Parishads Act was passed in 1959 and brought into force in 1961. The administration of primary schools was transferred to the Panchayat Samitis in September of that year.

In the other states, the position is rather undecided. In the Punjab, the principle of creating Panchayati Raj Institutions has been accepted, but elementary education has been retained under the direct control of the State Government. So is the case in Kerala. In West Bengal, the administration of primary education still continues under the District School Boards established under the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act, 1930, although the principle of Panchayati Raj Institutions has been accepted. In Uttar Pradesh, primary education has long been under the control of local bodies under such Acts as the Municipal Boards Act, 1916 or the District Boards Act, 1922. The principle of democratic decentralisation has been accepted and Kshettra Samitis (which correspond to the Panchayat Samitis at the block level) and Zilla Parishads have come into existence under the Kshettra Samitis and Zilla Parishads Act, 1961. Primary education has been transferred to the control of the Kshettra Samitis from July 1962, but the rules under the old laws are still in force and the change-over to the new pattern of administration is held up in practice. In Madhya Pradesh, the Madhya Pradesh Panchayat Samitis Act was passed in 1962 but it has not been implemented so far and the administration of elementary education continues directly under the State Education Department in all areas of the State, except in the Mahakoshal area where, in keeping with the earlier tradition of the old Madhya Pradesh State, primary education is administered by Janapad Sabhas (which are local bodies constituted at the tehsil level) under the Madhya Pradesh Local Self-Government Act, 1948 in rural areas, and the Municipalities in urban areas. In Bihar, primary education was already under the administration of Municipalities and District Boards. These have been superseded at present. The Bihar Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads Act was passed in 1961 with

the object of introducing democratic decentralisation. It has, however, not been enforced so far. It appears, therefore, that the initial wave of enthusiasm has cooled down to some extent. Between 1959 and 1961, the trend in favour of transferring the administration of elementary education to the Panchayati Raj Institutions created under this new type of legislation was so strong that it appeared that the changes would be carried out in all parts of the country. But the present position is that some states have fully implemented the recommendations of the Balwantrai Mehta Committee ; others have modified them radically but still implemented them ; and a third group is still hesitating or is unprepared to transfer the administration of elementary education to the Panchayati Raj Institutions.

Existing Patterns of Decentralisation

The pattern of administration of elementary education, which has been set up under the Panchayati Raj Institutions so far, varies considerably from state to state. The Balwantrai Mehta Committee recommended that elementary education should be transferred to the Panchayati Raj Institutions but it did not work out any details of the programme. Each state, therefore, was called upon to devise the details of the decentralisation for itself and naturally took such decisions as would suit its own local conditions and traditions. A comparative study of the differences that have thus grown up in the patterns of democratic decentralisation in the administration of elementary education is of great significance.

(a) *Rajasthan* : In Rajasthan, the entire administration of primary education was under the direct control of the State Education Department, both in urban and in rural areas. Under the Rajasthan Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads Act, 1959, primary education has been transferred to the control of the Panchayat Samitis at the Block level but no change has been introduced in the urban areas. This has created a very anomalous position. Rural areas, where local leadership is not sufficiently developed and where poverty is greater, have been asked to take upon themselves the responsibility of administering primary education in rural areas and also to make some contribution towards its expenditure, while the State Education Department continues to administer primary edu-

cation in the urban areas where poverty is less and the level of leadership, better.

The official view of the Rajasthan Government is that it is the 'administration of primary schools' which has been transferred to the Panchayat Samitis and not 'primary education'. What is implied is that several powers in the field of primary education are still left with the State Government. The main powers transferred to the Panchayat Samitis include (1) establishment and maintenance of primary schools ; (2) conversion of primary schools to the basic pattern ; (3) scholarships and stipends to children of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and other backward classes attending primary schools ; and (4) expansion and improvement of primary education. All other powers are reserved to the State Government, the most important of which are (1) the prescription of curricula and syllabi, (2) the preparation and approval of textbooks and other literature, (3) the training of teachers, and (4) the authority to frame rules for admissions, examinations and promotions. In short, the academic control of primary education has been reserved to the state and is exercised through the State Education Department.

There was a proposal to transfer middle school education to the Zilla Parishads. But it was subsequently withheld. The official position in Rajasthan, therefore, is that only primary education has been transferred to 232 Panchayat Samitis in rural areas and middle school education still continues to be the exclusive responsibility of the State Government.

The Sub-Deputy Inspectors of Schools, who were formerly under the control of the Education Department and who used to inspect primary schools have now been transferred to the Panchayat Samitis. Their status is that of government servants on deputation. They have, however, to work immediately under the supervision of the Block Development Officers. They are thus subject to dual control. The Block Development Officer approves their tour programmes, passes their travelling bills, grants casual leave and privilege leave up to two months. He also draws up their confidential reports and passes them on to the Education Department which controls their service conditions.

With regard to primary teachers, a number of safeguards have been introduced. They have been guaranteed the same remunera-

tion and service conditions as they had under the State Education Department. Their rights to promotion to higher posts under the State Education Department have also been guaranteed. The Panchayat Samitis can, however, transfer them within the Block, and the Zilla Parishads can transfer them within the District. All recruitment of primary teachers is made at the district level through a high-powered committee; but the appointments are made by the Block Development Officer from amongst the list of approved candidates. The Block Development Officers can warn and censure the teachers; but the right to give any higher punishment is vested in the high-powered committee at the district level.

The State gives grant-in-aid to Panchayat Samitis on a 100 per cent basis on account of the salaries and allowances of teachers. For the rest of the expenditure, the State Government gives a grant-in-aid on a 50 per cent basis and the balance has to be raised by the Panchayat Samitis.

(b) *Andhra Pradesh* : In Andhra Pradesh, primary education is transferred to the control of Panchayat Samitis at the block level and the position is very similar to that in Rajasthan. There are, however, some differences. The primary teachers are recruited at the district level as in Rajasthan, but their appointments at the block level are made by the Presidents of the Panchayat Samitis and not by the Block Development Officers. The powers vested in the Panchayat Samitis in respect of teachers are larger than in Rajasthan. The authority to dismiss teachers vests with the Presidents of the Panchayat Samitis and only appeals against the orders of dismissal lie with the Zilla Parishads. The inspecting officers of primary schools are also more fully under the control of the Block Development Officers. Grants to Panchayat Samitis are also more liberal. The State meets the entire expenditure of the Panchayat Samitis in respect of primary education *minus* the amount collected by them through educational cesses.

The main difference between Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan is that, in Andhra Pradesh, all middle schools and high schools are transferred to Zilla Parishads whereas in Rajasthan, they still continue under the Education Department. One class II officer of the Education Department is posted to each Zilla Parishad as Deputy

(Secondary Education) for this purpose and he assists the Chairman of the Zilla Parishads in the discharge of these functions.

(c) *Maharashtra* : The Maharashtra experiment in democratic decentralisation is indeed unique. Here the unit of administration is not the block, but the district. The Zilla Parishad is a very powerful local body elected on direct franchise. It has a Chief Executive Officer who is a senior officer of the I.A.S. and is equal in status to the Collector of the District. All the local programmes of development in all departments of Government have been transferred to Zilla Parishads with the result that almost 70 per cent of the total budget of the State Government gets transferred to the local bodies. In the field of education, not only primary, but all education below the university stage, including pre-primary, primary, middle, and secondary is transferred to the Zilla Parishads. All officers of the Education Department up to and inclusive of the District Educational Officer have also been transferred to the Zilla Parishads. Naturally, this large-scale delegation also implies that all powers over elementary teachers, such as recruitment, promotion, punishment etc., are also transferred to Zilla Parishads and are to be exercised by them in accordance with the rules framed by the State Government.

It will thus be seen that it would not be quite proper to consider the Maharashtra experiment along with the other experiments of democratic decentralisation. It will have to be examined on its own merits.

(d) *Gujarat* : In Gujarat, a Taluka Education Committee has been established at the taluka level and a District Education Committee has been set up at the district level. The District Education Committee has, as its secretary, a class II officer of the State Government who looks after the general administration, supervision and inspection of elementary schools. All the subordinate inspecting officers are attached to the office of the District Committee. At the taluka level, the Taluka Education Committee has, as its secretary, a government officer in class III and it is mainly responsible for starting new schools.

The teachers are recruited by a Staff Selection Committee at the district level and appointments are made from the list of approved candidates, by the Secretary of the District Committee. Transfers

within the taluka are made at the taluka level while inter-taluka transfers will be made by the Selection Committee at the district level. Control of the services of teachers is vested mainly in the District Committee and not at the taluka level.

Grants to the Education Committees are given on a deficit basis as in Andhra Pradesh and the State bears all expenditure on elementary education *minus* local receipts.

(e) *Orissa* : Under the Orissa Zilla Parishads Act, 1959, the administration and management of all primary schools conducted by government and local bodies has been transferred to the Panchayat Samitis. The technical control of primary education, which includes inspection, examination, prescription of textbooks and curricula, training of teachers, framing of rules to regulate qualifications, remuneration and service conditions of teachers, etc. is vested in the Education Department. At the district level, the Zilla Parishad exercises advisory and supervisory powers over the Panchayat Samitis. It also makes appointments of teachers after selection is made by a district selection committee. It distributes development grants to the Panchayat Samitis for repairs, construction of buildings, provision of mid-day meals, purchase of equipment, organization of enrolment drives, etc.

The Assistant Sub-Inspector of Schools, who inspects the primary schools, works at the Panchayat Samiti level and is placed under the Block Development Officer. He is, however, an officer of the Education Department on deputation to the Panchayat Samiti and is subject to dual control by the Block Development Officer and by the Department, on lines similar to those in Rajasthan.

The Chairman of the Panchayat Samiti may transfer a teacher within the block in consultation with the Sub-Inspector of Schools. The Chairman of the Zilla Parishad may transfer a teacher from one block to another. Promotions and punishments are awarded by the Chairman of the Zilla Parishad on recommendations made by the Chairmen of the Panchayat Samitis. The views of the Sub-Inspector of Schools are also to be given due weightage in arriving at a final decision.

The system of grant-in-aid to Panchayat Samitis is similar to that in Rajasthan.

(f) *Madras* : Under the Madras Panchayat Act, 1958, Panchayat Unions have been established at the block level and there is no local body at the district level. The old District Board of the State used to conduct a large number of secondary schools. These have now been taken over by the Department for direct administration.

The Panchayat Unions manage all elementary schools which were formerly conducted by the District Boards. They also supervise the working of the aided schools in their areas. Some Departments of Government manage their own elementary schools, *e.g.*, Harijan Welfare Department, Forest Department, etc. These schools continue to be under the Departments concerned and the Panchayat Unions have nothing to do with them. It is only the administrative side of the elementary schools which has been transferred to the Panchayat Unions and the technical control over elementary education is still reserved with the Education Department.

The one distinctive feature of the Madras pattern of democratic decentralisation is that the whole inspecting staff of the Department has been reserved intact under departmental control and it is not required to work under the dual control of the Department and the Block Development Officers, as in Rajasthan or Andhra Pradesh. Instead, the Social Education Organiser, who was already a member of the Block Team under the control of the Block Development Officer, is placed in administrative charge of elementary schools. Elementary schools are inspected by Deputy Inspectors of Schools who function at the block level, but they are under the control of the District Educational Officer.

Appointments of teachers in Panchayat Union schools are made by the Appointments Committee of the Panchayat Union which consists of the Commissioner, Chairman of the Union and an elected member. The Committee is responsible for appointment of teachers in Panchayat Union schools only. Transfers of teachers are made by the Commissioner in consultation with the Chairman of the Union. The Commissioner also has the authority to promote or punish elementary teachers ; and appeals against his orders are heard by the District Inspector of Schools.

Grants to Panchayat Unions are based on a slab system which takes into consideration several factors such as land revenue, cess

receipts, etc. Matching grants are given for a surcharge of cess levied by Panchayat Unions.

(g) *Uttar Pradesh* : The position in Uttar Pradesh as stated earlier, is a little anomalous. Primary education was long ago transferred to the control of the municipalities in urban areas and of Antarim Zilla Parishads in the rural areas, under such laws as the Municipal Boards Act, 1916 and the District Boards Act, 1922. Under this legislation, rules have also been framed defining the powers of the Zilla Parishads and of the Department. Although there have been some problems, the system has worked fairly smoothly for a long time.

The Uttar Pradesh Kshettra Samitis and Zilla Parishads Act, 1961, has been passed recently on the lines of the legislation on democratic decentralisation in other states. It visualises the creation of Kshettra Samitis at the block level and transfer to them of substantial powers over the administration of primary education. However, rules under this Act have not been framed and the present position is that there is a new Act which has no rules and the existing rules are under an Act which has ceased to exist. There are several points of conflict between the new Act and the old rules and these will have to be resolved at an early date, either by amending the Act, or by framing new rules in keeping with the spirit of the new Act.

In view of the several difficulties involved, however, the State has decided to postpone a decision till the report of the Standing Committee on Primary Education of the Central Advisory Board of Education, which is examining this problem, is available. It is not, therefore, necessary to go into the details of the existing position and delegation of authority to local bodies in Uttar Pradesh.

Some Important Issues

It will be seen from the foregoing discussion that some important issues arise in relation to the programme of democratic decentralisation in so far as it refers to the administration of elementary education by Panchayati Raj Institutions. The major problem whether elementary education should or should not be transferred to Panchayati Raj Institutions is not discussed here. Our assumption would be that since a decision has already been

taken to entrust the administration of elementary education to Panchayati Raj Institutions, the only question to be raised in this regard now is this: How can this transfer of the administration of elementary education to Panchayati Raj Institutions be implemented so that the best advantages of the programme are secured in utilizing local enthusiasm, local knowledge and local support for education, and its disadvantages as revealed in the light of past experience are counteracted? The Integration Committee on Primary Education, appointed by the erstwhile State of Bombay, has examined this problem in great detail. It has pointed out that the concept of associating local bodies with the administration of elementary education is at least 100 years old, that it has passed successively through four different stages—association (1863-84), controlled delegation (1884-1924), uncontrolled delegation (1924-1938), and reversion to controlled delegation through resumption of larger powers (1938-1958)—and that the present stage of transfer of elementary education to Panchayati Raj Institutions is the fifth stage in this long historical process. It has also shown that the main advantages in favour of the transfer are the following:

- (1) Such transfer makes the development of democracy and the development of mass education an inter-dependent and integrated programme in which each supports the other.
- (2) It helps in decentralisation of authority.
- (3) It rouses local enthusiasm, develops local initiative and harnesses local resources for the support of elementary education.
- (4) It brings elementary education closest to the people.

On the other hand, as the Committee has pointed out, the experience of the past has revealed that the programme has the following disadvantages:

- (1) The local bodies do not have adequate resources to finance programmes of primary education and hence the progress of primary education has always been hindered by its delegation to local bodies.
- (2) The interests of primary teachers suffer because as servants of the State Government they are entitled to get

pensions, while they get only a provident fund as servants of local bodies.

- (3) The scales of pay of the employees of local bodies are generally lower than those of the state government. They also vary from one local body to another. Hence primary teachers under local bodies would receive lower remuneration and there would be no common state scale of pay.
- (4) The salaries of primary teachers under local bodies are not paid regularly from month to month.
- (5) There are several influences at work in local bodies and the recruitment of teachers is far from happy.
- (6) The transfers of teachers are the biggest administrative headache and there are complaints about this everywhere, even in areas where the control is exclusively in the hands of Government.
- (7) Discipline among teachers becomes slack under local control as they become more interested in pleasing members of the local bodies than in teaching children.
- (8) Teachers are often used for purposes of election.
- (9) Local bodies do not have that competent and experienced staff which is needed to deal satisfactorily with the varied and thorny problems of primary education.

The Committee has further pointed out that these evils were seen in their worst form in the period of uncontrolled delegation and has suggested that, if the administration of elementary education is to be entrusted to local authorities, there should be adequate safeguards to avoid them. Probably this is the best policy to be followed in respect of Panchayati Raj Institutions and it is from this point of view that a few suggestions have been offered here.

Separate Committee for Education

When the administration of elementary education is entrusted to a local authority, two different systems are generally adopted. In the first system, the local authority as a whole deals with all local functions entrusted to it, including education ; while in the second system, the local authority creates a separate committee for dealing exclusively with its educational responsibilities. Of these two, the

second system is certainly better because it secures a committee of persons who are interested in education and whose sole job is to look after the expansion and improvement of education. In the existing pattern of the Panchayati Raj Institutions, there is no specific provision for the creation of a separate committee to deal with educational matters. It is true that the Panchayat Samitis and the Zilla Parishads have the authority to appoint a standing committee for any one or more of their functions and consequently there is nothing in law to prevent the constitution of separate standing committees for education, either at the block level or at the district level. But such a permissive legislation is hardly enough. What is needed is a specific provision in the law making it obligatory on the Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads to create separate standing committees for elementary education and to entrust definite functions and responsibilities to them. This would be a very significant reform.

How should these separate committees at the district or the block level be constituted? It is suggested that they should consist partly of elected and partly of nominated members. The Zilla Parishads and the Panchayat Samitis may elect about 60 per cent of their members and the remaining 40 per cent may be nominated from amongst educationists by the Education Department. If the idea of nomination is not acceptable, these committees may all be elected by the Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis, but a fair proportion of their seats should be reserved for non-members of these bodies and for giving representation to special interests, such as women, the backward classes and educationists. This will make it possible for persons who are interested in education but who may not be elected to these local bodies, to obtain a place on these education committees. An interesting example of this is found in the Bombay Municipal Corporation Act. Under this law the Corporation has to elect a School Committee consisting of 16 persons of whom not more than 12 shall be members of the Corporation and not less than 4 shall be educationists, with prescribed minimum qualifications, who will be elected by the Corporation. The arrangement has worked very well and the principle deserves to be extended still further. Our definite suggestion, therefore, is that Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis should be required to constitute separate committees for elementary education, consisting

partly of their members and partly of non-members, and having due representation of educationists, women and the backward classes.

These Committees should be fairly autonomous in their authority, and the functions entrusted to them should be comprehensive. The only matter in which they should be required to approach the principal local authority concerned is to get their budget proposals approved.

Elementary Education Fund

Another important suggestion which is made in this context is that Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis should be required to constitute separate funds for elementary education. At present, *all* funds of these bodies for *all* local purposes are put together into one account. Since the demands on these funds are many and conflicting, it often happens that expenditure is incurred on certain local works such as roads or bridges and the salaries of elementary teachers are not paid in time. Such instances are very often found in areas where a common fund is maintained by the local authority for all local purposes. But they hardly occur in areas where a separate elementary education fund is created and maintained by the local authority. In such cases all receipts on account of elementary education are credited directly into these funds and can be utilized for expenditure on elementary education alone. It would, therefore, be a very salutary administrative reform if such funds are instituted by local authorities, both at the block and at the district level.

District Level Functions

It would have been noticed that the most common criticism levelled against the administration of elementary education by Panchayati Raj Institutions refers to the administration of teacher personnel and it is the elementary teachers who are most opposed to such transfer. Care has, therefore, to be taken to see that teachers are not harassed under local administration of elementary education and that their morale is not adversely affected. The danger of these evils is greater when the authority to control teachers is delegated to the block level and it is the least when such authority is vested at the district level. It is, therefore, suggested that all

authority regarding teachers such as recruitment, transfers, punishments and promotions should be delegated only to the district level and not to the block level. The officers at the block level will have to be authorised, in the interest of discipline, to exercise some supervisory powers over the elementary schools and teachers, and may be authorised to issue a warning or to levy a fine. But even in such cases, an appeal should lie to the district authority.

In this context, the system evolved in Gujarat is of interest. Here a Staff Selection Committee is constituted at the district level. It consists of the District Educational Officer and the Administrative Officer of the District Education Committee (both of whom are gazetted officers of the State Government) and the Chairman of the District Education Committee. It is this committee which recruits teachers in accordance with rules framed by Government. The authority to control the service conditions of teachers and also to give punishments according to rules is vested in the Administrative Officer. Promotions are decided by the Staff Selection Committee which also orders the transfers of teachers. It may appear to be a centralised system; but it is ideally suited to resist unwelcome pressures. Modifications in this system are possible, but if its essence can be preserved, it forms a good model for other areas to adopt.

Two other functions which may be entrusted to the district level are planning and budgeting. The District Committee should also have the authority to distribute grants-in-aid to the Block Development Committees.

Functions at the Block Level

There is general unanimity on the view that the main functions to be entrusted to local bodies at the block level are all matters other than the control of teachers (which would be assigned to the district level). These would include construction and maintenance of buildings, purchase and supply of equipment, provision of ancillary services like school meals or school health, supply of free textbooks and writing materials, provision of school uniforms, enforcement of compulsory attendance, etc. The points at dispute relate only to the extent of control over the elementary teachers to be delegated to the block level. According to one view, no such control should be

given and according to the other the block should have full authority over the teachers. The existing practices fall somewhere between these two extreme positions. It is difficult to recommend a uniform formula which could be adopted by all. It may broadly be suggested, however, that some minor powers of control and supervision should be vested at the block level. They should, however, be vested in the Block Development Officer and not in the Block Development Committee. An appeal against the orders of the Block Development Officer should also be permitted to the District-level Committee.

It may be stated that the powers which have been suggested here for delegation to the block level are really those which may be delegated to the village level also. In the present legislations regarding Panchayati Raj, delegation of powers to the village level has not been sufficiently emphasized, partly because the village panchayats have not been established everywhere and partly because they are not always functioning satisfactorily. However, in the ultimate analysis, it is the village organizations that will have to be developed, and as they gather strength, the need for a strong authority at the block level will become less and less. In the ideal situation, we may have only village panchayats to look after the 'non-teacher' parts of elementary education and district level authorities to look after educational planning, finance and teachers.

Inspectorate

Another very controversial issue refers to the position of the inspectorate. It will be seen from the account of the existing patterns of democratic decentralisation given earlier, that it is only in Madras that the inspecting staff has been kept intact under the Education Department and that, in all other areas, it has been transferred to the Panchayati Raj Institutions and attached to the block level except in Gujarat where it is attached to the district level. The transfer of elementary education to Panchayati Raj Institutions increases the need for independent inspection rather than lessen it. Even in England, where elementary education is transferred to the County Councils, an independent inspectorate is maintained under the national government to supervise the work of the local bodies and to advise them from time to time. If the

maintenance of such an independent inspectorate is considered vital in England where the local bodies are functioning at a very high level of efficiency, its need would be readily accepted in the Indian situation, where the Panchayati Raj Institutions are still in their infancy. The Madras pattern is, therefore, worthy of adoption in other areas.

Grant-in-aid

Another important aspect of the problem is to devise a suitable system of grant-in-aid. A system of deficit grants, such as that instituted in Gujarat or in Andhra Pradesh, under which government pays all the expenditure on elementary education *minus* the local collections of cess, is not a very happy device. It encourages extravagance in expenditure and does not stimulate local enterprise for raising additional resources. The system of grant-in-aid in Rajasthan or that adopted in Madras is better because it stimulates local effort at raising additional resources through a system of matching grants. This problem is, however, discussed in detail and in its proper context in the next chapter.

Conclusion

The experiment of Panchayati Raj Institutions is still in its infancy: it is hardly four years old as it first began in Rajasthan in 1959. No evaluation of the programme has been carried out so far. It is felt that such an evaluation may now be made with advantage. The various issues raised above may be taken into consideration at the time of such evaluation and some broad recommendations made to State Governments to enable them to formulate a policy of their own in keeping with local conditions.

India has now launched upon one of the most significant experiments in her educational history: a rapid expansion of elementary education with a view ultimately to providing free and compulsory education for the children in the age-group 6-14. Almost simultaneously with the launching of this programme, the decision has also been taken to transfer the administration of elementary education to the Panchayati Raj Institutions. It is, therefore, obvious that the success or failure of the national effort to provide free and compulsory education to all children will depend

mainly upon the competence or otherwise of the Panchayati Raj Institutions to deliver the goods in this sector. It is this aspect of the problem that makes it essential to evaluate the experiment of Panchayati Raj Institutions and to take further steps in the light of this evaluation. Universal education of all children is too precious a national goal and we cannot afford to risk its achievement on any grounds whatsoever.

Financing of Elementary Education

The provision of universal, free and compulsory elementary education is one of the costliest social services to be maintained. Some of the most significant and difficult problems of elementary education are, therefore, basically financial. The total expenditure required to provide free and compulsory education for all children, the steps to be taken to see that wastage is reduced to the least and that the maximum return is obtained for every rupee of investment, the sources through which the total finances required would be raised, the priority to be accorded to elementary education *vis-à-vis* other sectors of education or other programmes of development, the system of grant-in-aid from the Centre to the states and from the states to the local bodies or voluntary organizations—these and such other problems need very careful examination and it is upon their satisfactory solution that the ultimate success of a programme of universal education will depend. The significance of a detailed study of the financial problems of elementary education cannot, therefore, be over-emphasized.

Deficiencies of Existing Statistics

The existing statistics of educational expenditure in India leave much to be desired. For a proper study of the problem, we need statistics of the total expenditure on elementary education under two categories: recurring and capital. In the educational statistics as they are maintained at present, we get the 'total direct recurring expenditure on elementary schools'. This does not, however, give a complete picture because a very large number of secondary schools have middle and primary departments attached to them. The expenditure incurred on these departments should really form part of the total expenditure on elementary education; but this data is not available separately and the expenditure on these middle and primary departments gets merged in the 'total direct expenditure on secondary schools'. Moreover, the recurring expenditure

incurred on 'direction, inspection and administration' of elementary schools is not separately available and gets merged in the 'indirect expenditure' shown under 'direction and inspection' for all types of educational institutions. Thus the statistics of 'total direct expenditure on elementary schools' which we now have do not represent the total recurring expenditure on elementary education. The recurring expenditure on (1) primary and middle departments of secondary schools, and (2) the direction and inspection of elementary schools, will have to be added to them in order to have a complete picture of the problem. Similarly, no separate statistics of capital expenditure on 'elementary education' are available. In the present system, all expenditure on buildings at all levels—from pre-primary to the post-graduate—is shown together as indirect expenditure on 'buildings'.

The expenditure on the training of elementary school teachers, recurring as well as capital, should also be included in studies of the total expenditure on elementary education. Unfortunately, the same difficulties arise here also. The present educational statistics give only the total direct recurring expenditure on 'training schools'. These institutions train teachers for primary schools only. The teachers for middle schools are trained partly in training schools, and partly in 'training colleges' in the statistics of which, it is not possible to separate the expenditure on the training of teachers for middle schools from that of the teachers for secondary schools. Similarly, we do not get statistics of the indirect expenditure incurred on the inspection and supervision of training schools for primary teachers, nor for the capital expenditure incurred on them. The available statistics of 'total direct expenditure on training schools' do not, therefore, give a complete idea of the total recurring expenditure incurred on the training of elementary teachers and they also exclude the figures of capital expenditure.

These deficiencies in the existing statistics cannot be helped. Studies of the financing of elementary education would be more complete if they could be made available; but their absence does not vitiate certain broad conclusions to be drawn from past experience and certain general proposals for the evolution of a future policy. It is only this exercise that is proposed to be attempted in this chapter.

Total Direct Expenditure on Elementary Schools and Training Schools

We shall, for the time being, assume that the total recurring expenditure on elementary education is equal to the total direct expenditure on elementary schools and the total direct expenditure on training schools as given in the existing statistics. The following table gives the details of this expenditure from 1881-82 to 1960-61:

TABLE 52 : TOTAL RECURRING EXPENDITURE ON ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (1881-82 TO 1960-61)

(in thousands of rupees)

Item	1881-82	1901-02	1921-22	1946-47	1950-51	1960-61
1. Total direct expenditure on elementary education:						
(a) on primary schools	7,910	11,876	50,908	184,867	364,843	734,459
(b) on middle schools	2,027	4,711	16,632	48,029	76,990	429,195
(c) Total	9,937	16,587	67,540	232,896	441,833	1,163,654
2. Total direct expenditure on training schools	400	712	5,864	9,101	15,229	34,440
3. Grand total of expenditure on elementary education	10,337	17,299	73,404	241,996	457,062	1,198,094

It will be seen from the above table that there has been an enormous growth in the total direct expenditure on elementary education in India. In 1881-82, this stood only at Rs. 10.1 million ; by 1960-61, it had increased to Rs. 1198 million, which implies an increase of more than 100 times. It must be pointed out, however, that the statistics given above are at *current* prices and not at *constant* prices. The level of prices of commodities as well as the standard of living have increased several times between 1881-82 and 1960-61. Unfortunately, there is no definite data available on the basis of which it would be possible to reduce the total expenditure on elementary education, during this period, to constant prices. But it is obvious that a good deal of this increase would have to be under-written for the rise in prices of commodities and the cost of

living and that the increase in total expenditure on elementary education at constant prices would be much less than what is indicated by the statistics in the above table.

Total Recurring Expenditure on Elementary Education

It is, therefore, necessary to compare the growth in the total expenditure on elementary education, not in absolute terms as in the preceding table, but with reference to some other significant variables. From this point of view, it is instructive to compare the total expenditure on elementary education with (1) the national income or (2) the population. The results have been shown in the following table:

TABLE 53 : TOTAL RECURRING EXPENDITURE ON ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN RELATION TO NATIONAL INCOME AND POPULATION

Year	Total recurring expenditure on elementary education Rs. (in 000s)	Total population (in 000s)	Total recurring expenditure on elementary education per head of population (Rupees)	Estimated national income per head at current prices (Rupees)	Expenditure on elementary education as percentage of national income
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1881-82	10,137	205,093	0.049	27	0.18
1901-02	17,299	241,265	0.071	30	0.24
1921-22	73,404	247,098	0.297	74	0.40
1946-47	241,996	296,156	0.817	143	0.57
1960-61	1,198,094	438,388	2.733	330	0.83

N.B. The estimates of national income given in column 5 of the above table are based on the following:

- (1) The estimate for 1881-82 is that made by Baring and Barbour*.
- (2) The estimate for 1901-02 is that made by Lord Curzon for the year 1897-98. It has been assumed here for the year 1901-02 also because the other estimate by William Digby (Rs. 18) appears to err on the low side.
- (3) The estimate for 1921 is that by Shaha Khambhatta*.
- (4) For 1946-47, the figure is taken from the Eastern Economist (Annual Number 1948).
- (5) For 1960-61, the estimate is taken from the Third Five-Year Plan.

*For details see *Papers on National Income and Allied Topics*, edited by V. K. R. V. Rao and S. R. Sen, 1960, Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

A number of interesting factors become evident from the above table:

- (a) The increase in the recurring expenditure on elementary education is the largest if we consider absolute figures only (as given in column 2 of Table 53). This increase is 118 times.
- (b) If we allow for the growth of population, the increase in the recurring expenditure becomes much smaller. The figures in column (4) will show that this expenditure has increased from Rs 0.049 in 1881-82 to Rs 2.733 in 1960-61 which implies an increase of 55 times.
- (c) The national income data prior to 1949 is not very reliable and the figures given in column 5 of Table 53 are taken from some earlier studies made into the problem. It will be seen from the figures in column (6), however, that the least increase is noticed in the proportion of national income devoted to elementary education. This was 0.18 per cent in 1881-82 and it increased only to 0.83 per cent in 1960-61. This shows an increase of only 4.6 times as compared with an increase of 55 times in the total recurring expenditure on elementary education per head of population and of 118 times in the absolute expenditure.

What part of the national income should be devoted to elementary education? This is a rather difficult question to answer. At present, India spends about 2.4 per cent of its national income on education as a whole and only about 0.83 per cent on elementary education. One of the important suggestions put forward in this context is that India should spend at least 4 per cent of its national income on education and that about half of this (or 2 per cent of the national income) should be devoted to elementary education. Judged by these targets, the leeway to be made up is very considerable indeed.

Total Expenditure on Elementary Education in the Different States

The foregoing discussion has shown the growth of total educational expenditure in India since 1881-82 and the manner in which it has varied from time to time. It does not, however, throw

any light on the variations of the total expenditure on elementary education from state to state. These variations are also immense as will be seen from the following table:

TABLE 54 : TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN DIFFERENT STATES (1960-61)

State		Total expenditure on elementary schools Rs.	Total expenditure on training schools Rs.	Total expenditure on elementary education Rs.	Total expenditure per head of population Rs. (in 000s)
Andhra Pradesh	..	92,683	2,935	95,618	2.66
Assam	..	32,218	789	33,008	2.78
Bihar	..	70,757	5,336	76,093	1.64
Gujarat	..	74,284	1,994	76,279	3.70
Jammu & Kashmir	..	6,955	689	7,643	2.15
Kerala	..	89,276	942	90,218	5.34
Madhya Pradesh	..	87,820	3,463	91,283	2.82
Madras	..	114,518	353	114,872	3.41
Maharashtra	..	163,040	5,138	168,178	4.25
Mysore	..	77,068	1,669	78,736	3.34
Orissa	..	26,905	649	27,554	1.57
Punjab	..	52,894	727	53,621	2.64
Rajasthan	..	47,198	3,236	50,433	2.50
Uttar Pradesh	..	105,843	5,406	111,249	1.51
West Bengal	..	86,005	676	86,681	2.48

It will be seen that Kerala incurs the highest expenditure on elementary education per head of population (Rs. 5.34). It is also the most advanced state in elementary education. Then comes Maharashtra with an expenditure of Rs. 4.25 per head of population and Gujarat which has an expenditure of Rs. 3.70 per head of population. At the other end of the scale is Uttar Pradesh with an expenditure of Rs 1.51 only per head of population, Orissa with an

expenditure of Rs 1.57 per head of population and Bihar with an expenditure of Rs 1.64 per head of population.

It would, however, be wrong to assume that a state which incurs the highest expenditure on elementary education per head of population is necessarily the most advanced in the sector. The total expenditure on elementary education depends upon a number of factors of which two are most important—enrolment and salaries of teachers. A state may have very high enrolment and yet may be incurring a lower expenditure on elementary education per head of population for the simple reason that the remuneration of teachers is on the low side. A good example of this is West Bengal. On the other hand, a state may have a low rate of enrolment and yet may be incurring a fairly high level of expenditure on elementary education because of the scale of pay of its teachers is high. This is well illustrated by Rajasthan. The inter-dependence of these and other related factors and the manner in which they influence the cost of education is an important problem and will be discussed in detail a little later.

Priority for Elementary Education

One of the important problems in the financing of elementary education is the priority accorded to it in relation to total educational expenditure. Since the total resources available for educational development are always limited, it is but natural that conflicting demands should be made on it from all the different sectors of education. How has elementary education fared in the past *vis-à-vis* other sectors of education and what has been the priority accorded to it in the programme of education as a whole?

Table 55 shows the total direct expenditure incurred on elementary education in India and its proportion to the total educational expenditure between 1881-82 and 1960-61.

It will be seen from the table that the total direct expenditure on elementary education was about 62.9 per cent of the total educational expenditure in 1881-82. This figure has to be taken with a small correction because the total educational expenditure in India, on all objects, is sometimes estimated at Rs. 18.7 million instead of Rs. 16.1 million as given in this table. Even with this correction, the total direct expenditure on elementary education

TABLE 55 : PROPORTION OF TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE ON ELEMENTARY EDUCATION TO TOTAL EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE

Year		Total direct expenditure on elementary education Rs.	Total educational expenditure Rs. (in millions)	Total direct expenditure on elementary education as percentage of total educational expenditure
1881-82	..	10,137,117	16.110	62.92
1901-02	..	16,586,764	40.121	41.3
1921-22	..	67,540,364	183.753	36.8
1946-47	..	232,895,147	576.613	40.4
1950-51	..	441,833,096	1,143.822	38.6
1960-61	..	1,163,653,983	3,366.961	34.6

would be 53.4 per cent of the total educational expenditure in 1881-82 and it would still be the highest proportion of total educational expenditure to be devoted to elementary education at any time between 1881-82 and 1960-61.

It may be pointed out that this large proportion of expenditure devoted to elementary education in 1881-82 was not due to expansion (the enrolment of boys was only 16.28 per cent of the total population of boys of school-going age and that of girls was only 0.84 per cent of the corresponding population of girls) nor to high salaries of teachers (the average annual salary of a teacher was only Rs. 89). The main reason for this high proportion, therefore, was the non-development of secondary, collegiate and technical education.

In spite of this large proportion of the total educational expenditure being devoted to elementary education, the Indian Education Commission, 1882, felt that elementary education had been neglected and that larger financial allocations had to be made for its development. These recommendations were accepted by the Government of India in principle. But the expansion of secondary and university education during the next 20 years was so great that, in actual practice, the proportion of the direct expenditure on elementary education to the total educational expenditure fell from 62.92

per cent in 1881-82 to 43.12 per cent in 1901-02. In his review of the position, held in 1904, Curzon found that elementary education had 'received insufficient attention and inadequate share of the public funds' and directed that more funds should be allocated to elementary education which had 'a strong claim upon the sympathy of the Government of India as well as the provincial governments'. He also directed that the development of elementary education should be made a legal charge on the funds of the provincial governments and that, in those provinces where elementary education was in a backward position, its encouragement should be a fundamental obligation of the provincial government. In spite of these directives, the expansion of secondary and university education was so great between 1901-02 and 1921-22 that the proportion of the total direct expenditure on elementary education to the total educational expenditure fell from 43.12 per cent in 1901-02 to 39.95 per cent in 1921-22. By 1946-47, it rose slightly to 41.97 per cent, due mainly to the revision of salaries of the elementary teachers. But in 1950-51, it again fell back to the point where it was in 1921-22.

At the time of the attainment of independence, there was a general feeling in the country that the educational system was top-heavy, that elementary education was, by and large, neglected and that secondary and university education had expanded inordinately. Article 45 of the Constitution declared the national policy of providing free and compulsory education for all children in the age-group 6-14 by 1960. Against the background of these policies, one would expect the proportion of total educational expenditure allocated to elementary education to increase substantially after 1946-47 and ultimately to rise to the target of 50 per cent which was suggested by the Kher Committee. In practice, however, the expansion in secondary and university education continued to be much higher than that in elementary education. Moreover, the expansion in sectors like medical education, agricultural education or technical education was almost phenomenal. Consequently, the proportion of the total direct expenditure on elementary education to total educational expenditure fell still further to 35.33 in 1960-61. This is probably the lowest proportion ever allocated to elementary education during the last 80 years.

The foregoing review will show that elementary education has

not received in practice, the high priority which has always been allocated to it in theory, mainly because the pressure of expansion in sectors like secondary, university or technical education has been too powerful to be resisted. If the nation is serious about the constitutional directive to provide free and compulsory education for all children in the age-group 6-14, it is obvious that the priority accorded to elementary education *vis-à-vis* other sectors of education will have to be seriously reconsidered.

There is another aspect of the problem which needs attention. The statistics given above include all expenditure on elementary education—'committed' as well as 'plan'. Since educational policy is better indicated in the 'plan' expenditure, it may be desirable to study the priority given to elementary education in the first three Plans. The following table shows the percentages of financial allocations to different sectors of education in the first three Plans.

TABLE 56 : PERCENTAGE OF ALLOCATIONS TO DIFFERENT SECTORS OF EDUCATION IN THE FIRST THREE FIVE-YEAR PLANS

Sector of education			First Five-Year Plan 1951-56	Second Five-Year Plan 1956-61	Third Five-Year Plan 1961-66
Elementary education	..	..	55.03	33.59	37.32
Secondary education	..	..	13.02	17.73	15.72
University education	..	..	8.87	16.79	14.64
Technical and professional education	..	..	13.61	18.49	25.36
Social education	..	..	2.96	1.44	1.07
Other schemes	..	..	6.51	11.96	5.89
Total	..	..	100.00	100.00	100.00

It will be seen that the priority accorded to elementary education, *vis-à-vis*, other sectors of education, was the highest in the First Plan. In the Second, the decision to industrialize the economy was taken and consequently, technical education was given a higher priority. In the Third Plan, a higher priority was given to elemen-

tary education and the expansion of educational facilities in the age-group 6-11 was included as a high priority and 'core' scheme in the Plan.

What proportion of the total educational expenditure should be allocated to elementary education? The Sargent Plan allocated nearly two-thirds of the total educational expenditure to elementary education. But this Plan was based on a very restricted scale of secondary and university education. The Kher Committee, therefore, suggested that 50 per cent of the total educational expenditure should be devoted to elementary education. Even if the present proportion of 35.33 per cent is to be raised to 50 per cent, it is obvious that the allocations to elementary education will have to be considerably increased in the Fourth and Fifth Plans.

Just as the priority accorded to elementary education in India as a whole has varied from time to time, the priority accorded to it also varies from state to state. Table 57 on the next page shows the proportion of the total expenditure on elementary education to total educational expenditure in all states in 1960-61.

It will be seen that Kerala is the only State where the expenditure on elementary education is more than 50 per cent of the total educational expenditure. At the other extremity are states like West Bengal (25.69 per cent) or Uttar Pradesh (27.99 per cent) where secondary and higher education receive much higher priority. All other states fall somewhere between these extremes.

Expenditure According to Sources

We shall now turn to an examination of the various sources which contribute to the total expenditure on elementary education. The problem can be studied conveniently under three heads: (1) total expenditure on primary education; (2) total expenditure on middle school education; and (3) total expenditure on training schools.

I. *Total Direct Expenditure on Primary Schools.* The total direct expenditure on primary schools comes from five different sources: (1) *government funds* (this includes expenditure incurred by the state governments as well as the grants-in-aid given by the Government of India); (2) *local funds (rural)*, i.e., contributions of local bodies in rural areas such as the District Boards, District

TABLE 57: PRIORITY GIVEN TO ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN DIFFERENT STATES (1960-61)

State		Total expenditure on elementary education (including expenditure on teacher training schools) Rs.	Total educational expenditure Rs.	Percentage of total expenditure on elementary education to total educational expenditure
Andhra Pradesh	..	95,618	256,886	37.22
Assam	..	33,008	89,691	36.80
Bihar	..	76,093	225,902	33.68
Gujarat	..	76,279	189,626	40.23
Jammu & Kashmir	..	7,643	20,323	37.61
Kerala	..	90,218	170,766	52.83
Madhya Pradesh	..	91,283	202,128	45.16
Madras	..	114,872	317,213	36.21
Maharashtra	..	168,178	516,367	32.56
Mysore	..	78,736	176,699	44.56
Orissa	..	27,554	68,066	40.48
Punjab	..	53,621	188,311	28.47
Rajasthan	..	50,433	126,790	39.78
Uttar Pradesh	..	111,249	397,379	27.99
West Bengal	..	86,681	337,357	25.69

Councils, Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads; (3) *local funds (urban)*, i.e., contributions of municipal bodies in urban areas; (4) *fees*; and (5) *other sources*, such as endowments, donations, subscriptions, etc.

Table 58 on the next page shows the total direct expenditure on primary schools, according to sources, from 1881-82.

From the table, it will be seen that the contribution of each of these sources as well as its proportion to the total direct expenditure has varied from time to time. It is, therefore, necessary to note the nature of these variations and their causes.

TABLE 58: TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE ON PRIMARY EDUCATION (1881-82 TO 1960-61) ACCORDING TO SOURCES

(Rs. in 000s)

Year	Total direct expenditure on primary schools from				
	Government funds	Local funds (Rural)	Local funds (Urban-Municipal)	Fees	Other sources
1881-82 ..	1,722	2,541		2,065	1,582
Percentage ..	21.8	32.1		26.1	20.0
1901-02 ..	1,628	3,644	776	3,115	2,712
Percentage ..	13.7	30.7	6.6	26.2	22.8
1921-22 ..	26,746	8,968	5,052	4,907	5,235
Percentage ..	52.5	17.6	9.9	9.7	10.3
1946-47 ..	105,402	35,623	24,622	7,319	11,901
Percentage ..	57.0	19.3	13.3	4.0	6.4
1950-51 ..	249,114	56,566	34,586	8,620	15,958
Percentage ..	68.3	15.5	9.5	2.3	4.4
1955-56 ..	395,511	62,474	44,983	17,527	16,777
Percentage ..	73.6	11.6	8.4	3.3	3.1
1960-61 ..	591,229	60,151	46,540	17,169	19,370
Percentage ..	80.5	8.2	6.3	2.3	2.7

A. GOVERNMENT FUNDS. Government funds played a major role in the financing of the modern elementary schools till about 1863. Between 1863 and 1881, local fund cesses were levied in rural areas and the municipalities were permitted or required to contribute to the expenditure on primary education so that Government funds

assumed a minor role, namely, that of giving grant-in-aid to the local funds, both urban and rural. In 1881-82, therefore, Government funds ranked the lowest in significance, except for 'other sources' as a means of financing elementary education. By 1901-02, the contributions of all other sources increased considerably but that of Government funds was slightly reduced. Consequently, the contribution of Government funds now ranked fourth among the five sources. It was Lord Curzon who changed this policy and declared that elementary education had a major claim on Government funds—a policy which has been continued to this day. Consequently, the contribution of Government funds to total direct expenditure on elementary education has been continually increasing from 13.7 per cent in 1901-02, to 52.5 per cent in 1921-22, 57.0 per cent in 1946-47, 68.3 per cent in 1950-51, 73.6 per cent in 1955-56 and 80.5 per cent in 1960-61. It may now, therefore, be taken as established that Government funds will have to contribute the largest part of the total direct expenditure on primary education.

B. LOCAL FUNDS (RURAL). As narrated in Chapter 1, local fund cesses on land revenue were levied in most parts of India, except those where the permanent land revenue system was in force, between 1863 and 1871. The rates of these cesses varied from province to province and they could be applied, not only to primary education, but also to other local works such as roads, water supply, dispensaries etc. Historically, the local fund cesses have made a very important contribution to the development of primary education. In 1901-02, it will be noticed, they made the largest proportional contribution to the financing of elementary education—Rs. 3.644 million or 30.7 per cent of the total educational expenditure. In the following years, however, their significance was continuously reduced. Land revenue being a very inelastic tax, the income from these cesses also remained inelastic and could be increased only by an increase in land revenue itself or in the rate of their levy. There are obvious limits to both these measures so that the revenue from this source has not increased in proportion to that of other public sources like Government or municipal funds. It will be found from the above table that the total amount contributed by this source increased rather rapidly from Rs. 3.6 million in 1901-02 to Rs. 56.5 million in 1950-51. There-

after, an almost saturation point has been reached as further possibilities of an increase in land revenue or the rate of the cess have become rather difficult. In 1960-61, the total receipts from this source stood at Rs. 60.151 million or 8.2 per cent of the total expenditure on primary education.

C. LOCAL FUNDS (URBAN). Although municipalities were established in India as early as in 1850, they had no responsibility for primary education till 1865 when they were *permitted* to incur expenditure thereon. Such permissive legislation did not evoke a good response. The Indian Education Commission recommended that the municipalities should be compelled to shoulder the responsibility of administering and financing primary education in their areas (subject to grants-in-aid from the Provincial Government). This recommendation was accepted in all the British Indian provinces and by 1901-02, they contributed Rs. 776,000 or 6.6 per cent of the total expenditure on primary education. As the urban population increased, the contribution of this source rose rapidly to Rs. 5.05 million (or 9.9 per cent) in 1921-22 and to Rs. 24.62 million (or 13.3 per cent) in 1946-47. In the erstwhile princely states, however, the municipalities had not been asked to shoulder this responsibility. Consequently, in the statistics of Free India, which included both the British Indian provinces and the princely states, the position in 1950-51 was that the municipalities contributed Rs. 34.58 million or 9.5 per cent of the total expenditure on primary education. By 1960-61, their contribution had risen still further to Rs. 46.54 million but owing to the immense rise in the contribution from Government Funds, its proportion to the total expenditure on primary education went down to 6.3 per cent.

D. FEES AND OTHER SOURCES. At present, fees and other sources (such as donations and contributions) come into the picture because of private schools. But this was not always so. The Despatch of 1854 insisted that some fee, however small, should be charged in every primary school on the ground that education that is given free will not be properly appreciated. This policy continued to be in vogue till 1901-02 and the number of private schools was also comparatively very large till then. Consequently, we find that about 46.1 per cent of the total expendi-

ture on primary education was met by fees (26.1 per cent) and other sources (20.0 per cent) in 1881-82. In 1901-02, this proportion rose still further to 49.0 per cent, fees contributing 26.2 per cent and other sources, 22.8 per cent. Then came two changes of policy. The first was a rapid increase in government or local body primary schools which progressively made the number of private primary schools smaller in proportion. The second was the policy to provide free education. The demand for free and compulsory education became very strong, especially after Gokhale's pioneer efforts. Unable to accept the demand for compulsory education, Government accepted in 1933 the proposal to make primary education free as far as possible. But the policy was vigorously implemented only after 1921 when education was transferred to Indian control. At present, all government and local body schools are free and fees are charged only in a few private schools attended mainly by children of those classes of society that are economically better off. Consequently, the proportion of contribution of fees and other sources to total expenditure on primary education has declined from 49.0 per cent in 1901-02 to 20.0 per cent in 1921-22, 10.4 per cent in 1946-47, 6.7 per cent in 1950-51, 6.4 per cent in 1955-56 and to 5.0 per cent in 1960-61. It might also be noted that the tendency of the parents to pay fees and to send their children to private schools (which generally maintain higher standards) is increasing. In 1901-02, the total contribution of fees and other sources was only Rs. 6.8 million. In 1946-47, it rose to Rs. 19.2 million and in 1960-61 to Rs. 36.5 million.

Just as the contribution of these different sources of financing primary education has varied from time to time, it also varies from state to state as shown in Table 59.

It will be seen from this table that in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, 99.8 per cent of the total expenditure on primary schools is borne by the State Government. There are a few private schools who are charging fees and they account for the remaining 0.2 per cent of the expenditure. In Kerala 99.3 per cent of the total expenditure is borne from state funds. The local bodies (mostly in the area transferred from the old Madras State) bear an almost negligible proportion, and the fees and other sources in private schools account for 0.7 per cent of the total expenditure.

TABLE 59: EXPENDITURE ON PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN DIFFERENT STATES, ACCORDING TO SOURCE
(1960-61)

State	Source of expenditure (Rs. in 000s)				Total
	Government funds	Local funds (Rural)	Local funds (Urban)	Fees	Other sources
Andhra Pradesh	..	20,596 (27.1)	3,605 (4.7)	208 (0.3)	253 (0.3)
Assam	..	357 (1.6)	20 (0.1)	5 (0.0)	2,010 (9.0)
Bihar	..	1,920 (4.3)	860 (2.0)	22 (0.1)	1,532 (3.4)
Gujarat	..	1,448 (5.0)	2,266 (7.9)	1,004 (3.5)	1,176 (4.1)
Jammu & Kashmir	4 (0.1)	5 (0.1)
Kerala	..	2 (0.0)	..	4 (0.0)	389 (0.7)
Madhya Pradesh	..	2,561 (4.1)	2,252 (3.6)	369 (0.6)	1,366 (2.2)
Madras	..	7,034 (9.7)	6,053 (8.3)	190 (0.3)	2,217 (3.0)
Maharashtra	..	2,927 (4.2)	8,569 (12.4)	8,240 (11.9)	3,573 (5.1)
Mysore	..	1,354 (3.5)	556 (1.4)	39 (0.1)	1,568 (4.0)
Orissa	..	1,193 (5.8)	228 (1.1)	7 (0.0)	745 (3.6)
Punjab	151 (0.4)	78 (0.2)	1,106 (3.1)
Rajasthan	112 (0.4)	413 (1.4)	650 (2.2)
Uttar Pradesh	..	10,450 (13.3)	7,318 (9.3)	622 (0.8)	1,719 (2.2)
West Bengal	..	3,526 (5.0)	4,195 (5.9)	5,804 (8.2)	690 (1.0)
					70,867 (100.0)

N.B. The Figures in brackets denote percentages.

Next in order comes Punjab where 96.3 per cent of the total expenditure is borne by the State Government and, as local bodies are not associated with the administration of primary education, the remaining expenditure is mostly borne by fees and other sources from private schools. Then comes Rajasthan with 96 per cent of the total expenditure being paid out of state funds. Owing to the introduction of democratic decentralisation, one would have expected the local bodies to contribute more to the total expenditure on primary education. But this expectation does not seem to have materialized so far.

At the other end of the scale is Maharashtra where 66.4 per cent of the total expenditure only is borne by state funds. The local bodies, particularly the municipalities, bear a very large proportion of the total cost, 16.6 per cent. The large number of fee-charging private schools especially in cities like Bombay also accounts for a good contribution from fees and other sources (which now stands at 17.1 per cent and is the highest in India). Next comes Uttar Pradesh where the State provides 74.4 per cent of the total expenditure. The rural local funds here make the largest contribution in India (13.3 per cent) and the municipalities, the second largest in India (9.3 per cent). The number of private primary schools is extremely small and, therefore, fees and other sources account for 3 per cent only of the total expenditure. In West Bengal, which is highly urbanised and where fee-levying private schools are found in large numbers, the position is similar to that in Maharashtra.

The other states stand somewhere between these extremes.

It may, therefore, be broadly concluded that, at present, the contribution of the state governments to the total expenditure on primary education varies from 66.4 per cent in Maharashtra to 99.8 per cent in Jammu and Kashmir. The liability of the state government is reduced by two main factors: (1) the contribution made by local bodies in rural areas and the municipalities in urban areas; and (2) the contribution from fees and other sources in the fee-levying private schools.

II. *Total Direct Expenditure on Middle Schools.* Table 60 shows the total direct expenditure incurred on middle schools in India from 1881-82 to 1960-61.

TABLE 60: TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE ON MIDDLE SCHOOLS (1881-82 TO 1960-61) ACCORDING TO SOURCES

Year	Total direct expenditure on middle schools from				
	Government funds	Local funds (Rural)	Local funds (Urban)	Fees	Other sources
	(Rs. in 000s)				
1881-82	739	69	79	604	536
Percentage	36.4	3.4	3.9	29.8	26.5
1901-02	720	639	278	1,665	1,410
Percentage	15.3	13.6	5.9	35.3	29.9
1921-22	5,835	2,569	956	4,175	3,097
Percentage	35.1	15.4	5.8	25.1	18.6
1946-47	18,713	8,506,903		14,404	6,404
Percentage	39.0	17.7		30.0	13.3
1950-51	39,231	8,557	2,882	18,413	7,907
Percentage	51.0	11.17	3.7	23.9	10.3
1955-56	96,860	14,288	5,626	24,878	12,398
Percentage	62.9	9.3	3.7	16.1	8.0
1960-61	318,143	22,128	32,023	31,667	25,233
Percentage	74.1	5.1	7.5	7.4	5.9

The main trends described in the earlier section with regard to the financing of primary schools also vary considerably. The contribution of the Government funds was the lowest in 1901-02—Rs. 720,000 or 15.3 per cent—and it has now increased to Rs. 318.143 million or 74.1 per cent. The contribution of local bodies is about the same as at the primary stage. The rural local funds contribute Rs. 22.128 million or 5.1 per cent of the total expenditure on middle schools as against Rs. 60.151 million

or 8.2 per cent of the expenditure on primary schools. This is understandable because the proportion of middle schools in rural areas is lower and government has to assume a greater responsibility for them. The urban local funds contribute Rs. 32.023 million or 7.5 per cent of the total expenditure on middle schools as against Rs. 46.540 million or 6.3 per cent on primary schools. This is mainly because the proportion of the middle schools in urban areas is greater. The main difference, however, is seen in respect of the contribution from fees and other sources. Middle school education has not yet been made free to the extent as primary education and the number of fee charging middle schools is generally greater. At the middle school stage, therefore, fees and other sources contribute Rs. 56.9 million or 13.3 per cent of the total expenditure as against 36.5 million or 5.0 per cent on primary schools. Article 45 of the Constitution directs that education shall be free up to the age of 14. The implication is that middle school education should also be free. There is, therefore, a good deal of leeway to be made in this sector.

Table 61 on the next page shows the variations in the expenditure on middle school education from state to state in 1960-61.

In Jammu and Kashmir and in Kerala, most of the expenditure on middle schools is borne from state funds. In Punjab and Rajasthan, the position is similar, although the contribution of fees and other sources is much greater here (7.1 per cent of the total expenditure in Punjab and 9.6 per cent of the total expenditure in Rajasthan). At the other end of the scale is West Bengal where middle school education is still largely supported by fees. Here the State Government contributes only 39.8 per cent of the total expenditure on middle schools, while fees and other sources contribute as high a proportion as 59.3 per cent. The position in Uttar Pradesh is similar. Education in class VI has been made free, but fees continue to be charged in classes VII and VIII. The State Government, therefore, bears only 45.8 per cent of the total expenditure on middle school education. Fees and other sources contribute only 38.9 per cent of the total expenditure as against 59.3% in West Bengal. But the deficiency is made up to a great extent by the contribution of local bodies which stands at 15.3 per cent in Uttar Pradesh, as against only 0.9% in West Bengal. The

TABLE 61: EXPENDITURE ON MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN DIFFERENT STATES, ACCORDING TO SOURCE
(1960-61)

State	Source of expenditure (Rs. in 000s)					Total	
	Government funds	Local funds (Rural)	Local funds (Urban)	Fees	Other sources		
Andhra Pradesh	..	11,484 (69.1)	2,504 (15.0)	910 (5.5)	1,263 (7.6)	465 (2.8)	16,627
Assam	..	7,293 (73.4)	7 (0.1)	36 (0.4)	1,983 (20.0)	621 (6.2)	9,941
Bihar	..	17,021 (64.6)	1,006 (3.8)	343 (1.3)	5,330 (20.2)	2,667 (10.1)	26,369
Gujarat	..	36,840 (80.8)	2,662 (5.8)	4,167 (9.2)	715 (1.6)	1,199 (2.6)	45,583
Jammu & Kashmir	..	3,072 (97.4)	..	..	28 (0.9)	54 (1.7)	3,154
Kerala	..	33,499 (98.5)	..	..	98 (0.3)	429 (1.2)	34,206
Madhya Pradesh	..	22,794 (88.8)	1,044 (4.1)	228 (0.9)	1,031 (4.0)	585 (2.2)	25,683
Madras	..	30,745 (73.7)	3,822 (9.2)	4,512 (10.8)	651 (1.6)	1,986 (4.7)	41,716
Maharashtra	..	65,094 (69.4)	3,719 (4.0)	14,931 (15.9)	2,670 (2.8)	7,323 (7.8)	93,737
Mysore	..	33,207 (87.8)	1,200 (3.2)	1,332 (3.5)	155 (0.4)	1,925 (5.1)	37,820
Orissa	..	3,724 (59.3)	161 (2.6)	27 (0.4)	1,095 (17.4)	1,279 (20.4)	6,286
Punjab	..	15,855 (92.6)	348 (0.0)	46 (0.3)	540 (3.1)	683 (4.0)	17,124
Rajasthan	..	16,035 (90.1)	18 (0.1)	28 (0.1)	725 (4.1)	994 (5.6)	17,800
Uttar Pradesh	..	12,515 (45.8)	3,141 (11.5)	1,045 (3.8)	7,968 (29.2)	2,658 (9.7)	27,328
West Bengal	..	6,021 (39.8)	111 (0.7)	27 (0.2)	7,114 (47.0)	1,866 (12.3)	15,139

position in Maharashtra is almost the same, both at primary and middle school stages. In Orissa, while the responsibility for primary education has been very largely assumed by the State Government which bears 89.5 per cent of the total expenditure on primary schools, at the middle school stage, there is still a very large predominance of fee-charging private schools as in West Bengal. The State Government, therefore, bears only 59.3 per cent of the total expenditure on middle schools, and other sources bear 37.7 per cent. Another interesting example of the same type is Bihar. Here the State Government bears 90.2 per cent of the total expenditure at the primary stage. But fee-charging middle schools still dominate the scene and the State Government bears only 64.6 per cent of the total expenditure on middle schools, and fees and other sources contribute another 30.3 per cent. It will thus be seen that, in the financing of middle school education, the role of fee-charging middle schools is of great significance at present. In some areas, as in Kerala, even middle school education has been made largely free and almost the entire responsibility for middle school education has been assumed by the State Government. In other areas, as in West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar or Orissa, the fee-charging middle schools still exist in large proportions and these state governments will have to decide the manner and method of increasing the facilities for free middle school education.

III. *Total Direct Expenditure on Training Schools.* Table 62 shows the direct expenditure on training schools from 1881-82 to 1960-61 classified according to sources.

The main responsibility for the training of elementary teachers has always rested upon the state governments. The local bodies used to play an important role in this programme till 1901-02. But they were gradually absolved of this responsibility. Consequently, the contribution of government funds to the total expenditure on training schools has increased from 66.3 per cent in 1901-02 to 90.7 per cent in 1960-61 and that of the local bodies has declined from 16.1 per cent in 1901-02 to 0.3 per cent in 1960-61. The only agency which relieves the financial burden of the state government, to some extent, is private enterprise. Where these are permitted, a fair contribution is made through fees and other sources; but on the whole, it is not very significant. It will be

TABLE 62: TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE ON TRAINING SCHOOLS (1881-82 TO 1960-61) ACCORDING TO SOURCES

Year	Total direct expenditure on training schools from (Rs. in 000s)			
	Government funds	Local funds	Fees	Other sources
1881-82	400	(Source-wise expenditure not available)		
1901-02	472 (66.3)	115 (16.1)	9 (1.3)	116 (16.3)
1921-22	5,096 (86.9)	443 (7.5)	45 (0.8)	280 (4.8)
1946-47	8,005 (88.0)	164 (1.8)	266 (2.9)	666 (7.3)
1950-51	12,873 (84.5)	267 (1.8)	714 (4.7)	1,376 (9.0)
1955-56	16,726 (84.7)	989 (0.5)	1,221 (6.2)	1,712 (8.6)
1960-61	31,234 (90.7)	109 (0.3)	1,787 (5.2)	1,309 (3.8)

seen that the contribution from fees and other sources was as high as 17.6 per cent in 1901-02 and that it declined to 9.0 per cent in 1960-61. There is a strong feeling at present that training schools should not charge any fees. This source of financing training schools will, therefore, either disappear or be reduced still further.

Even in this sector of expenditure, the position varies considerably from state to state (Table 63).

The local bodies make some contribution to the programme only in the states of Bihar, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. Here too, the contribution is mainly from urban bodies on account of the fact that some of the bigger municipalities maintain training schools or classes of their own. In several states, private institutions make a fairly substantial contribution through fees and other sources. This used to be a large contribution in the Punjab; but recently the State Government has taken over the training of teachers directly under its control and

now, almost all the expenditure on the training of elementary teachers is met from state funds. Among the other states, good contributions are made by private agencies in Madras, Maharashtra and Gujarat.

TABLE 63: EXPENDITURE ON TRAINING SCHOOLS IN DIFFERENT STATES, ACCORDING TO SOURCE (1960-61)

States	Source of expenditure (Rs. in 000s)					Total
	Government funds	Local funds (Rural)	Local funds (Urban)	Fees	Other sources	
Andhra Pradesh	2,682 (91.4)	..	..	89 (3.0)	163 (5.6)	2,935
Assam	767 (97.2)	..	..	5 (0.6)	17 (2.2)	789
Bihar	5,219 (97.8)	..	..	..	115 (2.2)	5,336
Gujarat	1,663 (83.4)	10 (0.5)	..	180 (9.0)	141 (7.1)	1,994
Jammu & Kashmir	689 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	689
Kerala	736 (78.2)	..	..	185 (19.6)	21 (2.2)	942
Madhya Pradesh	3,421 (98.8)	..	..	23 (0.7)	19 (0.5)	3,463
Madras	246 (69.6)	..	..	6 (1.6)	102 (28.8)	353
Maharashtra	3,913 (76.2)	..	52 (1.0)	669 (13.0)	503 (9.8)	5,138
Mysore	1,558 (93.4)	..	..	69 (4.1)	41 (2.5)	1,669
Orissa	639 (98.5)	..	..	..	10 (1.5)	649
Punjab	588 (80.9)	..	..	108 (14.9)	31 (4.2)	727
Rajasthan	3,031 (93.7)	..	..	172 (5.3)	32 (1.0)	3,236
Uttar Pradesh	5,103 (94.4)	..	12 (0.2)	212 (3.9)	79 (1.5)	5,406
West Bengal	602 (89.0)	..	35 (5.1)	16 (2.4)	24 (3.5)	676

The extent to which private enterprise should be admitted as a partner with the state government in the training of elementary teachers is an important point of policy. To the extent it is

allowed to operate in this field, the financial burden on the state government would be reduced.

Expenditure by Objects

Data regarding expenditure by objects is unfortunately not available. Prior to 1947, this data was not collected at all. Since 1949-50, the total expenditure incurred on salaries of teachers is being collected. We have, therefore, data for the post-independence period, which shows the division of the total direct expenditure on elementary education into (1) salaries and allowances of teachers or 'teacher costs', and (2) the expenditure on all other objects or the 'non-teacher costs'. The following figures would be interesting from this point of view:

Year	Percentage of teacher costs to total direct expenditure on primary schools	Percentage of teacher costs to total direct expenditure on middle schools
1950-51	80.3	75.8
1955-56	83.8	77.9
1959-60	87.9	86.2

The proportion of teacher costs to total expenditure is very high in Indian elementary education. In 1950-51, for instance, the teacher costs formed as high a proportion as 80.3 per cent of the total expenditure on primary schools and 75.8 per cent of the total expenditure on middle schools. During the last 10 years, the pressure of expansion has been so great that the state governments have not been able to provide very much beyond the salaries and allowances of additional teachers. Consequently, the proportion of teacher costs to the total expenditure on elementary education is continuously increasing. In 1955-56, the teacher costs in primary schools stood at 83.8 per cent of the total expenditure and this proportion rose to 87.9 per cent in 1959-60. Similarly in middle schools, the teacher costs stood at 77.9 per cent of the total expenditure in 1955-56 and this proportion rose to 86.2 per cent in 1959-60.

What should be the proportion of teacher costs to non-teacher costs? In advanced countries, the expenditure on account of teachers is no doubt the largest single item of expenditure as in India. But its share in the total expenditure is much less. In the European countries, the teacher costs form about 70 per cent of the total expenditure and this may well be a target for India. In order to improve the quality of elementary education, it is essential to provide larger amounts for non-teacher costs. A programme of school meals has already been initiated in the Third Five-Year Plan and this will have to be largely expanded during the Fourth and Fifth Plans. There is hardly any provision for health services at present. This programme will have to be initiated on a large scale during the next ten years. Similarly, provision will also have to be made for free supply of textbooks, writing material and school uniforms. The contingent expenditure of the schools will also increase as better buildings and more equipment are provided and the emphasis on extra-curricular activities and teaching of crafts is increased. One of the important developments during the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans in the financing of elementary education would, therefore, be to increase the non-teacher costs considerably. Ultimately, the non-teacher costs in primary schools should be about 25 per cent of the total expenditure by 1975 and those in middle schools should be about 35 per cent. The over-all proportion of teacher and non-teacher costs for elementary schools may, therefore, be assumed to ultimately tend to be 70 and 30 per cent respectively.

In order to have a proper understanding of the manner in which funds allocated to elementary education are utilized, it is essential to have classified details of expenditure on the following heads:

I. *Capital.* The capital expenditure incurred on elementary education may be considered under the following heads: (1) buildings; (2) acquisition of land for buildings, playgrounds and school farms; (3) equipment (inclusive of teaching aids). In the published educational statistics in this country there is often no clear demarcation between these heads and the expenditure on buildings is shown as an item under 'indirect expenditure'. Also,

the expenditure shown here is in respect of *all* buildings and includes the expenditure on the buildings of primary, middle and secondary schools, collegiate institutions and universities, hostels, staff quarters, administrative buildings, etc. It is not possible to deduce what part of the total expenditure on 'buildings' was incurred on buildings for primary and middle schools and training institutions for elementary teachers. Further, no figures of expenditure are available regarding expenditure incurred on the acquisition of land for buildings, playgrounds and school farms. It may, however, be assumed that except in big cities, there is little or no expenditure on this item. The expenditure on equipment is shown as recurring expenditure and no distinction is made between recurring expenditure on equipment (which includes depreciation, replacement, repairs, etc.) and the initial purchase of equipment when a school is newly started or when large additions are made to existing equipment. We may have to collect separate statistics for the capital expenditure on the three items mentioned above to get the essential data on the subject.

II. *Recurring Expenditure.* The recurring costs of elementary education include the following items:

A. *Direct Expenditure.* The following two items of recurring expenditure are generally described as 'direct' expenditure because they are directly incurred on schools and can be ascertained from school statistics:

(1) **COST ON ACCOUNT OF TEACHERS.** This includes the cost on account of salary, old-age provision and welfare services and other expenditure bearing on conditions of service.

(2) **COST ON ACCOUNT OF ITEMS OTHER THAN SALARIES OF TEACHERS.** This includes cost of maintenance of buildings, playgrounds, school gardens or school farms, equipment and contingent expenditure on ancillary services such as school health (including school meals), free supply of school uniforms, free supply of textbooks and writing materials, and scholarships or other forms of assistance to poor and needy students.

B. *Indirect Expenditure.* In addition, there are two other types of recurring expenditure which are known as 'indirect' expenditure because these are incurred for the school system as a whole rather than for individual schools. These are:

(1) EXPENDITURE ON TEACHER EDUCATION. This includes all expenditure on the establishment and maintenance of training institutions for pre-service training of elementary teachers and also all expenditure incurred on programmes of in-service training.

(2) EXPENDITURE ON DIRECTION, INSPECTION AND ADMINISTRATION. This includes all expenditure on the maintenance of the Education Department (in so far as it relates to the system of elementary education) and includes all expenses on the administration and supervision of elementary schools.

Information regarding cost on account of teachers is being collected at present and is fairly accurate except for one fact that it does not include the expenditure on account of pensions paid to retired teachers. This expenditure is generally debited to a separate budget head, and pensions to all categories of employees are lumped together with the result that the expenditure on account of pensions to elementary school teachers is not available separately. In so far as costs other than teachers are concerned, there is no break-up available at present. It may be desirable to divide this expenditure in a number of categories such as (a) contingencies; (b) school meals; (c) health services; (d) scholarships; (e) supply of textbooks and writing materials; (f) maintenance of buildings and equipment; (g) libraries and laboratories; and (h) crafts. The recurring expenditure on training schools which prepare teachers for primary schools is available. But as pointed out earlier, it is not possible to obtain separately the expenditure on the training of teachers for middle schools: these are very often trained, along with teachers of secondary schools, in training colleges. Similarly, the expenditure on direction and inspection is now shown together for all categories of institutions. It will have to be collected separately for elementary education; and if that were not possible, methods of ascertaining it accurately on the basis of existing statistics will have to be designed. At any rate, it will be obvious that our existing statistics have been mainly planned to ascertain the different sources which contribute to the total educational expenditure and that the problem of classifying the total expenditure according to the objects has been generally ignored so far. It will have to receive a greater emphasis and attention in future.

Cost per Pupil

Another important area of study in the financing of elementary education is the cost per pupil.

The cost per pupil depends upon three factors:

- (1) the average annual salary of a teacher or a ;
- (2) the percentage of teacher costs to total direct expenditure or r , and
- (3) the pupil-teacher ratio or t . This relationship can be established as follows:

Let the number of children to be taught be 1000 and let x be the cost per pupil per annum. Then the total direct expenditure on elementary schools is Rs. 1000 x (1)

Let t be the pupil-teacher ratio and a the average annual salary of a teacher. Then for 1000 children, we need $\frac{1000}{t}$ teachers, and their salary would be Rs. $\frac{1000 a}{t}$. To this we add 10 per cent for old-age provision to get the total teacher cost of Rs. $\frac{1100 a}{t}$.

If this is r per cent of the total direct expenditure on elementary schools, the direct expenditure is obviously equal to Rs. $\frac{110000 a}{rt}$. If we add to this 10 per cent for indirect expenditure on direction and inspection and teacher training, the total expenditure on elementary education is equal to Rs. $\frac{121000 a}{rt}$ (2)

Equating (1) and (2), we get

$$1000 x = \frac{121000 a}{rt}$$

$$\text{or } x = 121 \frac{a}{rt} \dots\dots\dots (3)$$

This shows that the cost per pupil increases as the salary of the teacher increases, and decreases as the proportion of the teacher costs to total direct expenditure rises. Similarly, it decreases if the pupil-teacher ratio increases and *vice versa*. The generalised version of this formula would, therefore, be $x = k \frac{a}{rt}$, where k is constant and its value depends upon the cost of old-age provision and the indirect costs on direction and inspection and teacher-training.

Table 64 shows the rise in the cost per pupil in primary, middle and elementary schools from 1901-02 to 1956-57.

TABLE 64: COST PER PUPIL IN PRIMARY, MIDDLE AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Year			Cost per pupil in		
			Primary schools	Middle schools	Elementary schools
			(Rs.)	(Rs.)	(Rs.)
1901-02	..	..	3.7	13.1	4.7
1906-07	..	..	3.9	13.7	4.9
1911-12	..	..	4.2	14.5	5.1
1916-17	..	..	5.0	17.6	6.2
1921-22	..	..	8.1	25.8	9.7
1926-27	..	..	8.4	26.2	10.1
1931-32	..	..	8.6	21.6	10.2
1936-37	..	..	7.9	21.1	9.4
1941-42	..	..	7.9	19.1	9.1
1946-47	..	..	14.2	27.0	15.7
1951-52	..	..	21.3	39.0	23.1
1956-57	..	..	24.4	39.0	26.7

The cost per pupil in primary schools was only Rs. 3.7 in 1901-02. It has now risen to Rs. 27.6 which implies an increase of about seven-and-a-half times. In the middle schools, the rise is not so great. In 1901-02, the cost per pupil in middle schools was Rs. 13.1 and it has now increased to Rs. 40.5. It implies an increase of a little more than 3 times only. Taking the elementary schools as a whole, the cost per pupil was only Rs. 4.7 in 1901-02. It has now increased to Rs. 31.2.

Variation in the cost per pupil from state to state will be seen in the following table:

TABLE 65: COST PER PUPIL IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
ACCORDING TO STATES (1960-61)

State	Cost (in Rs.) per pupil in		
	Primary schools	Middle schools	Elementary schools
Andhra Pradesh	28.4	47.2	30.6
Assam	21.3	49.2	25.8
Bihar	16.4	32.5	20.1
Gujarat	40.4	29.7	33.1
Jammu & Kashmir	25.7	48.3	32.6
Kerala	30.6	44.1	34.7
Madhya Pradesh	36.9	52.6	40.5
Madras	29.2	37.7	31.8
Maharashtra	38.9	38.5	38.7
Mysore	30.8	32.3	31.5
Orissa	15.2	57.9	18.4
Punjab	36.1	54.1	40.4
Rajasthan	33.3	56.3	39.4
Uttar Pradesh	19.8	49.7	23.5
West Bengal	26.9	67.1	30.1

The cost per pupil in primary schools is the highest in Gujarat (Rs. 40.4) and the lowest in Bihar (Rs. 16.4). The cost per pupil at the middle stage is the highest in Orissa where it is Rs. 57.9 and the lowest in Gujarat where it is Rs. 29.7. Taking the elementary schools as a whole, the cost per pupil is the highest in Madhya Pradesh where it is Rs. 40.5 and lowest in Orissa where it is 18.4.

As stated above, the cost per pupil varies directly with the salaries of teachers and inversely with the teacher-pupil ratio.

Other Unit Costs

The cost per pupil is not the only unit cost that is to be studied in the field of elementary education. It has been examined here in some detail, partly because a fair amount of data was available and partly because it is very significant. It will, however, be necessary to study a number of other unit costs, as for example, the cost per teacher, the cost of professional training per trainee per annum, the cost of direction and inspection, the capital costs of providing buildings and equipment per pupil, the cost of such programme as school meals, health services, supply of uniforms or free supply of textbooks and writing materials. Detailed investigations into these problems have not been undertaken as yet. These would be important sectors for the development of research in educational finance.

Grant-in-Aid

The need for a system of grant-in-aid is inherent in the present pattern of administration of elementary education. On the one hand, the provision of universal compulsory and free elementary education has to be attempted cooperatively by the Government of India, the state governments, the local bodies and private enterprise. This necessitates the determination of the precise role of each of these agencies in the total programme. The administration of elementary education is extremely complex and consists of a large number of functions some of which, like the maintenance of school buildings, are extremely simple while others, such as the equalisation of educational opportunities in different states, are extremely difficult. It is impossible to exercise all these functions at any one level of administration and it is, therefore, necessary to allocate these functions to different levels, beginning with the village panchayat at one end and ending with the Government of India at the other. The fundamental principle to be adopted in assigning functions to these different levels is that a function should be assigned to that level where it can be performed at a minimum of cost and with the maximum of efficiency. It, therefore, often happens that the functions which get assigned to the lower levels are such that the authorities at that level are not able to finance them in toto. For example, the functions assigned to the village level would ordinarily be such that the village panchayat would not

be able to discharge them satisfactorily without a grant-in-aid. The same can be said of the block and the district levels. Even at the state level, the financial resources available to the state governments are so meagre that they would not be able to discharge their responsibility in relation to elementary education unless they are substantially assisted by the Centre. The evolution of a policy of grant-in-aid from the Centre to the states, from the states to the local bodies at the different levels—district, block or village—and from the state and/or local authority to voluntary organizations, thus becomes a programme of paramount importance. It is only through a proper system of grant-in-aid that adequate financial resources can be made available at each level to enable the authority at that level to discharge its responsibilities efficiently.

Unfortunately this problem of grant-in-aid has not received the attention it deserves. In most cases, different systems of grant-in-aid have grown up through historical accidents and have continued to operate with minor adjustments made from time to time to meet the needs of the changing situations. One of the important problems of educational administration, therefore, is to carry out a comparative study of the systems of grant-in-aid which are now operating in different states, to trace their historical evolution, to compare their advantages and to suggest an improved framework of grant-in-aid which would facilitate the best use of funds available and promote educational development to the maximum.

Types of Grants

A number of different types of grants are now in vogue. It is necessary to understand them in some detail before we can decide the best type of grant-in-aid to be adopted at each level for the development of elementary education.

Specific Purpose Grants. These were recommended by the Educational Despatch of 1854 and are, therefore, more than one hundred years old. Under this system, a grant-in-aid is given for a specific purpose and subject to specific conditions. All the central grants given to the provinces between 1902 and 1919 were specific purpose grants. This was also the main pattern of central grants to states during the First Five-Year Plan. At the state level, the grants-in-aid to local bodies or to voluntary organizations have very

often been of this type. The main argument in their favour is that they secure development in pre-determined directions ; while the principal charge against them is that they curtail the freedom for action at the receiving end and often apply financial pressures to 'sell' educational policies which would not otherwise have received attention or priority. The recent trend is to reduce the specific purpose grants and to replace them by a general grant for the plan as a whole.

Proportional Grants. Under a system of proportional grants, funds are made available at a certain proportion of the total expenditure incurred and these are called 'matching grants' when this proportion is 50. This is probably the most popular form of grant-in-aid. The main advantage of proportional grants is that they evoke a financial 'response' so that the total effort for educational development is increased. It is also claimed that they help those who are prepared to help themselves. The main argument against this system is that it gives more 'to him that hath'. Under the system, the richer states get greater assistance from the Centre, the richer local bodies from the states and richer schools from the local bodies. As a rule, therefore, proportional grants do not assist in equalising educational opportunities, unless the proportion of expenditure given as a grant-in-aid is made to vary inversely with the wealth of the receiving authority, that is, a larger grant is given to a poorer body and the smaller grant to a richer body. But such variations are not always easy to make or to administer.

Deficit Grants. Under this system, the amount of grant-in-aid is equal to the difference between the total approved expenditure *minus* the local resources. This system is usually adopted when the local resources are very small in comparison with the total expenditure. This system has been adopted, for instance, in grants-in-aid to Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads in Andhra Pradesh. Wherever it has been tried in the past, experience has shown that its results are far from happy. It encourages extravagance on the one hand and reduces the desire to raise local resources on the other. Moreover, the more vocal and better organized agencies profit more under such a system than the weaker or the less organized ones who really need greater assistance.

Salary Grants. Another type is the salary grant under which a

grant-in-aid equal to a proportion of the total expenditure incurred on salaries and allowances of teachers is given. This is a very good system of grant-in-aid, partly because the salaries of teachers is the largest single item of expenditure on elementary education, and partly because the amount of grant-in-aid increases as salaries rise. In several cases, the grant-in-aid on account of salaries is fixed at 100 per cent with a view to safeguarding the interests of teachers.

Capitation Grants. Under this system, grants are given on the basis of attendance in elementary schools. At one time, grants-in-aid were given on capitation basis for *all* purposes, including salaries of teachers. It was soon found, however, that capitation grants were very inadequate to meet the continually increasing demand on account of salaries. At present, therefore, capitation grants are mainly restricted to non-teacher costs.

There are a few other minor systems of grant-in-aid which need not be considered here.

It may also be mentioned that a system of grant-in-aid is generally complex and very often, it is a combination of more than one of the different systems of grant-in-aid described above. For instance, the grant-in-aid to Panchayat Samitis in Rajasthan is a mixture of the salary grant system (salaries of teachers being reimbursed on a hundred per cent basis) and the proportional grant (expenditure on non-teacher items being assisted on a 50 per cent basis). The grant-in-aid to elementary schools in West Bengal is a salary grant combined with proportional grant for non-teacher costs and a specific purpose grant for retiring benefits for teachers. It is always an advantage to combine different types of grant-in-aid to suit the particular situation in view.

In the light of these general considerations, it is possible to indicate some policies for adoption in deciding the grant-in-aid at different levels—Centre to states, state to local bodies, and state local bodies to private schools.

Central Grants

We may first take up the question of Central grants for elementary education. The idea of giving special grants from the Centre to the states for the purposes of special educational programmes was

first initiated by Lord Curzon at the opening of the 19th century. Between 1902 and 1918-19 the central government sanctioned large recurring and non-recurring grants to the provinces for the development of education. Some of these were specifically earmarked for elementary education as, for instance, the grants given in 1904-05, 1912-13 and 1918-19. Primary education was also indirectly concerned in the grants for general education given in 1902, 1910-11, 1912-13, 1913-14, 1914-15 and in the grant given for the training of teachers and improvement of their pay in 1917-18. These grants had a very beneficial effect on the development of elementary education ; but they were discontinued with the transfer of education to Indian control in 1921.

Central grants to states for educational purposes were revived after the attainment of independence. In the First Plan, the practice adopted was to give specific purpose grants to assist the special programmes of educational expansion or improvement undertaken by the states. The rate of grant-in-aid varied from programme to programme and even in the same programme, it was sometimes different for recurring and non-recurring expenditure. The rates also varied from time to time. In spite of all these complications, the system worked fairly smoothly and secured both expansion and improvement of elementary education to a considerable extent. As examples of the grants given, mention may be made of the grant-in-aid for the establishment of post-graduate basic training colleges (66 per cent for non-recurring expenditure and 60 per cent for recurring expenditure), or for employment of additional teachers in elementary schools (which was given at 75 per cent of both the recurring and non-recurring expenditure in the first year, at 50 per cent in the second year and at 25 per cent in the third year).

During the Second Five-Year Plan, this system of specific purpose grant was continued ; but the complexity of the system was reduced to some extent by selecting only a few major schemes for assistance and by fixing the same rate of grant-in-aid for recurring and non-recurring expenditure. There were, however, a good deal of protests against this system, partly because it increased paper work and partly because it curtailed the freedom of the states in planning. Towards the end of the Plan period, therefore, a new policy was adopted under which financial assistance was given for all schemes

in each sector (such as elementary, secondary or university education) taken together. In the Third Plan, still further simplification was carried out and grants are being given for the plan as a whole. It is true that certain schemes have been selected for emphasis and a pattern of proportional assistance has been devised for them. For example, schemes for improving the remuneration of teachers earn assistance at 50 per cent of the total expenditure while those for teacher training and girls' education earn assistance at 100 per cent. But the overall ceiling of assistance for the Plan as a whole is fixed and shortfalls in any one sector can be adjusted against excesses of expenditure in others. The pattern of assistance does not, therefore, have much meaning.

What should be the form of central grants to state governments for the development of elementary education in the future? Since the target of providing free and compulsory education for all children in the age-group 6-14 will have to be achieved during the next 15 years and since the success of the programme depends mainly on adequate central assistance being made available, this problem is obviously of great significance.

The present basis of central grants to development programmes of the state is to undertake all the relevant factors into consideration and to give a grant-in-aid for the Plan as a whole. This pattern has several advantages and should continue. It must be pointed out, however, that the success of special programmes such as that of universal, free and compulsory education will not be achieved on this basis. At present, the inequalities of development between states are very marked and in particular, the six states of Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh are comparatively very much under-developed. The total population of these states is about 44.54 per cent of the total population of the country and yet, at the beginning of the Third Five-Year Plan, they had 60.13 per cent of the non-attending children in the age-group 6-11 in the country as a whole. During the Third Five-Year Plan, the gap between the advanced and the backward states is widening rather than narrowing; and at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, 10.209 millions of non-attending children in the age-group 6-11 (which form 67.48 per cent of the total number of 15.129 millions of non-attending children in the country) will be in

these six states. The single state of Uttar Pradesh will have 4.271 millions or 29 per cent of the non-attending children in the country as a whole. Bihar will have 1.928 millions or 12.5 per cent and Madhya Pradesh, 1.793 millions or 11.9 per cent of the non-attending children in the country. It is, therefore, evident that these states will not be able to provide free and compulsory education for all children within a given time unless some special assistance is made available to them. It is, therefore, necessary to institute a special grant for elementary education which should be made available to the less advanced states to enable them to clear their backlogs of non-attending children which have accumulated through a century of under-development.

The first Finance Commission did consider this matter and approved of a grant-in-aid of Rs. 40 million which was given to 8 less advanced states. The idea of giving special grants for specific purposes was, however, discounted by the Second Finance Commission and this grant, which had served a very useful purpose, was discontinued. A time has now arrived to revive it.

What should be the basis of the special grant for elementary education? Obviously, it will have to be an equalisation grant. In other words, we will have to prescribe a certain minimum effort which we would expect these less advanced states to put in for the development of elementary education. If they make this effort, all additional expenditure required for clearing the entire backlog should be made available to them through special grant-in-aid. It will be noticed that, in this proposal, the special grant is not recommended as a permanent measure. It is a transitional arrangement and shall come to an end as soon as the backlogs have been cleared and the gap between the advanced and the less advanced states is reasonably bridged.

Grants-in-aid from State Governments to Local Bodies

The next level at which a system of grant-in-aid will have to be introduced is the state level. If the local bodies are not associated with the administration of elementary education, the only grant-in-aid problems to be considered are those of grant-in-aid to voluntary organizations. But if the local bodies are associated with the administration of elementary education—as in most states they

are—systems of grant-in-aid will have to be instituted to (a) municipalities, and (b) local bodies in rural areas at the district, block or village levels.

Grants-in-aid to Municipalities. Where municipalities are entrusted with the administration of elementary education in their areas, the system of grant-in-aid adopted is mostly that of proportional grants, the usual formula being to assist municipalities on a 50 per cent basis. The system works fairly well ; but two main difficulties usually arise. The first is due to the large inequalities of wealth between one municipality and another. There is, for instance, a world of difference between a municipality in a small village of 5,000 people with an income of about Rs. 10 to 15 thousand and a municipality in a city like Bombay with an income of about Rs. 100 million. It is, therefore, necessary to equalize the grants to municipalities in such a way that the richer municipalities will get less and the poorer municipalities, more. This is generally done by classifying the municipalities into different groups, on the basis of their resources, and by prescribing different proportions of grants-in-aid for different groups. In Maharashtra, for example, the smaller municipalities get a grant-in-aid at 66.6 per cent of their total approved expenditure ; the medium-sized municipalities get grant-in-aid at 50 per cent ; and the big municipalities get block grants which work out to somewhere between 20 to 25 per cent. The Kale Committee recommended that the grant-in-aid to municipalities should be regulated on the basis of equalization as indicated above and this is a general pattern which may well be adopted in all areas where municipalities have been entrusted with the administration of elementary education.

Grant-in-aid to Local Bodies in Rural Areas. The grant-in-aid to local bodies in rural areas stand on a different footing. Here, the total amount of local resources that can be raised is very small and the state government generally bears more than 90 per cent of the expenditure incurred on elementary education. The proportional grants, do not, therefore, suit this situation. The usual basis of grant-in-aid now adopted is that of deficit grants ; but as pointed out earlier, this is not a good system of grant as it encourages extravagance and does not stimulate local financial support. A much better system of grant-in-aid to local bodies in rural areas, therefore,

would be to give (1) a salary grant equal to all the expenditure on salaries and allowances of teachers (which generally come to 85 per cent of the total expenditure) ; and (2) a proportionate grant for all the non-teacher costs (this may be done as in Rajasthan by fixing the state grant at 50 per cent of this expenditure) or a capitation grant at so much per child in attendance. Such a system will safeguard the interest of teachers and will also stimulate the raising of local resources. In Madras, the state government promises a matching grant for the surcharge levied by a panchayat union on the local cess. This is a useful device for stimulating local effort at raising funds for elementary education and may be adopted in addition to the grant suggested above.

Grant-in-Aid to Voluntary Organizations

Constitutionally it is the responsibility of the state to provide free and compulsory education for all children. But for several reasons, private elementary schools will have to be organized in all parts of the country although, depending on local conditions and historical traditions, the extent of such enterprise may vary from one area to another. Every state, therefore, will have to devise a policy of grant-in-aid to private elementary schools.

At present, the policy in some states is to discourage private enterprise and the grant-in-aid policies are consequently illiberal. On the other hand, some states adopt a policy of encouraging private enterprise to the greatest extent possible and provide liberal grants-in-aid. It is felt that the adoption of the latter policy is more desirable in the present situation when the funds available for elementary education are limited and they have to be utilized, as far as possible, for the education of the weaker sections of society.

A comparative study of the existing patterns of grant-in-aid to voluntary educational organizations shows large differences. At one end is a state like Madras where private elementary schools are given a 'salary grant' at 100 per cent of the expenditure incurred on the salaries and allowances of the teachers, and a 'teaching grant' for the non-teacher costs at 15 per cent of the salary grant earned. Rajasthan has a system of proportional grants, and private elementary schools are entitled to receive 50 per cent of their expenditure as grant-in-aid. In Uttar Pradesh, no effort is made to encourage private

primary schools and there is hardly any system of grant-in-aid worth the name. After a comparative study of the existing systems of grant-in-aid, it may be said that a policy of assisting private elementary schools on the following lines may be adopted to encourage private enterprise in elementary education and to reduce the total financial burden on the public treasury:

(1) Where the private schools are meant for the richer classes of society who are in a position to pay for the education of their children (such schools can be readily recognized on the basis of the fees they charge), there is hardly any need to give grant-in-aid. It would, therefore, be advisable to have a rule to the effect that a school which charges monthly fees above a prescribed maximum will not be entitled to any grant-in-aid.

(2) When a grant-in-aid is given to a private school which is either run free or charges fees lower than the prescribed maximum, care should be taken to see that the grant-in-aid per capita is not more than the cost per pupil in a public elementary school. For instance, if the cost of elementary education in a given area is Rs. 30 per pupil per annum, the total grant-in-aid, on whatever basis given to a private school in that area should not exceed Rs. 30 per pupil. In fact, as the main objective of encouraging private enterprise is to reduce the financial liability of government to some extent at least, it may be desirable to lay down a rule to the effect that the total grant-in-aid to a private school, on whatever basis given, will not exceed (a) the net deficit of the school, or (b) a certain proportion—such as $\frac{3}{4}$ ths or $\frac{4}{5}$ ths—of the cost per pupil in a public elementary school in that area, whichever is less.

(3) The best form of grant-in-aid to private elementary schools would be the salary grant system and it would be better to give this grant on a 100 per cent basis on condition that the number of teachers is fixed in accordance with the rules made by government and the appointment of each individual teacher is also approved. In addition, a grant-in-aid may be given for the non-teacher costs, either as a proportion of the salary grant or as a capitation grant. Both these grants, taken together, should be subject to the maximum limit suggested under (2) above.

(4) In addition to this recurring grant, a system of specific purpose grants may be adopted for such purposes as construction of

buildings, purchase of costly equipment, provision of laboratories, development of libraries or school farms, provision of mid-day meals, etc.

If such a policy is adopted, the number of children being educated in private schools would increase and the total grant-in-aid payable to them would be less than the total expenditure which the government would have had to incur, had these children attended the public elementary schools.

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion has thrown some light on several aspects of this important problem of financing elementary education such as the growth in the total expenditure incurred on elementary education during the last 80 years, the priority accorded to elementary education *vis-à-vis* other sectors of education, the different sources from which elementary education is financed, the objectives of expenditure in elementary education, the cost per pupil, salaries of teachers, and grants-in-aid. Unfortunately, not much attention has been paid to a study of these problems so far ; and particularly the effectiveness of the expenditure incurred on different objectives in elementary education has not been assessed. The development of research in these sectors would greatly assist in evolving solutions to these difficult problems and thereby bringing nearer the goal of free and compulsory education for all children.

CHAPTER 24

Legislation for Compulsory Education

A programme of compulsory education imposes obligations on parents, local authorities responsible for elementary education, and employers. The parent is under an obligation to send his children to school as soon as they attain the lower age prescribed for compulsory education and also to keep them at school till they complete the prescribed course and cross the upper age for compulsory education. The authority responsible for elementary education—this may be a local body or a state government—is under an obligation to provide adequate school facilities for elementary education for all children of compulsory age residing within its jurisdiction. The employers of labour are under an obligation not to employ children of compulsory age, or at least not to employ them in such a way as to interfere with their obligatory attendance at school. The object of a compulsory law is to spell out the details of these obligations and, in the case of parents and employers, to specify the penalties for the failure to fulfil their obligations as well as the procedures to be adopted in bringing the defaulters to book. In this chapter, which is devoted to the legislation for compulsory education in India, we shall review the evolution of existing compulsory education laws in the country as well as the experience of their enforcement in practice.

Gokhale's Bill for Elementary Education (1911)

The first draft of a law for compulsory education in India was prepared by Gokhale who based it generally on the Elementary Education Acts 1870, 1876 and 1880 of England. His chief concern, however, was to prepare a Bill that would be acceptable to the British Government which stoutly opposed all proposals of compulsory education on 'administrative and financial grounds of decisive weight'. He, therefore, introduced four special features in his Bill.

(1) *Permissive Character.* The first was its permissive character. Gokhale really desired that the country should prepare a

definite programme for universal compulsory education spread over 10 to 25 years. But he wisely refrained from introducing these ideas in his Bill which merely enabled a local body, if it so desired, to introduce compulsory education in any selected area, *after* certain conditions were fulfilled. The Bill was thus purely *permissive* in character and Gokhale himself pointed out:

No local body is compelled to come under this Bill that wants to keep out of it. Any Local Government that wants to prevent compulsion being introduced in any particular area, can prevent it by withholding its sanction to its introduction. And lastly, the supreme control of the Government of India is retained at the initial stage by the provision that it is the Government of India that should lay down the proportion of school-going children at school which must be satisfied before any local body can take up the question of compulsion.¹

(2) *Initiative to Local Bodies.* Another distinctive feature of the Bill was to leave the initiative for introducing compulsory education to local bodies. The need for this step was thus explained by Gokhale himself:

My Lord, it is urged by those who are opposed to the introduction of compulsion in this country that though the Gaekwar, as an Indian Prince, could force compulsion on his subjects without serious opposition, the British Government, as a foreign government, cannot afford to risk the unpopularity which the measure will entail. Personally, I do not think that the fear which lies behind this view is justified. But to meet this objection, I am quite willing that the first steps in the direction of compulsion should be taken by our local bodies, which reproduce in British territory conditions similar to those which obtain in Feudatory States. . . . When the public mind is familiarized with the idea of compulsion, the Government may take the succeeding steps without any hesitation or misgivings.²

(3) *Modest Scope.* The scope of the Bill was deliberately kept modest. Although the full primary course was then spread over seven or eight years, the Bill visualized a compulsory course of four years only and the age-period of compulsion was fixed at six to ten years. Compulsion was to be introduced for boys only in the first instance and later on extended to girls in the light of the experience gained. Similarly, compulsion was to be introduced first in towns and then extended to villages.

(4) *No Financial Obligation on Government.* Another impor-

¹ D. M. Desai, *Compulsory Primary Education in India*, p. 89.

² Gokhale's *Speeches* (1920 edition), pp. 615-16.

tant feature of the Bill was that it did not *directly* place any financial obligation on government and merely provided that a local body desiring to introduce compulsory education shall bear such proportion of the increased expenditure as the Government of India might prescribe. In spite of this elastic provision under which government could escape all financial liability on account of compulsory education if it so desired, Gokhale was emphatic that substantial additional financial support must come from government if any worthwhile results were to be achieved. He said:

I think the calculation of cost is a fairly simple one. The Bill is intended to apply, in the first instance, to boys only, and we will, therefore, for the present, take the cost for boys. Taking 10 per cent of the total male population as the number of boys between the ages of 6 and 10, and taking the male population of about 125 millions, according to the latest census, we find that the number of boys that should be at school is about $12\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Of these, four millions are already at school. Now Mr. Orange, the Director-General of Education, in a note which he prepared for the Government, took the average cost of education per boy at Rs. 5 (which) for $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions of boys, amounts to about Rs. $4\frac{1}{4}$ crores per year, or say Rs. $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores per year. I propose that this cost should be divided between the Government and the local bodies in the proportion of two-thirds and one-third; that is, the Government should find Rs. 3 crores, and local bodies, the remaining Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores.³

The whole thing hinges on whether the Government of India are prepared to find a good part of the cost. That is, in fact, the real crux of the question and whether the Bill is accepted or thrown out, it is perfectly clear that no large extension of elementary education is possible in the country unless the Government of India come forward with generous financial assistance.⁴

Gokhale was clear in his mind that the ultimate solution of the problem would lie in the acceptance of five basic principles, *viz.*, (1) that universal, free and compulsory education was the most essential step for mass education, (2) that such education should be spread over 7 or 8 years, (3) that a definite phased programme for its realization should be prepared, (4) that the government should accept full responsibility for the preparation and implementation of such a programme, and (5) that a large part of the additional resources required for the purpose should be found by the government. But in order to make the idea acceptable to the British Government, he deliberately proposed a purely permissive, modest and cautious Bill as the *first* step in what could not but be a long and arduous struggle.

³ D. M. Desai: *Compulsory Primary Education in India*, pp. 92-93.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 89-90.

As he himself observed:

Of all the great national tasks which lie before the country, and in which the government and the people can cooperate to the advantage of both, none is greater than this task of promoting the universal diffusion of education in the land, bringing by its means a ray of light, a touch of refinement, a glow of hope into the lives that sadly need them all. The work, I have already said, is bound to be slow, but that only means that it must be taken in hand at once. If a beginning is made without further delay, if both the government and the people persevere with the task in the right spirit, the whole problem may be solved before another generation rises to take our place. If this happens, the next generation will enter upon its own special work with a strength which will be its own security of success. As for us, it will be enough to have laboured for such an end—laboured when the end is not in sight. For, my Lord, I think there is not only profound humility but also profound wisdom in the faith which says:

I do not ask to see the distant scene.

One step enough for me.⁵

The four main features of Gokhale's Bill described above were, therefore, adopted by him purely on grounds of expediency. But they came to dominate all the thinking on the problem and coloured the subsequent legislation for compulsory education; and it was only by slow stages that each one of these features was given up and the ultimate solution of the problem proposed by Gokhale came to be adopted by the country.

The Patel Act of 1918 and the Compulsory Education Laws of 1919-20

The first law ever to be passed in British India on compulsory education was the Bombay Municipalities (Primary Education) Act, 1918, popularly known as the Patel Act after its mover, Shri Vithal-bhai Patel. It was broadly based on the provisions of Gokhale's Bill, but made four significant changes which were mainly responsible for its acceptance by Government: (1) As Gokhale's Bill had been severely criticized on the ground that the rural areas were not ready for compulsion, Vithal-bhai restricted the scope of his Act to municipal areas only; (2) Gokhale had insisted that government should bear two-thirds of the expenditure on compulsory education. Vithal-bhai accepted the suggestion made by the Government of India that it should be left to the discretion of the government to give or not to give a grant-in-aid for schemes of compulsory education; (3) with

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 81-82.

a view to preventing hasty action on the part of local bodies, the Act provided that a municipal resolution introducing compulsory education should be supported by two-thirds of the councillors present at the meeting and one-half of the total number of councillors and approved by the government which had to satisfy itself, before giving its sanction, that adequate provision had been made for teachers, buildings, equipment, etc. ; and (4) power was reserved to the government to exempt any particular caste or community from the operation of the Act.

The passage of this Act was followed by a spate of compulsory laws—4 in 1919 and 3 in 1920 as shown below:

<i>Full title of the Act</i>	<i>Brief title used in this chapter</i>
1. The Bengal Primary Education Act, 1919	Bengal Act
2. The Bihar and Orissa Primary Education Act, 1919	Bihar and Orissa Act
3. The Punjab Primary Education Act, 1919	Punjab Act
4. The United Provinces Primary Education Act, 1919	U.P. Act
5. The Central Provinces Primary Education Act, 1920	C.P. Act
6. The Madras Elementary Education Act, 1920	Madras Act
7. The City of Bombay Primary Education Act, 1920	City of Bombay Act

All these laws were mostly based on the Patel Act of 1918. But they tried to improve upon it wherever possible and particularly to do away with the transitional compromises which Gokhale and Vithalbhai had adopted as a measure of expediency to make their Bills acceptable to the government. The more important of the changes made by these laws are described below:

Extent of Application. The Patel Act was applicable to urban areas only. So were the U.P. and the City of Bombay Acts. A change was, however, made in the Bengal Act under which power was reserved to government to extend it to rural areas. The Bihar

and Orissa, Punjab, C.P. and Madras Acts applied both to urban and rural areas.

Children under Compulsion. The Patel Act applied to boys as well as to girls. The C.P., Madras and the City of Bombay Acts followed suit; but Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and Punjab Acts applied to boys only. The U.P. Act was the first Act in northern India to apply to girls. It provided that compulsory education should be first introduced for boys and only after it had been in force for two years, it could be extended to girls.

Age-Period of Compulsion. The Patel Act fixed the age-period of compulsion at 6-11; and so did the City of Bombay Act. The Bengal and Bihar and Orissa Acts adopted Gokhale's age-group of 6-10. The Punjab Act adopted the age-group 6-11, but also left it to the local authorities to change it to 7-12 if they so desired. The C. P. Act took a bolder line and defined a child as a 'child of not less than 6 and not more than 14 years of age'. The Madras Act kept the position elastic and defined 'school age'—during which attendance was to be compulsory—to mean such age 'as may be prescribed by the Provincial Government in any local area or in any particular community'. This amendment had the objective of adopting, if necessary, different age-periods of compulsory education for boys and girls, or for different areas, or even for different communities.

Procedure for Introducing Compulsory Education. In the fear that the local authorities may be too hasty in introducing compulsion and cause hardship to people, elaborate procedures for the introduction of compulsory education were prescribed in all these Acts. For instance, the Punjab Act provided as follows:

3(1) Any local authority may resolve by a majority of two-thirds of the members present at a meeting specially convened for the purpose, to propose that Part II of this Act shall be applied to the whole or any part of the area within the local limits of its authority.

3(2) When a resolution has been passed under sub-section (1), the local authority shall publish it locally and any person likely to be affected thereby and objecting thereto may, within thirty days from the publication of resolution, send his objection in writing to the local authority; and the latter shall, at a meeting convened for that purpose, take his objection into consideration.

3(3) If no objection is sent within the said period of thirty days, or if the objections received having been considered are deemed insufficient by a majority of two-thirds of the members present at such meeting, the local authority may submit its proposals to the Local Government, with the objections, if any, which have been sent in and with its decision thereon.

3(4) The local authority shall at the same time submit to the Local Government a statement showing the school accommodation, equipment, and the amount or part of expenditure thereon it is prepared to supply.

3(5) The Local Government on receiving the proposals and statement may sanction the same, or refuse to sanction them or return to the local authority for further consideration.

3(6) When the proposals and the statement have been sanctioned by the Local Government, the local authority may direct that Part II of this Act shall be applied in accordance with the said proposal.

Education Cess. The Bengal Act authorized the municipalities to levy an education cess whenever their existing resources including government grant, if any, were not sufficient to cover the cost of primary education (which may or may not be free and/or compulsory). This cess was to be levied in such manner as may be prescribed by rules made by the Provincial government and its rate was to be such as to meet approximately the deficit in the expenditure on primary education. This was a new provision and marked an advance over the Patel Act. The Bihar and Orissa Act made a still further and significant change by laying down that whenever an education cess was levied, primary education should be free. The U.P. Act authorized the municipalities to levy a new tax or to increase an existing tax in order to meet the cost of compulsory education. A similar provision was made in the City of Bombay and Punjab Acts. The C.P. Act did not provide for the levy of an education cess on the ground that the Municipalities and District Boards already had these powers under their principal Acts. The Madras Act made specific proposals for the levy of an educational cess. It said:

34. With the previous sanction of the Governor in Council any local authority may levy within its area the following taxes, namely:

- (i) If the area is within a municipality, a tax not exceeding twenty-five per cent of the taxation leviable in that area under the law for the time being in force governing municipalities under all or any of the following heads, *viz.*, property tax, tax on companies, and profession tax; and
- (ii) If the area is not within a municipality, a tax not exceeding twenty-five per cent of the taxation leviable in that area under the law for the time being in force governing local boards under all or any of the following heads, *viz.*, land cess, tax on companies, profession tax and house tax.

Grant-in-Aid from the Provincial Government. As stated above, the Patel Act did not bind the Provincial government to assist schemes of compulsory education. It was this change, rather

than anything else, that made government accept it. The Bengal and Bihar and Orissa Acts followed suit. The Punjab Act made no specific provision for provincial grants to local bodies for compulsory education. But when it was passed, government undertook to bear a share of the cost. The U.P. Act went a step further and provided that the Provincial government might make rules defining the conditions under which it would bear a share of the cost of elementary education. In fact, the orders passed by the government fixed the rate of grant-in-aid at two-thirds of the total expenditure, which was one of Gokhale's proposals. The C.P. Act accepted the need for such grants and provided that their 'rates' should be fixed by rules under the Act. The Madras Act went still further and made provincial grants both determinate and statutory. As the Hon'ble Mr. Knapp observed in introducing the Bill:

The second main portion of the Bill relates to the provision of funds for elementary education. Greatly as the contributions of Government have increased in recent years, it has for some time been obvious that no definite or systematic advance towards universal education is possible as long as it is mainly dependent on the somewhat spasmodic and precarious supplies which may be expected from the central funds. In providing for the levy of a local educational tax at the discretion of the local body, the Bill makes a very distinct move forward but it is not the case that this implies—and on this I wish to lay some emphasis—any intention on the part of the Government to place the whole burden of elementary education on the local bodies and local residents. As will be seen from Clause 37 of the Bill, the Government propose to bind themselves by a statutory provision to contribute to the elementary education fund a sum not less than the proceeds of the education tax and this statutory contribution is to be in addition to and not in lieu of the amount of expenditure incurred from provincial funds during the financial year prior to that in which the Act comes into force. The provision, which is, I think, the only statutory provision of the kind made in any enactment in India, will, I believe, be regarded as a liberal one and as affording evidence that the Government, while aiming at decentralization and giving to the local residents the principal voice in determining to what extent and in what direction they wish their elementary education to be extended, have no desire to divest themselves of their financial and general responsibility for advance in the direction of elementary education.⁶

Compulsory Education Laws (1921-47)

With the transfer of education to Indian control in 1921, the second phase in the history of compulsory education in India may

⁶ D. M. Desai: *op. cit.* p. 139.

be said to have begun. During this phase, the following laws for compulsory education were passed:

<i>Full title of the Act</i>	<i>Brief title used in this chapter</i>
1. The Bombay Primary Education Act, 1923 (This Act repealed the Patel Act. It was largely amended in 1938 and finally replaced by the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1947)	Bombay Act of 1923
2. The United Provinces (District Boards) Act, 1926	U.P. (District Boards) Act
3. The Assam Primary Education Act, 1926 (This was later replaced by the Assam Primary Education Act, 1947)	Assam Act
4. The Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act, 1930	Bengal (Rural) Act

The Bengal Act of 1919 was amended in 1932 and extended to girls; and the Punjab Act of 1919 was replaced by the Punjab Primary Education Act, 1940.

The United Provinces (District Boards), Bengal (Rural) and Assam Acts did not introduce any new concepts in the administration of compulsory education and their provisions may be briefly noticed here. The U.P. (District Boards) Act removed a lacuna in the existing legislation and provided a legal basis for introduction of compulsory education in the rural areas of United Provinces for all children in the age-group of 6-11 (except in the case of Muslim girls for whom the age-group limit 5-9 was prescribed). Similarly, the Bengal (Rural) Act created a special machinery for the administration of elementary education in rural areas of Bengal and provided a legal basis for the introduction of compulsory education (for boys and girls in the age-group of 6 to 11 or any higher prescribed age) and for the levy of an educational cess. The Assam Act of 1926

enabled local bodies to introduce compulsion on the usual lines and was applicable to boys as well as girls and to both urban and rural areas. The Act of 1947 was purely administrative in character—it deprived the local bodies of their control over elementary education with a view to vesting it in a State Board of Primary Education—and did not deal with compulsory education as such.

The Bombay Act of 1923, however, took up the fundamental concepts that Gokhale had enunciated and tried to get out of some of the compromises which had been introduced in the earlier legislation for compulsory education. The first of these was the idea of preparing a definite programme for expansion of elementary education that would ultimately lead to the introduction of compulsory education for all boys and girls in rural and urban areas. Prior to the passing of this Act, the Government of Bombay had appointed a Committee which prepared a programme of expansion, spread over 10 years, with the object of doubling the enrolment of children in primary schools. As one of the objectives of this Act was to give effect to the recommendations of this Committee, its preamble stated that it was the declared *policy* of the government that 'universal, free and compulsory education for boys and girls should be reached by a definite programme of progressive expansion'.⁷ This idea soon caught the imagination of the people and the necessity for preparing such a programme was also raised when the U.P. (District Boards) Act was being considered; but the Government did not accept the proposal. The point was raised again when the Bengal (Rural) Act was being considered and, with a view to meeting it, the preamble of this Act stated that its objective was to secure 'progressive expansion' of primary education so as to make it available to all children with a view to making it compulsory within ten years. These victories for the principle enunciated by Gokhale did not, however, mean much in practice. Neither in Bombay nor in Bengal were any effective steps taken to translate into action the noble sentiments expressed in the preambles of these Acts.

⁷ In the Act of 1947, this was substituted by the following new preamble: 'It is the *duty* of government to secure the development and expansion of primary education; and it is the declared policy of government that universal, free and compulsory primary education should be reached by a definite programme of progressive expansion'.

The second concept taken up by the Bombay Act of 1923 was to place the main responsibility for the introduction of compulsory education on the government and *not* on local bodies. Gokhale had proposed that the initiative in introducing compulsion should be left to local bodies merely to surmount the objection of the British Government that, as an alien government, it could not enforce compulsory attendance at schools. In the subsequent legislation, however, this aspect of the problem was lost sight of and it was rather naively assumed that it was the responsibility of local bodies to introduce compulsory education, that they were over-enthusiastic to do so, and that the only responsibility of government was to see that no harm was done by hasty action or over-enthusiasm on the part of local bodies. These assumptions were belied in practice and the experience of the administration of compulsory education laws between 1918 and 1923 showed that very few local bodies came forward to introduce compulsory education and that, if a local body failed to introduce compulsory education, government, which had only a power of veto, could do nothing. It was, therefore, felt that a time had come when government should be armed with larger powers for introducing compulsory education. The transfer of education to Indian control in 1921 had also surmounted the objection of the British Government to enforce compulsory attendance. The Bombay Act of 1923, therefore, took a bold step forward although, on the lines of the earlier laws, it still left the initiative for introducing compulsory education in the hands of the local bodies. Section 10(2) of the Act authorized government to call upon local bodies to prepare schemes of compulsion within a specified period if they failed to take initiative in the matter; and Section 26 of the Act gave government the power to prepare or execute schemes of compulsion through its own officers if the local bodies failed to comply with an order under Section 10(2) and to recover the expenses thereof from them. The background of this legislation was thus explained by the then Minister of Education, the Hon'ble Shri R. P. Paranjpe:

Then again, we do not leave to the municipalities the option to introduce compulsion or not. While in Section 8, we have given to local bodies the option of making a scheme for themselves and asking government to sanction it, we have not stopped at that though in fact we believe that, for a short time at any rate, that part of the section will remain practically only a devout

hope; what we intend is that according to the second part of that section, government will call upon any local body to make a scheme of compulsory education and if that Body does not make that scheme of compulsory education, government will appoint its own officers to make a scheme and ask the local body to carry it out. The local body may still perhaps be recalcitrant. Government will not stop there; government will appoint an officer of its own to carry that scheme through even if the local body does not want it, and we will compel the local body to contribute its quota to the expenses of the scheme. You will find, therefore, that according to the clauses of this Bill, it is not left to the local body to introduce compulsion, although we devoutly hope that many local bodies will come forward of their own accord to do so. But we feel that the introduction of compulsory education is so vitally important to the progress of the people of this Presidency that government must have power to take the initiative themselves and compel the local bodies to go ahead in this direction. Thus Section 8 gives power to government to ask local bodies to introduce compulsion and make a scheme. The clause relating to default, Clause 24, will prove to you that government is in dead earnest in this matter of introducing compulsory education.⁸

On the issue of government grants to local bodies for schemes of compulsory education, however, the Bombay Act did nothing new. It merely adopted the lead given by Madras and assured the local bodies that it would bear two-thirds of all additional expenditure incurred on expansion of compulsion in rural (or small municipal) areas and one-half of the same in big municipal areas. The Assam Act followed suit and assured a grant-in-aid of two-thirds of the additional expenditure involved in all sanctioned schemes of compulsory education. But no such proposal was adopted in the other Acts. The U.P. (District Boards) Act merely empowered the government to make rules defining the conditions under which it would bear a share of the cost of providing primary education and the Bengal Act limited the share of the government to Rs. 2.35 million, on the assumption that the cess would bring in Rs. 111.175 million.

It will be seen from the foregoing survey that every province in British India had passed a law for compulsory education by 1930, that several of them were amended from time to time, and that, by 1947, all provinces of British India had a compulsory education law under which compulsory education of 4 to 8 years' duration could be introduced for boys and girls and also in urban and rural areas. All these laws were largely based on Gokhale's Bill of 1911 or on his

⁸ D. M. Desai: *Compulsory Primary Education in India*, p. 151.

proposals for compulsory education. They were all permissive in character and left the initiative for introducing compulsion in the hands of local bodies and it was only in the Bombay Act of 1923 and the U.P. Act of 1926 that powers had been reserved to the government to take adequate action, if the local bodies failed to exercise their initiative. Most of them prescribed elaborate procedures for the introduction of compulsion with a view to preventing hasty action on the part of local bodies. Some of them provided for the levy of education cesses by local bodies while others authorized them to levy new taxes or to increase existing ones for purposes of compulsory education. In the beginning, there was total unwillingness on the part of the government to accept any financial responsibility for compulsory education. But later on, such financial responsibility was accepted and even statutory provisions were made for the purpose. Some of the Acts provided for preparation of definite programmes of expansion of elementary education, leading ultimately to the introduction of free and compulsory education for all children. But, by and large, this idea did not become a core of the legislation and even in 1947, it was more a pious hope than a basis for governmental policy and action.

Compulsory Education in Practice (1918-47)

Let us now review the progress made in the practical enforcement of these laws.

By 1921, only 8 municipalities had introduced compulsory education—5 in Bombay, 2 in Punjab and 1 in Bihar and Orissa. The progress in the next 26 years was, on the whole, very meagre as the statistics in Table 66 will show.

In a period of 30 years after the first compulsory education law was passed, compulsion had been introduced only in 176 towns and 11,779 villages. Moreover, in most of these areas, compulsion had been introduced for boys only and it was only in 20 towns and 1,401 villages (1,082 in Madras, 319 in Bombay and 3 in U.P.) that compulsion had been introduced for girls. The age-groups of compulsion were 6-10, 6-11 or 7-12. Moreover, it was only in Bombay (20 towns and 617 villages), C.P. (34 towns and 1,031 villages), Madras (26 towns and 1182 villages), Punjab (35 towns and 4,984 villages) and U.P. (36 towns and 1,671 villages) that some effective action had

TABLE 66: AREAS UNDER COMPULSION (1921-46)

Year	Urban areas	Rural areas	No. of villages in rural areas under compulsion
1921-22	8	..	..
1926-27	114	1,571	
1931-32	153	2,977	
1936-37	167	3,034	13,072
1946-47	176	..	11,779*

*The decrease is due to Partition.

been taken to introduce compulsion. In the remaining areas, very little had been done to enforce the compulsory education laws. In Assam, two compulsory education laws had been passed, one in 1926 and the other in 1947; but compulsion had not been introduced even in a single area. In Bengal, compulsion was introduced only in a part of Calcutta City under the Act of 1919; and no rural area had been brought under compulsion under the Act of 1930. Bihar had introduced compulsion in one town only, although its Act was passed as early as 1919.

There is another aspect of the problem that deserves notice. It was not only the very limited number of areas in which compulsion had been introduced that was disappointing. Even in areas where compulsion had been introduced, the practical enforcement of attendance was often sadly neglected. Lists of non-attending children were not always prepared; notices to parents were not always issued; prosecutions of defaulters were far too few and desultory to produce any tangible results; and viewed as a whole, the overall position in areas under compulsion was not very different from that in non-compulsory areas. In many places, it was reported that the main emphasis in enrolling children was on persuasion and propaganda so that the 'compulsory' provisions of the law were, more or less, on paper only.

The actual results obtained in the working of the compulsory education laws, therefore, were very disappointing, especially if one

bears in mind the great enthusiasm with which these laws were passed between 1918 and 1930. Ever since 1937, therefore, there was a general demand to the effect that a phased programme for the expansion of elementary education, leading ultimately to the provision of free and compulsory education for all children in the age-group 6-14 should be prepared, that the existing compulsory legislation, which had largely become out-of-date, should be revised, and that compulsion should be quickly extended to all parts of the country. Owing to the outbreak of the Second World War and the resignation of the popular ministries in the provinces, these problems could not be taken up at once. But they received attention as soon as the country became independent.

Compulsory Education Laws and their Enforcement (1950-61)

In due deference to popular demand, the Post-War Plan of Educational Development prepared in 1944 visualized free and compulsory education for all children in the age-group of 6-14 and estimated that a period of 40 years would be needed to reach the goal. The general reaction in the country was that this period was too long and the Kher Committee proposed to reduce it to 16 years. But even this proposal did not meet the popular demand and Article 45 of the Constitution finally directed that free and compulsory education for all children up to 14 years of age should be introduced in a period of ten years. It is because of this priority given in the Constitution that programmes of elementary education have received considerable attention in the Five-Year Plans. It is true that it has not been possible to fulfil the constitutional directive. But the rate of expansion of elementary education has now been considerably increased—from about 2 per cent between 1931-47 to about 9 per cent since 1958-59 and it is proposed to maintain it at that level throughout the Third Five-Year Plan. This tremendous expansion has no parallel in the earlier history of elementary education, and the present indications are that it may be possible to fulfil the constitutional directive by 1975.

One achievement of the post-independence period was to extend compulsory education laws to almost all parts of the country and especially to the areas of the erstwhile princely states. The review of compulsory education laws given earlier was confined only

to British India. But similar legislation had been passed in some princely Indian states also. In fact, it was the Indian states that gave a lead in this matter and the earliest compulsory laws in India were passed by enlightened Princes—Baroda in 1893 and Mysore in 1913.⁹ Later on, some other states also passed similar laws; but unfortunately full details of all such legislation are not available. It is on record that Kolhapur passed a law in 1917, Patiala in 1926, Bikaner in 1929, Jammu & Kashmir in 1934, Travancore in 1945, and Cochin in 1947. Gondal (in Gujarat) passed a peculiar law under which compulsory education was introduced for girls only, on the ground that the boys were already at school and needed no compulsion. But on the whole, it may be said that a large number of the seven hundred and odd princely states were educationally under-developed and did not have compulsory education laws.

On the adoption of the Constitution, most of the princely states were merged in the British Indian provinces—which now became Part A States—and the Compulsory Education Laws of the erstwhile British Indian provinces concerned were automatically extended to them. Others became (or were merged into) Part B and C states and such of them as did not have a compulsory education law took steps to place one on the statute book. Thus Madhya Bharat passed an Act in 1950; Hyderabad, Ajmer and Vindhya Pradesh in 1952; Himachal Pradesh in 1953; PEPSU in 1954; and Saurashtra and Bhopal in 1956. With the reorganization of states in 1956, the needs of Coorg (which merged in Mysore) and Kutch (which merged in Bombay) were taken care of. In 1959, a Regulation for Compulsory Education was passed for Andaman and Nicobar Islands. By 1960, therefore, there was a compulsory education law on the statute book of every state and Union Territory except Rajasthan (Ajmer and Bikaner alone had such laws) and the Union Territories of Manipur, Tripura and Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands and all the Centrally administered areas. The details of these laws, however, have not been discussed here because they were based broadly on the British Indian Acts already discussed and did not raise any new issues of policy.

The second achievement of post-independence period was to modernize the legislation on compulsory education. In 1960, the

⁹ This was later replaced by the Mysore Elementary Education Act, 1941.

Ministry of Education made a comparative study of all the existing compulsory education laws in the country and came to the conclusion that they have to be substantially amended and modernized. The Delhi Primary Education Bill was, therefore, prepared on the basis of the latest studies of the problem. It became law and came into force on October 2, 1960. The state governments are now adopting it as a basis for the revision of their compulsory laws.

The latest position of compulsory education laws in the country is shown below:

Andhra Pradesh. The Andhra area of the State was under the Madras Elementary Education Act, 1920 and the Telengana area under the Hyderabad Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1952. Both these Acts have now been repealed and replaced by the Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Act, 1961.

Assam. The Assam Primary Education Act, 1947 was replaced by the Assam Basic Education Act, 1954. This has now been repealed and replaced by the Assam Elementary Education Act, 1962.

Bihar. The Bihar and Orissa Primary Education Act, 1919 is still in force. It has been amended in 1959 with a view to providing for the levy of a free primary education cess.

Gujarat. The Bombay Primary Education Act, 1947 was in force in the Bombay area and the Saurashtra Primary Education Act, 1956 was in force in the Saurashtra area. There was no compulsory education law for Kutch. The provisions relating to compulsory education in both these Acts have now been repealed and replaced by the Gujarat Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1961, which is applicable to the entire State.

Jammu & Kashmir. The Compulsory Education Act, 1934.

Kerala. The different areas of the State were under (i) the Travancore Primary Education Act, 1945, (ii) the Cochin Free Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1947, and (iii) the Madras Elementary Education Act, 1920. These have been repealed and replaced by the Kerala Education Act, 1958.

Madhya Pradesh. The different areas of the State were

under (i) the Madhya Pradesh Primary Education Act, 1956, (ii) the Madhya Bharat Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1950, (iii) the Vindhya Pradesh Primary Education Act, 1952, and (iv) Bhopal State Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1956. All these Acts have now been repealed and replaced by the Madhya Pradesh Primary Education Act, 1961.

Madras. The Madras Elementary Education Act, 1920.

Maharashtra. The different areas of the State are under (i) the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1947, (ii) the Madhya Pradesh Primary Education Act, 1956, and (iii) the Hyderabad Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1952.

Mysore. The different areas of the State were under (i) Hyderabad Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1952, (ii) the Madras Elementary Education Act, 1920, (iii) the Mysore Elementary Education Act, 1941, and (iv) the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1947. All these Acts have been repealed and replaced by the Mysore Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1961.

Orissa. The Bihar and Orissa Primary Education Act, 1919.

Punjab. The different areas of the State were under (i) the Punjab Primary Education Act, 1919, (ii) the Punjab Primary Education Act, 1940, (iii) The Patiala Primary Education Act, 1926, and (iv) the PEPSU compulsory Primary Education Act, 1954. All these Acts have been repealed and replaced by the Punjab Primary Education Act, 1960.

Rajasthan. Ajmer is governed by the Ajmer Primary Education Act, 1952, and the area of the old Bikaner State is under the Bikaner State Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1929. There is no compulsory education law for the rest of the State.

Uttar Pradesh. (i) The U.P. Primary Education Act, 1919, and (ii) the U.P. (District Boards) Primary Education Act, 1926.

West Bengal. (i) The Bengal Primary Education Act, 1919, and (ii) the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Act, 1930.

Delhi. The Delhi Primary Education Act, 1960.

Himachal Pradesh. The Himachal Pradesh Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1953.

Andaman & Nicobar Islands. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands (Primary Education) Regulation, 1959.

It will be seen that modernised legislation on compulsory education, on the lines of the Delhi Primary Education Act, 1960, has already been adopted by the States of Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore and Punjab. It will not be long before the other states also follow suit.

The main features of the amendments to existing legislation on compulsory education, which have been prominently brought out in the Delhi Primary Education Act, 1960, are briefly listed below:

(1) *Permissive Character.* Gokhale's Bill was permissive in character. Most of the early compulsory education laws adopted this idea and it was only in the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1947, that the introduction of compulsory education was prescribed as the duty of the authority administering elementary education. In view of the Directive Principle of State Policy contained in Article 45, it is no longer desirable to retain the permissive character of the early compulsory education laws. In the new legislation, therefore, it has been made a *duty* of the authority administering elementary education to introduce free and compulsory education.

(2) *Initiative.* In Gokhale's Bill, the initiative for the introduction of compulsory education was left to the local bodies. Whether elementary education should be administered direct by the state governments or entrusted to the local bodies is an important issue of policy which has been discussed in an earlier part of this book. But legislation for compulsory education would have to provide for both the alternatives. When elementary education is administered direct by a state government, the initiative for introducing compulsion vests in the state government itself. When elementary education is administered by a local body, the initiative to introduce compulsory education will naturally have to be left to the local body in the first instance. In such cases, however, it is necessary to provide for cases where the local authority may not take the initiative for introducing compulsion or may not effectively enforce compulsory attendance after compulsory education has been

introduced. Gokhale's Bill did not visualize such a contingency at all; and all the earlier compulsory education laws (except the Bombay Primary Education Act of 1923 and the United Provinces (District Boards) Primary Education Act of 1926) do not vest any authority in the state government to deal adequately with such cases. The new legislation, therefore, adopts the policy of these two Acts and invests the state government with adequate powers to deal with a recalcitrant local body which may fail in its duty of introducing or enforcing compulsory education.

(3) *Scope.* Gokhale's Bill was very modest in scope and contemplated compulsory education for boys only in the age-group 6-10. It also assumed that compulsory education should be first introduced in towns and then extended to rural areas. Many of the earlier compulsory education laws still have these features. In view of the Directive Principle of State Policy contained in Article 45 of the Constitution, however, there is no longer any need for such a modest approach to the problem. The new legislation, therefore, provides that compulsory education would be extended to all parts of the country as quickly as possible and that it should be applied simultaneously to boys and girls. It also enables the authorities concerned to extend compulsory education to the age of 14.

(4) *Grant-in-Aid to Local Bodies.* Where elementary education is administered by the state government itself, no problem of grant-in-aid arises. Where it is administered by local bodies, grant-in-aid from state funds would be needed. The earlier compulsory education laws did not provide for any grant-in-aid at all. Later, discretionary grants were introduced as in the C.P. Act of 1920; and finally they were made statutory as in the Madras Act of 1920 or the Bombay Act of 1923. The maximum grant payable to local bodies on account of compulsory education, however, was two-thirds of the additional expenditure involved. The problem of the financing of elementary education will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. But it would be enough to state here that (1) these grants have, by and large, proved to be inadequate—and this is one of the reasons for the slow progress of compulsory education—and (2) that it is essential to vary grants-in-aid from one local body to another in view of local conditions. The

new legislation, therefore, provides that grants-in-aid to the local bodies on account of compulsory education will be statutory, adequate and elastic enough to meet the varied and changing situations.

(5) *Procedure for Enforcement of Compulsory Attendance.*

The procedure for the enforcement of compulsory attendance prescribed by most of the earlier compulsory education laws in British India was, on the whole, so cumbrous and dilatory that it often defeated its own purpose. This result was due to the excessive anxiety of the British administrators to see that they did not cause any hardship to the parents. There is no longer any basis for such an over-cautious policy. The new legislation, therefore, prescribes a simpler procedure for the enforcement of compulsory attendance which emphasizes the educative rather than the penal aspects of the law. This is the most distinctive feature of the new legislation and its details will be discussed in the next chapter.

The third achievement of the post-independence period was to extend compulsory education to very large areas. As stated earlier, compulsory education had been introduced in only 176 towns and 11,779 villages by 1947. There has been immense progress in this field during the last 14 years as the statistics in Table 67 will show.

It will be seen that the progress has been almost phenomenal. Compulsory education has now been introduced in 1,275 towns as against 176 in 1947 and in 70,861 villages as against 11,779 in the same year. The enrolment of children in the compulsory education areas now totals 8.6 millions or 25 per cent out of a total of 34.3 millions for the country as a whole. Except in Orissa, compulsory education has now been extended everywhere to girls also. It is also significant to note that the number of girls enrolled for every 100 boys in the compulsory areas is 55 while the corresponding figure for the country as a whole is 47. The progress is, however, very uneven in the different parts of the country. Maharashtra, Gujarat and Madras lead considerably while in Orissa, only a very small beginning has been made so far.

It is also necessary to point out here another welcome development of this period: there is now less emphasis on the penal provisions of compulsory education laws than in the past and a

TABLE 67: COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION IN INDIA (1960-61)

State	Compulsion age-group		Number of areas under compulsion		Number of pupils under compulsion		
	Towns	Villages	Towns	Villages	Boys	Girls	Total
Andhra Pradesh	6-11 6-12	6-11 6-12	132	1,341	282,350	188,160	470,510
Assam	6-11	6-11	15	4,403	237,327	136,243	373,570
Bihar	6-10	6-11, 6-14	16	8,498	354,540	94,123	448,663
Gujarat	6-11 7-10 7-11	6-11 7-10 7-11	91	12,753	638,050	419,506	1,057,556
Kerala*	5-10, 5-11 6-11, 6-12 6-14	5-10, 5-11 6-11, 6-12 6-14, 6-16	18	186	227,928	174,207	402,135
Madhya Pradesh	6-11 6-14	6-11 6-14	245	6,421	313,177	36,121	349,298
Madras	5-10, 6-7 6-12	5-10, 6-7 6-12	242	5,100	777,450	547,452	1,324,902
Maharashtra	6-11, 7-11 7-10, 6-13 6-14	6-11, 6-14 7-11, 7-14	274	15,519	1,233,788	818,916	2,052,704
Mysore	6-10, 6-11	6-10, 6-11	126	4,244	529,124	336,646	865,770
Orissa	6-11	6-11	1	12	3,388	..	3,388
Punjab	6-11	6-11	11	3,910	182,344	14,866	197,210
Rajasthan	6-11	6-11	6	706	49,058	18,097	67,155
Uttar Pradesh	6-11	6-11	95	1,687	479,256	97,058	576,314
West Bengal	6-10	6-11	2	5,742	235,394	121,250	356,644
Delhi	6-7	6-7	1	338	35,294	30,500	65,794
INDIA			1,275	70,860	5,578,468	3,033,145	8,611,613

*Figures of Kerala relate to 1959-60.

correspondingly greater emphasis on its educative aspects and on the development of socio-economic measures which would help children to attend schools. In the early days of compulsory education, there was a tendency to over-emphasize the prosecution

of defaulting parents in order to increase attendance in schools. It is now realized that this does not help materially in improving attendance, although a compulsory education law does provide a suitable background against which the schools can function. Greater efforts are, therefore, being made at present to educate public opinion and to organize enrolment drives to bring children to schools. Similarly, ameliorative measures like provision of school meals and free supply of uniforms and textbooks are being developed in several areas as an effective method of bringing children to schools and retaining them longer therein. It is in these directions, rather than in the rigorous enforcement of the penal provisions, that the future development of compulsory education in the country is to be sought.

Enforcement of Compulsory Attendance

The survey of compulsory education laws in India given in the preceding chapter has shown how the existing legislation has been gradually evolved in the course of the last 50 years, and the principles on which it is based. In this chapter, we shall discuss the main problems involved in a programme of enforcing compulsory attendance in schools.

Introducing Compulsory Education in a Given Area

All the compulsory education laws in India have one common feature: they do not become operative in all parts of the area to which they extend. Instead, they contain a provision to the effect that compulsory education shall be enforced only in such *areas*, from such *date* and in respect of such *children* as may be specified by a notification issued under them. A provision of this type is not found in the laws of advanced countries where compulsory education has already been enforced in all parts of the country. In India also, a position would soon be reached when compulsory education would have been introduced in all areas, thereby making this provision superfluous. But Gokhale suggested this expedient of extending compulsory education from one area to another on three grounds: (1) it would be desirable to introduce compulsory education in a few areas on an experimental basis and then to extend it to others in the light of experience gained; (2) as funds for the universal introduction of compulsory education are not available, it would be necessary to introduce compulsion in one area after another as funds become available; and (3) all parts of the country are not equally ready for the introduction of compulsory education so that it is better to extend it to each area as soon as it becomes sufficiently ripe for the experiment. Of these arguments, the first has lost its validity because compulsory education is no longer an 'experiment'. But the other two are still valid and hence these provisions have been continued, and rightly so, in all

the compulsory education laws. Obviously, these are of a transitory character.

How do we decide that a certain area is ripe for the introduction of compulsory education? Gokhale had suggested that this may be determined on the basis of the proportion of children already enrolled in schools. For instance, we may lay down that as soon as more than 50 to 70 per cent of the children are enrolled in schools of a given area on a voluntary basis, a large majority of the parents may be assumed to be in favour of the proposal and compulsory education may be introduced. On the other hand, it has been argued that compulsory education is more needed for a backward area than for one which has already become education conscious. The Gaekwar of Baroda, for instance, began his experiment in the most backward part of the State. Some have advocated that compulsory education should first be introduced in towns, then in bigger villages and last of all, in small villages. Others have argued that compulsory education should immediately be introduced in all villages with a population of below 500 where single-teacher schools have already been established on the ground that this can be done without any additional cost and that it would help us to run the bus with fewer empty places. Controversies of this type have no significance at present because compulsory education has to be introduced in *all* areas and that too, in a short-range programme. The only point to remember is that we have to carry the public with us if compulsory attendance is to be successfully enforced. In an area which has already become education-conscious, this task is fairly easy. But in backward areas, special, and often intensive attempts will have to be made to educate the parents, and provision for the purpose should be made in the compulsory education scheme.

What are the steps to be taken before a notification under the law is issued and compulsory education is introduced in a given area? Obviously, these are two: (1) the preparation of a satisfactory scheme of compulsory education for the given area; and (2) its approval by the state government. The laws of compulsory education, therefore, provide for the preparation of such schemes and prescribe the broad principles on which they have to be based.

When the state government is directly administering elementary education in an area, no specific provision in law is necessary for the preparation of the schemes of compulsory education. In this case, the responsibility to prepare such schemes is upon the state government itself and it is usually got prepared through the officers of government in accordance with such instructions as may be issued from time to time. The more important of these instructions are generally incorporated in the rules under the Acts.

The situation, however, becomes entirely different when a local body is in charge of elementary education. In this case, five specific provisions are necessary in the law: (1) a specific provision is needed to make it a duty of the local body to prepare such schemes; (2) the initiative to prepare such schemes has to be left to the local body in the first instance; (3) if the local body fails in its duty and does not take the initiative, powers will have to be reserved to government to direct the local body to prepare the scheme; (4) the main particulars to be included in a scheme will have to be stated in sufficient detail; and (5) it will have to be made clear that a local body cannot introduce compulsion in any area unless the scheme prepared by it is sanctioned by government. All these five principles were first enunciated in the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1923. They have been fully incorporated in the Delhi Primary Education Act, 1960, and are now being adopted in all the new compulsory education laws. As an instance in point, sections 3 and 16 of the Gujarat Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1961, are quoted below:

3. *Scheme for Primary Education :*

- (1) It shall be the duty of every local authority to provide for compulsory primary education for children ordinarily resident within its jurisdiction, and for this purpose it shall, from time to time, submit to the State Government proposals in the form of a scheme in respect of the whole or such part of the area within its jurisdiction and for children of such ages and up to such standard as the local authority deems it.
- (2) Notwithstanding anything contained in sub-section (1), the State Government may, at any time, direct a local authority to submit to it within a specified time a scheme for compulsory primary education in any area within the jurisdiction of the local authority for children of such ages and ordinarily resident therein, and up to such standard as the State Government may specify.

- (3) Every scheme shall be submitted in such form as the Director may specify and shall contain the following particulars, namely:
 - (a) proposed area of compulsion ;
 - (b) the census of children of the age to which the scheme shall apply classified according to age and languages spoken by the children ;
 - (c) a list of existing approved schools, if any, proposed to be opened or recognized for the purpose, classified by languages in which instruction is or is proposed to be imparted ;
 - (d) a schedule of existing and proposed teaching and non-teaching staff including clerks and inferior servants ;
 - (e) the recurring and non-recurring cost of the scheme ;
 - (f) a copy of the resolution of the local authority agreeing to bear its share of the additional recurring and non-recurring cost ;
 - (g) such other particulars as may be prescribed.
 - (4) The State Government may, after making such enquiry as it considers necessary, sanction with or without modifications any scheme submitted.
16. *Failure of Local Authority to Prepare or Implement Scheme :*
- (1) If any local authority when called upon to submit a scheme under sub-section (2) of section 3 fails to do so or after a scheme has been sanctioned under sub-section (4) of section 3 fails to give effect to a scheme so sanctioned, whether wholly or in part, the State Government may, after making such inquiry as it considers necessary and after giving an opportunity to the local authority to be heard in the matter, appoint any person to prepare the scheme or to give effect to it, as the case may be, and may direct that such part of the expenses as the State Government may determine shall be defrayed out of the funds belonging to the local authority. The person so appointed shall perform all the functions of a local authority under this Act in respect of the scheme.
 - (2) Where any such direction as is referred to in sub-section (1) is issued, any person who has for the time being the custody of any moneys on behalf of the local authority, either as a banker or in any other capacity, shall, notwithstanding anything contained in any law for the time being in force be bound to comply with such direction. Every payment made pursuant to such direction shall be sufficient discharge to such person from all liability to the local authority in respect of any amount so paid by him out of the money of the local authority so held by him.

As soon as the scheme is sanctioned, a notification can be issued under the Act ; and with such issue, compulsory education is introduced in the area and all the three liabilities implied in compulsory education become effective, *viz.*, (1) parents become liable to send children to schools ; (2) the authority responsible for elementary education becomes liable to provide the needed facilities ; and (3) employers are prohibited from employing children of school going age in a way which would interfere with their education.

Whenever compulsory education is *first* introduced in an area, the following important points have to be noted:

(1) Compulsory education has to be introduced at the beginning of a school year only. There are a large number of formalities to be completed before the schools reopen. The notification introducing compulsory education in a given area should, therefore, be issued sufficiently in advance—say three to four months—of the beginning of the school year.

(2) At present, it is only compulsory primary education that is being introduced. This covers either classes I to IV or I to V and the age-groups vary from 6-10 to 6-14. While such local variations are natural, one feature should be common to all programmes, *viz.*, compulsory education should be enforced from year to year. For instance, there is no point in enforcing the enrolment of a child of 10 years when he will remain in the school for one year only and leave at eleven. Thus, if the age-group of compulsory education is 6-11, it would be desirable to introduce compulsory education for the entire age-group in a period of five years as shown below:

<i>Year of the scheme</i>	<i>Age-group to be brought under compulsion</i>
First	6-7
Second	6-8
Third	6-9
Fourth	6-10
Fifth	6-11

If this is done, children would be first enrolled in the age-group of 6-7 and, once enrolled, would remain in school till they complete the age of eleven. Wastage caused by enrolment of older children would thus be avoided.

(3) Should compulsory education be introduced for boys only, or for girls only, or for both was an important issue for decision when Gokhale drafted his Bill; and in deference to the conservatism of the people, he suggested that it should be first introduced for boys only and then extended to girls. The situation

is now greatly changed. Moreover, experience has shown that this idea has done more harm than good and that the hiatus between the introduction of compulsory education for boys and girls is often very long. There are several areas in India where compulsory education was introduced for boys 30 years ago and where it has not yet been extended to girls. Some advocate the view that compulsory education may or may not be introduced for boys; but that it should certainly be introduced for girls. The Gondal State, for instance, had compulsory education for girls only. It would, however, be desirable now, as a matter of policy, to introduce it simultaneously for boys and girls.

It may be interesting to point out that the earlier compulsory education laws definitely provided for the introduction of compulsory education for boys only in the first instance. Some of these provisions have not yet been amended. For instance, section 2(2) of the Bihar and Orissa Act, 1919, still provides that a child means a 'boy'. The validity of such provisions is now doubtful in view of Article 15(1) of the Constitution. It may well be *ultra vires* of the Constitution to introduce compulsory education for boys only, even on a short-term basis. Introduction of compulsory education for girls only may be valid as it would be covered by the proviso contained in Article 15(4)¹.

Constitution of Attendance Authorities

As soon as a scheme of compulsory education is introduced in a given area, the parent of every child to whom the scheme applies is under an obligation to send him to school and every employer of labour is prohibited from employing children of school-going age in such a manner as to interfere with their attendance at school. Let us now see how these obligations can be enforced and how defaulting parents and employers can be punished under the law.

The compulsory education laws authorize Government or the local authority responsible for implementing a compulsory

¹ Articles 15(1) and (4) of the Constitution read as follows:

15 (1) The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them.

15 (4) Nothing in this article or in Clause (2) of Article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes.

education scheme to constitute 'attendance authorities' for this purpose. The attendance authority may be a person, honorary or stipendary, or a committee according to the needs of the situation. It is also not necessary for an attendance authority to perform *all* the duties of attendance authorities. The legal provisions are elastic enough to permit the distribution of these duties between a number of attendance authorities and persons or officers who may be appointed to assist them.

The different duties which an attendance authority is required to perform for enforcing the provisions of compulsory education laws are the following:

- (1) Making a list of children of school-going age in the area in which compulsory education has been introduced ;
- (2) Issuing notices to parents whose children have attained the school-going age ;
- (3) Deciding applications made by parents to claim a reasonable excuse for non-attendance ;
- (4) Passing attendance orders ; and
- (5) Prosecuting the defaulting parents or employers.

The underlying idea in the new legislation on compulsory education is to associate the leaders of the public with the enforcement of compulsory attendance. It is, therefore, suggested that the best attendance authority would be a school committee nominated by government or the local body responsible for implementing a scheme of compulsory education. It should consist of the leading citizens of the area served by the school (or a group of schools) who take interest in education. Since the education of girls and of the backward classes are the two most difficult problems to be tackled, it would be an advantage to have women and representatives of the backward communities as members of these committees. It would also be an advantage not to restrict the duties of the school committees merely to the enforcement of attendance and to authorize them to look after the general progress and improvement of the school, partly through grant-in-aid received from the Government or the local body, and partly through local contributions raised from the public. The exact composition of these committees and their powers and duties will, however, have to be prescribed by

the state governments (or the local bodies) taking into account local conditions.²

It is necessary to take note of the new legislation on village panchayats in enforcing compulsory attendance in rural areas. The policy of the government is to establish a network of village panchayats throughout the country and to bring every village under the local administration of some panchayat or the other. Steps will have to be taken to associate the village panchayats with the local schools. The details of this aspect of the problem have been discussed elsewhere. It may be mentioned here, however, that the enforcement of compulsory attendance within their areas would be regarded as one of the major educational responsibilities of the village panchayats. They should, therefore, be authorized to constitute school committees for the schools within their areas on the lines of a broad policy laid down by the government.

In urban areas, it would be possible and desirable to appoint whole-time attendance officers who would work as secretaries of the school committees and assist them in the discharge of their responsibilities. In the rural areas, it may not be financially possible to appoint separate functionaries for the purpose. The responsibility of working as the secretary of the school committee will, therefore, have to be entrusted to the headmasters of elementary schools in some respects and to secretaries of village panchayats in others.

Preparing Lists of Children of School-going Age

The first step in the programme of enforcing compulsory attendance is to prepare a list of children liable to attend school. It is a responsibility of the attendance authority to have the list prepared with the help of teachers, headmasters, supervising officers of elementary schools and, where they have been appointed, the special attendance officers. The list is prepared immediately after the introduction of compulsory education and, thereafter, it is annually revised. The preparation of the lists of children to whom the scheme of compulsory education applies is a very important step in the administration of compulsory education. In a way, the success of the entire programme may be said to depend upon this basic step because a child who is not enumerated in the list escapes

² This problem has been discussed in the earlier chapter.

the process of compulsory attendance altogether. The administrators of compulsory education, therefore, have to see that this work is organized in good time and in an efficient manner.

Ultimately, each state will have to prepare its own set of instructions for the annual preparation of the lists of children for the use of elementary teachers (through whom the lists will have to be prepared) and the officers of the Department who will organize the work. The forms and registers needed will also have to be standardized. The following important points which arise in this context may, however, be briefly mentioned.

(1) The annual preparation of the lists should be organized, about three to four months before the beginning of each academic year.

(2) The work should be planned by each inspecting officer for his own beat. In each village, the headmaster of the local school (and when there is more than one school, the senior-most headmaster) should be in charge of the work. In towns and cities, however, some special organization will have to be set up as the scale of the work would be bigger.

(3) The main basis of the work is that the teachers go from house to house and collect the information about all children liable to compulsion in a prescribed form.

(4) Generally, the work is completed in not more than three days. The schools are closed for these days and the teachers (who are also helped by the senior pupils) do this work on a whole-time basis.

(5) The cooperation of the public is essential for this purpose. This is best secured through propaganda and teacher-parent contacts. But it is also essential to make it a legal duty of all parents to assist the teachers who would be preparing the lists by giving them all the data required truthfully. For instance, section 11(2) of the Madhya Pradesh Primary Education Act, 1961, provides:

11(2) In exercise of the powers conferred by or under this Act, the attendance authority or any person appointed to assist the attendance authority may put such questions to any parent, or require any parent to furnish such information about his child, as it or he considers necessary, and every such parent shall be bound to answer such question or to furnish such information, as the case may be, to the best of his knowledge or belief.

If any parent takes up an obstructionist attitude and refuses to cooperate, he can be prosecuted under Section 179 of the Indian Penal Code* for contravening the provisions of the law.

(6) After the lists of all children liable to compulsory education are prepared, they are further subdivided according to schools which the child may be directed to attend—the school nearest the home of the child or within easy walking distance therefrom being selected for the purpose. Finally, the headmaster of each school is given a copy of the list (in a prescribed form) of all children who reside in the neighbourhood of his school and who are to be expected to attend it. Such lists should contain information about (1) the names of all children to whom compulsory education law is applicable; (2) the children who are not attending at present; and (3) the names and addresses of the guardians who are under an obligation to cause them to attend schools. Such lists are sent to the headmasters at least two months before the beginning of the next academic year and when that is done, this work of the preparation of lists is over.

One important point to be remembered here is the manner in which the age of children is to be computed. The law expects a child to attend school from the age of six to the age of eleven (or any other higher age up to 14 as may be specified by government). Now the common opinion in this respect is that a child becomes liable for compulsory attendance on his sixth birthday and that he goes out of the purview of the Act on his eleventh birthday. If these assumptions are correct, children will have to be admitted to schools on all days of the year because every day is the sixth birthday for some child or the other. This will make class I extremely heterogeneous and unmanageable. Similarly, children would cease to attend schools on every day of the year, because every day is also the eleventh birthday of some children, and thereby cause considerable wastage. It is, therefore, essential that (1) fresh admissions of children to schools should be made only at the beginning of the

* 179 *Refusing to answer public servant authorized to question.*

Whoever, being legally bound to state the truth on any subject to any public servant, refuses to answer any question demanded of him touching that subject by such public servant in the exercise of the legal powers of such public servant, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both. (India Code, Vol. III, Pt. IV, p. 84).

academic year, and (2) that children should not be allowed to leave school in the middle of an academic year. It is from this point of view, therefore, that the age of children is computed in a special way for the purposes of compulsory education. For instance, section 10 of the Andhra Pradesh Primary Education Act, 1961, provides:

Age of the Child : How to be Computed ?

10(1) The age of a child for the purposes of this Act shall be computed in terms of years completed by the children on or before the first day of the academic year.

(2) Where the birthday of a child falls on a day not later than sixty days from the first day of the academic year, the birthday shall be deemed to fall on the first day of the academic year for the purpose of computing the age of the child under sub-section (1).

Under the provisions of sub-section (1), only those children who complete six years of age before the first day of the academic year will be compelled to attend schools ; and under sub-section (2), even those children whose birthday falls within 60 days of the beginning of the academic year will be compelled to attend schools. All other children will come under compulsion in the following year. All fresh admissions to the schools would thus be made in the first two months only.

Similarly, only those children who complete eleven years before the beginning of the academic year (or within sixty days thereof) will be outside the range of compulsion. In other words, children may leave school at the end of the school year or within the first two months and all children who complete eleven years thereafter shall be required to continue in school till the end of the academic year. These important provisions are absent from most of the earlier laws and are being incorporated only in the recent legislation on the subject.

One more practical difficulty may be mentioned here. In rural areas, parents are not often able to give the date of birth of a child. The best one can get from them is the age of the child in complete years. Even this information is often not available and one has to guess the age of the child after seeing him. In such cases, the persons who prepare the lists are generally given these instructions: (i) if the year and month in which a child is born is known, but the exact date is not known, the child should be

assumed to be born on the first day of the month ; and (ii) if only the year in which the child is born is known and neither the month nor the date is known, the child should be assumed to have been born on the first day of the academic year. Obviously, such expedients would not be needed when our system of registration of births and deaths becomes ubiquitous and accurate.

A very important role is played by the headmasters of schools in the enforcement of compulsory attendance. It is their duty to maintain a register of children who reside in the neighbourhood of the school and are expected to attend it. This register is prepared and revised on the basis of the lists of children of school-going age prepared from time to time.

Notice to Parents

As soon as the register of children liable to compulsory attendance is prepared (or revised), the next step is to issue a notice to parents. The object of this notice is to make each individual parent aware of his legal responsibility to send his child to school. The issue of such notices is a very important step in the enforcement of compulsory attendance.

Since the lists of non-attending children are already available in the school, it is ordinarily very convenient to authorize the headmasters of schools to issue these notices on behalf of the attendance authorities.

The form of the notice is generally standardized. It informs the parent that he is responsible for sending such a child to such a school from such a date. Along with the notice, the parent is given a copy of the provisions of the compulsory education law which (1) require him to send his child to school, and (2) prescribe the penalties for default.

The notice also contains two more items: it specifies the school, within easy distance from the home of the child, to which he is to be sent and where it is proposed to give him admission. Secondly, it informs the parent that, if he so desires, he may claim exemption from attendance on permissible grounds and encloses a copy of the provisions of the law relating to reasonable excuse for non-attendance. It is often assumed that this notice to parents is to be sent *annually* and on that assumption, some complain that the

volume of work involved in this step is very large and out of proportion to the results obtained. But this assumption is not correct. The law requires that this notice is to be given to a parent *once* only when his child attains the school-going age. The work involved is, therefore, not much ; and as a valuable method of contacting the parents individually and reminding them of their duty, it is a very essential step in our existing social conditions.

The procedure for the service of the notice has to be prescribed. It is generally sent by post or, when that is more convenient, delivered in person.

In some countries, the procedure for enforcement of compulsory attendance does not include a provision for issue of such notices. On the other hand, the parent is under an obligation to register an application for the admission of his child to a school at least one year before the attainment of the school-going age and also to specify his choice of a school. This gives the authorities adequate time to make preparations and the parents are so conscious of their duties that almost every child is registered for admission in good time. Such a procedure, however, is not possible of adoption at present and our system of issuing notices to parents will have to continue for some years to come.

Reasonable Excuse for Non-Attendance

When a parent receives the notice, the law gives him two freedoms: (1) he is free to choose the school which his child shall attend and is *not* under any obligation to send him to the school to which he has been directed in the notice. In such cases, he has only to send the child to the school of his choice and inform the authorities accordingly. In the alternative, he can claim a reasonable excuse for non-attendance.

The compulsory education laws allow a number of reasonable excuses for non-attendance. Some of these have been listed below:

- (1) Where the child is prevented from attending school by (a) sickness ; (b) infirmity or (c) other unavoidable cause.
- (2) Where the child (a) is receiving, otherwise than in an approved school, instruction which in the opinion of the school board is efficient, or (b) has received from the school a certificate of having already completed his primary education up to the standard included in the scheme.

- (3) Where there is no approved school within the distance fixed by the school board.
- (4) Where, after due application, entrance to an approved school has been refused to the child and there is no other approved school to which he can be admitted within the distance fixed (by the school board), until such time as the parent is notified by the administrative officer that the child can be admitted.
- (5) Where there is no approved school in the locality in which instruction is given in the language spoken by the child.
- (6) Where there is no approved school in the locality to which the parent can send the child without exposure to religious instruction to which the parent objects [Bombay (1947), section 33].
- (7) Where the school board has declared that, owing to agricultural operations, children residing in the area under the authority of any union board, union committee or panchayat within the jurisdiction of the board shall be exempted from attendance at a primary school for a period to be specified in the declaration [Bengal (1930), section 60].
- (8) That the child, if a boy, is over 10 years of age, and if a girl, is over nine years of age at the time of his or her admission to a primary school, and is, in the opinion of the school attendance authority, not likely to complete his or her primary education (C.P., section 13).
- (9) When the presence of the child is required for attendance upon or treatment of its parents disabled by old age or infirmity.
- (10) When a child has gone to reside in a foreign territory for a period exceeding six months.
- (11) When, by reason of the child having lost either of its parents or having parents who go out for labour, it is absolutely necessary for the child to remain at home to take care of his/her younger brothers or sisters and for the purpose of cooking, etc.
- (12) When a widow has only a boy or a girl and such boy or girl is helpful to the mother in earning wages (Baroda, section 6).
- (13) Any other cause declared by a resolution of the local body concerned to be a reasonable excuse (Madras, section 50).

Although the phraseology used may differ from Act to Act, the generally accepted 'reasonable' excuses for non-attendance include (1) prolonged illness, (2) physical or mental handicap (when there is no special school for such children which is easily accessible to such a child), (3) adequate arrangements for the education of the child, though not in a recognized school, and (4) completion of the prescribed course.

A few brief comments on the other excuses enumerated above would be in order. Excuses (3) and (4) are valid for the parent and, if established, the courts will allow them. But these only imply a failure of the local authority to make adequate provision of schools. Such excuses cannot be allowed to arise under a good administration. Excuse (6) is found in several early laws on compulsory education.

It was valid at the time when these laws were passed ; but in view of Article 28 of the Constitution, it has since become unnecessary. Excuse (9) will also be unnecessary if compulsory education is enforced year by year as suggested earlier.

Excuse (5) is not accepted in all Acts. It is true that elementary education is to be provided through the mother-tongue of the child and that the authority in charge of elementary education must also make its best efforts to do so. But several cases will arise where it is not physically or economically possible to provide education for a child in his mother-tongue. There is also the problem of thousands of children whose mother-tongue is a dialect that cannot be used as a medium of instruction because it has neither a script nor a literature. In such cases, is the child to be exempted from compulsory attendance or is it to be compelled to learn through the local language? Some hold the view that a parent should not be compelled to send his child to school if instruction through the mother-tongue of the child cannot be provided ; others argue that, in the interests of the child, it is better to compel him to learn through the local language than allow him to go without any education whatsoever. The former seems to be the better view, but the policy adopted on the subject varies from area to area.

It is also doubtful whether any purpose is served by incorporating excuses of the type (7), (8), (10), (11) and (12). Some of these are really cases for grant of temporary leave of absence rather than of exemption from attendance as such. The attendance authority will have to use its discretion in these and a large number of similar cases ; and the purpose would be served if a general clause is provided in the Act enabling the attendance authority to grant exemption in any compelling circumstances which, in its opinion, prevent the child from attending school.

It would, therefore, appear that a provision on the lines of section 7 of the Mysore Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1961, quoted below, is all that is necessary in this context :

7. *Reasonable excuse for non-attendance.*—For the purpose of this Act, any of the following circumstances shall be deemed to be a reasonable excuse for the non-attendance of the child at an approved school, namely:

- (a) that there is no approved school within the prescribed distance from his residence ;

- (b) that the child is receiving instruction in some other manner which is declared to be satisfactory by the State Government or by an officer authorized by the State Government in this behalf ;
- (c) that the child has already completed primary education up to the standard specified in the order under section 3 or the declaration under section 4 ;
- (d) that the child suffers from a physical or mental defect which prevents him from attendance ;
- (e) that the child has been granted temporary leave of absence not exceeding the prescribed period by the prescribed authority or by any other person authorized by the prescribed authority in this behalf ;
- (f) that there is any other compelling circumstance which prevents the child from attending school, provided the same is certified as such by the attendance authority ;
- (g) such other circumstances as may be prescribed.

It is a responsibility of the attendance authority (or of the person to whom it may delegate this authority), to hear representations, if any, made by parents claiming a reasonable excuse for non-attendance. The usual experience, however, is that very few such claims are preferred by parents. It is more usual on their part to claim some reasonable excuse for non-attendance in court, if they happen to be prosecuted. In fact, the usual defence in prosecutions under the compulsory education law is to claim a reasonable excuse for non-attendance and each such plea is examined by the courts on its own merit.

Attendance Orders

An 'attendance order' is an order passed by the attendance authority directing the parent to cause his child to attend a school with effect from the date specified in the order. It is the violation of this order that is punishable under the law and, therefore, the passing of attendance orders becomes a very important step in the enforcement of compulsory attendance.

In the early laws on compulsory education the largest number of practical difficulties were experienced in relation to the passing of attendance orders. In most cases, the procedure prescribed for the passing of attendance orders was elaborate and complicated. In the Bengal Act of 1930 for instance, an attendance committee had first to issue a notice to a parent, then hold an enquiry into the matter, and finally make a complaint to a magistrate who alone could pass attendance orders.³ In some other Acts, as in the Bombay Act

of 1947, an appeal was allowed against the attendance orders passed and this led merely to delays and greater litigation.⁴ The attendance orders were valid only for the particular parent or guardian against whom they were passed; and if the parent or guardian of the child happened to change, a new attendance order had to be passed *ab initio*. The duration of the attendance order was also limited so that, even in respect of the same child, a separate attendance order had to be passed on every occasion when it was intended to prosecute a parent. In the new compulsory education laws, care has been taken to eliminate these difficulties. In this context, section 13 of the Delhi Primary Education Act, 1960, is quoted below:

13. *Attendance Orders :*

- (1) Whenever the attendance authority has reason to believe that the parent of a child has failed to cause the child to attend an approved school and that there is no reasonable excuse for the non-attendance of the child within the meaning of section 10, it shall hold an enquiry in the prescribed manner.
- (2) If as a result of the inquiry the attendance authority is satisfied that the child is liable to attend an approved school under this Act and that there is no reasonable excuse for his non-attendance within the meaning of section 10, it shall pass an attendance order in the prescribed form directing the parent to cause the child to attend the approved school with effect from the date specified in the order.
- (3) An attendance order passed against a parent in respect of his child under this section shall, subject to the provisions of sub-section (6), remain in force for so long as this Act continues to apply to the child.
- (4) If any parent against whom an attendance order has been passed in respect of his child under sub-section (2) transfers the custody of the child to another person during the period in which the attendance order is in force, such parent shall be bound to immediately inform the attendance authority in writing of such transfer.
- (5) Where an attendance order has been passed against a parent in respect of his child under this section, such order shall have effect in relation to every other person to whom the custody of the child may be transferred during the period in which the attendance order is in force as it has effect in relation to the person against whom it is passed.

³ Section 62(1) If an attendance committee is satisfied that a guardian has, without reasonable excuse and after receiving a written caution from the attendance committee, failed to comply with the provisions of section 59, it shall send a written complaint against the guardian to a magistrate having jurisdiction.

(2) The magistrate, if satisfied that the complaint is well founded, shall direct the guardian to cause the child in respect of whom the complaint was preferred, to attend a primary school from a date to be specified in such direction.

⁴ Section 34(3) Any parent aggrieved by an order made under such section (i) may, within 30 days from the date of such order, appeal to the educational inspector of the division who may confirm or rescind the order as he deems fit.

(6) A parent may at any time apply to the attendance authority for cancellation of an attendance order on the ground—

- (i) that he is no longer the parent in respect of the child ; or
- (ii) that circumstances have arisen which provide a reasonable excuse for non-attendance ;

and thereupon the attendance authority may, after holding an enquiry in the prescribed manner, cancel or modify the attendance order.

It will be seen that this new law overcomes all the difficulties experienced earlier. Sub-sections (1) and (2) prescribe a simple and convenient procedure for passing attendance orders. There is no longer any need to go to a court for this purpose and the attendance authority itself can pass the necessary order. When a child attains the school-going age and is enumerated in the census, the first step is to issue a notice to the parent as described earlier. If the parent does not claim any exemption on the ground of a reasonable excuse for non-attendance, and also fails to send his child to school as specified in the notice, the attendance authority holds an enquiry in the matter, *i.e.* summons the parent to appear before it and to state his case, if any. After hearing the parent, the attendance authority either grants an exemption from attendance or passes an attendance order. There is no appeal against the attendance order. But sub-section (6) provides that a parent may request the attendance authority to modify an order in certain circumstances. This is all that is needed. As in the past, the attendance order has still to be passed separately for every child. But unlike the earlier law, the present legislation requires that only one order is to be passed in respect of every child as soon as he attains the compulsory age and specifically provides that such order shall remain in force till the child completes the compulsory age. Sub-sections (4) and (5) deal with a change of parent (which expression also includes a guardian) after an attendance order has been passed. If the custody of the child changes hands, the 'parent' who had the custody of the child earlier is required to inform the attendance authority of the change and sub-section (5) binds every person who assumes custody of the child under the attendance order so long as the child remains within the compulsory age. It will thus be seen that the new section is a great improvement over the earlier law on the subject.

Attendance Requirements. The form of the attendance order which has to be passed against the parent in respect of every child

(as prescribed under the Punjab Act of 1960) as soon as he attains the compulsory age is given below:

To the parent

Whereas under the Attendance Notice No. _____ dated the _____ you were required under the provisions of section 5 of the Punjab Primary Education Act, 1960, to ensure that your son/daughter/ward attends _____ school regularly on and from _____.

And whereas you have failed to cause your son/daughter/ward to attend the school mentioned in the said notice or any other approved school;

And whereas you have not also given any reasonable excuse within the meaning of section 6 of the said Act for failure to cause your son/daughter/ward to attend an approved school;

Now, therefore, in exercise of the powers conferred by section 9 of the said Act, I hereby direct you to cause your son/daughter/ward to attend an approved school regularly on and from _____ and to keep him in attendance till the end of the academic year in which he attains the age of eleven years.

Take notice that in the event of failure to comply with the provisions of this order, legal steps as prescribed under section 13 of the said Act will be taken against you.

Dated:

Attendance Authority

It will be seen that the order calls upon the parent to cause his child to attend a school from the date of the order till he passes out of the compulsory age. But what does the expression 'to cause the child to attend' mean? The order is not clear, nor effective, unless this expression is defined. The usual procedure adopted is to do so by rules/regulations framed under the Act or by executive orders issued by the government or the local body in this behalf. For instance, section 2(d) of the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1947, provides that 'to attend an approved school' means 'to be present for instruction at such school on such dates and at such time and for such periods on each day as may be required under the regulations framed by the school board'. The following is a specimen of a Regulation framed under the above section:

(a) A child to whom an attendance order issued under the Act applies shall attend school everyday (and at every session on every day when the school is held in more than one session) on which the schools are open in accordance with the orders of the State Government or of any office or authority empowered by it in this behalf, from the beginning of the academic year following the day on which he attains the age of six years till the end of the school year in which he attains the age (eleven, twelve, thirteen or fourteen years) as the State Government may specify.

(b) No child shall remain absent from school without obtaining leave of absence from the appropriate authorities.

(c) The headmasters of approved schools shall have authority to sanction leave for sickness or such other reasonable cause for a period which may not exceed fifteen days at a time or two months in an academic year.

(d) Leave for periods of longer duration may be sanctioned by the attendance authority for the following reasons:

- (i) Sickness ;
- (ii) Temporary migration from the area for family reasons ;
- (iii) Need to assist at home or on the family farm ; and
- (iv) Such other compelling circumstances which in the opinion of the attendance authority, may justify the grant of such leave.

(e) Notwithstanding anything contained in this Regulation, no parent shall be prosecuted under the Act if his child attends school for not less than two-thirds of the total number of days the school was open in every month or for one hundred and twenty days in an academic year.

It will be seen that part (a) of the Regulation expects the child to attend the school for every session and on every day that it is open. Part (b) provides for leave of absence. Parts (c) and (d) prescribe the authorities which can grant such leave and also determine its extent. Finally, part (e) prescribes the minimum requirements of attendance under the compulsory education law.

Prosecutions. After the attendance order is passed, it is the responsibility of the attendance authority to watch over the attendance of the child and to prosecute the parent if the attendance requirements are not fulfilled. This is done on the basis of the monthly attendance reports sent in by the headmasters of schools.

It is the duty of the headmaster of every school to submit a monthly report to the attendance authority regarding all children against whom attendance orders have been passed but who did not comply with the attendance requirements during the preceding month. This non-compliance may be of three types: (1) failure to enrol in the school ; (2) even after enrolment, failure to put in the minimum attendance prescribed ; and (3) leaving the school without completing the prescribed standard or the prescribed age. The objects of this law are: (1) to enrol all children liable for compulsory attendance at school in accordance with the prescribed requirements ; (2) to see that no child leaves the school prematurely. Hence each one of the three types of failures is punishable under the law and the attendance authority is required to prosecute the parent in every case of such failure.

For non-enrolment, the attendance authority is expected to

prosecute the parent every month till the child is enrolled or a daily fine is imposed. For inadequate attendance, the parent is to be prosecuted for every month in which the attendance was below the prescribed standards. Cases of premature withdrawal are to be treated as cases of non-enrolment for purposes of prosecution.

In addition to parents who violate the provisions of the compulsory education law, the attendance authority is also required to prosecute employers of children. This is, however, a simple matter. As soon as the attendance authority comes to know of a child being employed in such a way as to interfere with his attendance at school, it is expected to issue a notice to the employer requiring him to desist from employing the child. If he disobeys the notice, he can be prosecuted straightaway. In some laws, even the need to issue this notice is dispensed with.

Courts to Try Cases

An important issue in the enforcement of compulsory attendance relates to the courts which would try cases for violation of the compulsory education laws. Under the earlier laws, only magistrates were authorized to try such cases. This was also inevitable because organizations like Nyaya Panchayats were not then in existence. Since courts of magistrates were few and far between, prosecutions became difficult in practice, particularly in rural areas. In the new law for compulsory education, these difficulties have been avoided. It is only in the urban areas that magistrates are required to try cases under the compulsory education laws. In the rural areas, this power has been conferred on Nyaya Panchayats which have been constituted in several parts of the country. Where Nyaya Panchayats are not in existence, provision has been made for the constitution of special courts for the trial of cases under the compulsory education law. On the whole, care has been taken to see that courts to try cases under this law would be available in or near each village.

In this context, the following provisions of the Madhya Pradesh Primary Education Act, 1960, and the Mysore Compulsory Education Act, 1961, would be found to be of interest:

THE MADHYA PRADESH PRIMARY EDUCATION ACT, 1961

24. *Courts who will try offences under the Act :*

- (1) In this section 'Panchayat Law' means a law for the time being in force

for the organization and administration of Panchayats as units of local government in rural areas in the whole of the State or any part thereof.

(2) The courts competent to try offences under this Act shall be the following:

(a) in rural areas to which the Panchayat law extends, the Nyaya Panchayats constituted under that law within whose jurisdiction the offence was committed ;

(b) in other areas, the court of a Magistrate having jurisdiction.

(3) Any offence triable by the Nyaya Panchayat shall be tried in the manner provided for the trial of criminal cases by the Panchayat Law, and any offence triable by a Magistrate shall be tried in a summary way.

THE MYSORE COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION ACT, 1961

15. *Courts competent to try offences* : The courts competent to try offences under this Act shall be the following:

(a) if the person committing the offence resides in an urban area in which one or more courts of a magistrate are located, such courts having jurisdiction over the area in which such persons reside ;

(b) if the person committing the offence resides in any urban area other than an area referred to in clause (a) within the jurisdiction of a local authority constituted and functioning for the area under any law for the time being in force, the Primary School Panchayat Court constituted as specified in section 16 for that area ;

(c) if the person committing the offence resides in any village within the jurisdiction of a village panchayat or a town panchayat constituted and functioning under the Mysore Village Panchayats and Local Boards Act, 1959, the Primary School Panchayat Court constituted as specified in section 16 for that village ;

(d) if the person committing the offence resides in any area to which clause (a), (b) or (c) is applicable, the court of the Magistrate having jurisdiction in such area.

16. *Constitution and Powers of a Primary School Panchayat Court* :

(1) Every Primary School Panchayat Court shall consist of the following three members, namely:

(a) In the case of an urban area referred to in clause (b) of section 15,
(i) the President or Chairman of the local authority of such urban area ;

(ii) the Vice-President or Vice-Chairman of the local authority of such urban area ;

(iii) a lady member of such local authority, and where there is no lady member, any other member of such local authority, appointed by the Director.*

(b) in the case of a village referred to in clause (c) of section 15,

(i) the Chairman of the Village Panchayat or Town Panchayat, as the case may be ;

(ii) the Vice-Chairman of the Village Panchayat or Town Panchayat as the case may be ;

(iii) a lady member of the Village Panchayat or Town Panchayat, as the case may be, appointed by the Director.

* 'Director' refers to the Director of Public Instruction, Mysore State.—Ed.

- (2) The President or the Chairman shall be the Chairman of the Primary School Panchayat Court, and in the absence of the President or the Chairman, the Vice-President or the Vice-Chairman shall be the Chairman of the Court.
- (3) Two members shall form a quorum for the hearing and disposal of any matter by the Primary School Panchayat Court under this Act.
- (4) In the event of any difference of opinion among the members of the Primary School Panchayat Court, the opinion of the majority shall prevail, but where there is no majority, the opinion of the Chairman of the Court shall prevail.
- (5) The Primary School Panchayat Court shall in respect of cases relating to an offence punishable under this Act have the same powers as a Magistrate of the second class has under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, in respect of offences.

17. *Procedure of Courts :*

- (1) The Court of a Magistrate, in trying an offence under this Act, shall follow the procedure provided in section 263 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898.
- (2) A Primary School Panchayat Court shall, in trying any offence under this Act, follow the procedure provided for the trial of summons cases under Chapter XX of the Code of Criminal Procedures, 1898.

Penalties. The penalties prescribed under the compulsory education laws are not heavy as the penal aspects are not to be emphasized. Their main feature, however, is that a daily fine can be imposed on recalcitrant parents or employers as a deterrent. For instance, compare the following sections of the Delhi Primary Education Act, 1960:

18. *Penalty for contravention of section 13 :*

- (1) If any parent fails to comply with an attendance order passed under section 13, he shall be punishable with a fine not exceeding two rupees, and, in the case of a continuing contravention, with an additional fine not exceeding fifty naya paise for every day during which such contravention continues after conviction for the first of such contraventions:

Provided that the amount of fine payable by any one person in respect of any child in any one year shall not exceed fifty rupees.

19. *Penalty for contravention of section 14⁵ :* If any person contravenes the provisions of section 14, he shall be punishable with fine which may extend to twenty-five rupees and, in the case of a continuing contravention, with an additional fine not exceeding one rupee for every day during which such contravention continues after conviction of such contraventions.

Part-time Education. It was pointed out earlier in Chapter 8 that a very large number of children are not enrolled in schools, or are withdrawn prematurely, on account of economic difficulties, and that one way in which such children could be enrolled or retain-

⁵ This prohibits the employment of children in such a manner as will prevent them from attending schools.

ed in schools was to provide part-time education, which would enable them to earn and learn. In the early laws on compulsory education, there was no provision for such part-time education and one of the distinctive features of the new legislation is that it provides for such education. In this context, section 12 of the Delhi Primary Education Act, 1960, will be found to be of interest:

12. *Special provision for part-time education in certain cases :*

- (1) If the attendance authority is satisfied that a child, due to economic or other circumstances connected with the family to which the child belongs, is unable to attend an approved school in the manner required by or under this Act, it may, by order and subject to such conditions, if any, as it may think fit to impose, permit the child to attend any approved school established as a part-time institution or in which primary education is imparted on a part-time basis.

Educative Aspects of the Compulsory Education Laws

It is necessary to emphasize that the new laws on compulsory education are more educative than penal. Their principle objective is to make the attendance authorities contact the parents frequently and to arouse their conscience. For example, a parent is contacted as many as three times before a prosecution is launched.

<i>No. of contacts</i>	<i>Purpose</i>
1	Preparation of the list of children
2	Notice to parent
3	Enquiry to pass an attendance order

The procedure for enforcement of compulsory attendance as visualized by the new legislation places the principal responsibility for the enforcement of compulsory attendance on the village school committee (which would be mostly appointed by the village panchayats) assisted by inspecting officers and teachers. If properly worked out, it will help the school and the community to come closer.

In urban areas, it may be necessary (and even financially practicable) to appoint whole-time attendance officers for some of the functions assigned in the law to attendance authorities. But even here, the assistance of teachers is essential and it would be desirable to enlist the cooperation of leading non-officials (through establishment of school committees) and to emphasize the educative rather than the penal aspects of the law.

ed in many ways to provide part-time education, which would enable them to earn and learn. In the early days of compulsory education there was no provision for such part-time education and one of the distinctive features of the new legislation is that it provides for such education. In this context, section 12 of the Delhi Primary Education Act, 1920, will be found to be of interest:

12. A school provision for part-time education in certain cases. If the attendance authority is satisfied that a child due to attend at a school is unable to do so on account of illness or other cause, it may, if it is satisfied that the child is capable of attending at a school, provide for the child to attend at a school on a part-time basis, and may, if it is satisfied that the child is capable of attending at a school, provide for the child to attend at a school on a part-time basis, and may, if it is satisfied that the child is capable of attending at a school, provide for the child to attend at a school on a part-time basis.

Education: Aspects of the Compulsory Education Laws

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It is to be noted that it may be necessary (and even desirable) to appoint whole-time attendance officers for some of the functions assigned in the law to attendance authorities. But even here the assistance of teachers is essential and it would be desirable to stress the cooperation of leading non-officials (through committees of school committees) and to emphasize the educative rather than the penal aspects of the law.

SECTION FIVE

A Look to the Future

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Article 45 of the Indian Constitution directed that free and compulsory education for all children until the age of 14 years should be provided by 1960. In spite of the unprecedented progress made in the post-Independence period, however, it has not been possible to realize this goal. It is, therefore, necessary to prepare a revised programme for the provision of free and compulsory elementary education of a high standard to every child in the age-group 6-14. A tentative proposal to this end has been put forward in Chapter 26.

SECTION FIVE

A Look to the Future

Article 25 of the Indian Constitution directed that free and compulsory education for all children until the age of 14 years should be provided by 1960. In spite of the unprecedented progress made in the post-independence period, however, it has not been possible to realize this goal. It is therefore, necessary to prepare a revised programme for the provision of free and compulsory elementary education of a high standard to every child in the age group 5-14. A committee proposed to this end has been put forward in Chapter 26.

A Perspective Plan for the Development of Elementary Education in India

Article 45 of the Constitution visualized that free and compulsory education for all children till the age of 14 would be provided by 1960. This goal could not be reached, although there was unprecedented expansion of elementary education between 1950 and 1960. The Panel appointed by the Planning Commission, which met at Poona in 1957, examined this problem and suggested that the goal of providing free and compulsory education for all children in the age-group 6-14 should be divided into two stages. In the first stage, which was to be completed by the end of the Third Plan, free and compulsory education should be provided for all children in the age-group 6-11; and in the second, which was to be completed by the end of the Fifth Plan at the latest, compulsory education should be extended to the age-group 11-14. It may be pointed out, however, that even these conservative targets may not be reached. The Third Five-Year Plan visualizes the enrolment of only 76.4 per cent of the children in the age-group 6-11 and even the revised targets of enrolment in this group is only 80 per cent. It thus appears that, only by the end of the Fifth Plan, we shall be able to enrol all children in the age-group 6-11 and that universal education may be provided for all children in the age-group 6-14, probably by the end of the Seventh Plan.

The people of India have been demanding an early introduction of universal, free and compulsory education for all children till the age of 14; and the unfortunate position today is that it has not been possible for us to adhere to any schedule for reaching this goal. There is, therefore, a great public demand to the effect that the Government of India and the states should prepare a phased programme of expansion and improvement of elementary education with the ultimate object of providing free and compulsory education for all children as early as possible. Unless such a programme is carefully drawn up, it will not be possible to outline the

development of elementary education that could be attempted even in the Fourth Five-Year Plan for which preparations are now under way. In this chapter, therefore, it is proposed to discuss the broad outline of a possible programme for the development of elementary education in India during the next 15 years.

Magnitude of the Task

The total population of India, according to the census of 1961, was 439 million and it is increasing at present at about 2.2 per cent per annum. Various estimates of the growth of population in India during the next 20 years have been made and, depending upon their underlying assumptions, they show considerable variation. But probably one which might come nearest the truth is that based on the following two assumptions: (1) the expectation of life at birth in 1961 to accord with death-rate of about 18 per thousand (47.5 years) which would increase by 0.75 year annually up to 1966 and thereafter at 0.5 year annually up to 1976 ; and (2) the present general fertility rate to continue up to 1971 and thereafter, to fall to some extent owing to the spread of contraceptive techniques (a fall of 5 per cent centered on the mid-point of quinquennium of 1971-76 may be expected). On these assumptions, the population of India would be 491.54 million in 1966, 554.67 million in 1971, and 625.16 million in 1976. The continuation of this projection further would give a population of 694 million in 1981. It is true that this is one of the 'higher-side' estimates. But our past experience has been that the actual census counts of population are always higher than the highest estimates. It may be that even these estimates may ultimately prove to be on the low side ; but we shall assume them as the basis of this Plan as the best data available at present.

As in all other developing countries, the proportion of children to the total population in India is much larger than in the advanced countries of the world. Consider, for example, the estimates as shown in Table 68.

It will be seen that India has proportionately more children in the age-group 6-14 than the advanced countries have in the larger age-group of 5-14. The paradox of the situation, therefore, is that the richer countries have more resources and fewer children to

TABLE 68: ESTIMATED NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN SOME SELECTED COUNTRIES

(in thousands)

Country and year of statistics	Age-group	Total population	Number of children in the age-group	Percentage of (4) to (3)
1	2	3	4	5
Sweden (1958)	5-14	7,415	1,196	16.1
U.K. (1958) (b)	5-14	45,244	6,933(a)	15.3
India (1961)	6-14	438,000	83,780	19.1

N.B. The population data has been taken from U.N. Statistical Yearbook, 1959.

The population in the age-group 5-14 has been taken from Unesco: *Basic Facts and Figures*, 1960.

(a) Data for 1957

(b) Data for England and Wales only

educate; while the poorer countries have fewer resources and a large number of children to be educated. This uneven balance between the resources available and the number of children to be educated diminishes as the birth-rate falls and the general economic conditions improve; and a similar development will take place ultimately in India also. But in the immediate future, we shall have to proceed on the assumption that we will have to provide for the elementary education of a proportionately greater number of children with comparatively smaller financial resources.

Estimates have also been made of the total number of children in the age-group 6-14 in India during the next 15 years and these are given in Table 69.

At the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, the total enrolment in classes I to V (which is assumed to correspond to the age-group 6-11) is expected to be 49.64 million, and that in classes VI to VIII (which is assumed to correspond to the age-group 11-14) is estimated to be 9.75 million. The total enrolment in classes I to VIII, at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, would thus be 59.39 million which would roughly correspond to about 61.1 per cent of the total population in the age-group 6-14. Since these targets are likely to

TABLE 69: ESTIMATED NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE AGE-GROUP 6-14 (1961-76)

Year	Age-group 6-11		Age-group 11-14		Age-group 6-14	
	No. of children	Percentage to total population	Total no. of children	Percentage to total population	Total no. of children	Percentage to total population
	(in million)		(in million)		(in million)	
1961	56.14	12.8	27.64	6.3	83.78	19.1
1966	64.74	13.2	34.14	6.9	98.88	20.1
1971	73.35	13.2	39.00	7.00	112.35	20.2
1976	80.33	12.8	42.67	6.8	123.00	19.6

be exceeded, we may assume, in round figures, that the total enrolment in classes I to VIII at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan would be 60 million, or 62 per cent of the total population in the age-group 6-14.

The magnitude of the task that will have to be attempted can be seen from the difference between the enrolment anticipated at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan and the total number of children that will have to be ultimately enrolled, depending upon the target date for reaching the objective. If free and compulsory education is to be provided to all children in the age-group 6-14 by 1971, the additional enrolment during the Fourth Five-Year Plan would have to be 52.35 million or roughly about 10.47 million per year, as against the highest increase of about 4 million we have been able to achieve so far. If the target date for reaching this goal is to be postponed to 1976, the additional enrolment during the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans would have to be 63 million. This works out at an annual increase of 6.3 million, which is about 60 per cent higher than the highest annual increase we have been able to achieve in the past. If this date were to be still further postponed to 1981, the additional enrolment during the Fourth, Fifth and the Sixth Plans would have to be about 81 million which works out at an annual increase of 5.4 million. Lastly, if one were to assume, as proposed by the

Sargent Plan, that this target would be reached by 1985, the total additional enrolment during the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and the Seventh Plans will have to be about 105 million which works out to an annual increase of 5.2 million. The most difficult and ambitious target would be to enrol all children in the age-group 6-14 by 1971 and comparatively the least difficult would be to reach the goal by 1985. The target date of 1976 stands mid-way between these two extreme positions. The planners of education in India will, therefore, have to decide on one or the other of these target dates for preparing a phased programme for the development of elementary education in the country.

Decision on Targets

Which of these three target dates should be selected? The decision depends upon a number of important considerations. First is the question of overall *priority*. The conviction is strongly held by some people that the provision of universal and free elementary education to all children is essentially a programme of social justice, of providing equality of educational opportunity, and of laying the basic foundations of democracy. They would, therefore, accord this programme an over-riding priority over any other programme in education and over several other programmes in the Plan as a whole. These thinkers would, therefore, prefer to provide free and compulsory education for all children in the age-group 6-14 by 1971, or if that were not possible, by 1975 at the latest. On the other hand, there are some who believe that other sectors of education *e.g.*, technical education, secondary education, higher education etc., need a higher priority and that the programme of expanding elementary education could be slowed down after an enrolment of about 70 to 75 per cent in the age-group 6-11 is reached. As this position would be reached at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, they argue that we need not emphasize further expansion of elementary education during the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans. According to them, it would be better to realize the goal of providing free and compulsory education for all children in the age-group of 6-14 by 1985, as recommended by the Sargent Plan.

The controversy about *quality versus quantity* also comes into the picture at this stage. The earlier we place the target date, the

larger will be the number of additional children to be enrolled every year and the less will be the available funds for qualitative improvement of elementary education. These thinkers, who emphasize quality, therefore, would prefer to postpone the target date while those who emphasize quantity would tend to place it nearer.

Another important consideration is *financial*. Expansion and improvement of elementary education are very costly and increase the recurring liability to government to a considerable extent. In fixing the target date for the provision of free and compulsory education for all children in the age-group 6-14, therefore, one has also to take into consideration the large finances involved. For instance, if the target date is fixed as 1971, we will have to enrol 52 million additional children during the Fourth Plan and the minimum cost on this account would be Rs. 6,240 million during the Plan period. If it is remembered that the total allocation for elementary education during the Third Five-Year Plan period was only Rs. 2,090 million, the magnitude of the task becomes evident. On the other hand, if the target date is fixed later, the additional expenditure to be incurred on the development of elementary education becomes less, and therefore more manageable. After all is said and done, the resources likely to be available for educational development during the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans will have to meet several conflicting demands on them from a number of other programmes. The development of elementary education, therefore, is not likely to get an allocation of resources which might make it possible to bring the target date very near. Besides, any overriding priority given to elementary education is likely to distort, not only the deserving priorities of other sectors in education, but also the due priorities of other important sectors in social or economic development. This may not also be in the best interests of the country. All things considered, it may be desirable, on financial grounds, to follow the middle course in preparing programmes for the development of elementary education.

It must also be pointed out that even if the highest priority is accorded to the development of elementary education and even if all the resources necessary are made available, it may still not be possible to enrol every child in the age-group 6-14 by 1971 or even

by 1975. This is because the problem of universal education is not merely financial. A number of *social, cultural and economic considerations* are involved and some of these are indicated below.

(a) *Education of Girls*: In the expansion achieved so far in the age-group 6-11, it was the enrolment of boys with which we were mostly concerned. By 1966, the vast majority of boys in this age-group would have been enrolled in schools and, in later years, the additional enrolment to be attempted will consist largely of girls. For instance, in the additional enrolment expected between 1966 and 1975 on the basis of 100 per cent enrolment in the age-group of 6-14, the number of boys would be about 26 millions and the number of girls would be about 38 millions. This is a far more difficult problem and would call for (i) an intensive educative propaganda to overcome traditional resistance to the education of girls and to popularize co-education as well, and (ii) the preparation and employment of women teachers in far larger numbers especially in rural areas. The dimension, in this case, is more social than financial.*

(b) *Expansion in Backward States*: So far, the largest contribution to the total expansion of education at the elementary stage was made by the more advanced states. By 1966, these would have come much nearer the ultimate goal. In later years, therefore, the advanced states will play a minor role in the programme and the main burden of expansion will fall on the less advanced states. For instance, about 29 per cent of the non-attending children in the country as a whole will be in Uttar Pradesh alone at the end of the Third Plan. This single state will, therefore, have to put in an effort equal to one-fourth of the effort in the country as a whole. A major part of the expansion contemplated beyond 1966 will thus have to be attempted in the less advanced states which are poorer and obviously less equipped for the task. The problem here assumes another dimension altogether and raises difficult and complex issues regarding the responsibility of the Government of India for securing equalization of educational opportunity in all parts of the country and of special central assistance to backward states.**

* See Chapter 9.

** See Chapter 23.

(c) *Expansion Among Poorer and More Backward Sections of Society*: The expansion of elementary education achieved so far has in the main covered cities, towns and the bigger habitations. In future, we shall be called up to expand education in difficult or inaccessible forest areas, among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, among the poorest or destitute sections of society, in small hamlets with less than 200 persons and in several difficult situations such as those involved in education of the nomads. We shall be called upon to face the problem of handicapped or delinquent children on an appreciable scale. In all these areas, the problem ceases to be purely financial, and several other factors—social, economic and human—come into play. Programmes like mid-day meals, free uniforms and free textbooks will have to be given greater weight, if children from the poorest and almost destitute classes are to be enrolled.*

(d) *Expansion in Classes VI-VIII or in the Age-group 11-14*: So far, the bulk of the expansion that has taken place was in classes I to V or in the age-group 6-11. By 1961, about 61 per cent of children in the age-group 6-11 had been enrolled and by 1966, this enrolment will rise to 80 per cent. It will not be very difficult to raise this enrolment to 90 per cent by 1971 and to 100 per cent by 1975. The main task to be attempted between 1966 and 1975 is to increase the enrolment in classes VI to VIII. This was 9 per cent in 1946-47. It rose to 13 per cent in 1950-51, to 17 per cent in 1955-56, to 23 per cent in 1960-61, and is expected to rise to 29 per cent in 1965-66. On this basis, it may rise to about 50 per cent at the most in 1975. To increase this enrolment from 30 per cent in 1966 to 100 per cent in 1971 does not appear feasible and to do so even by 1975 will require large-scale effort. Here again the problem ceases to be merely financial. Social, administrative and educational issues come to the forefront and the main problems to be tackled are two: (1) How can we reduce wastage and stagnation and see that most of the children who enter class I also reach class VIII?,** and (2) How can we enrol all the children in the age-group of 11-14 when they are wanted at home for some work or the other?***

* See Chapters 10 and 11.

** See Chapter 8.

*** See Chapter 12.

(e) *Qualitative Improvement* : So far, the programme has been mainly quantitative ; the question of qualitative improvement was regarded secondary. In future, a stage will soon have been reached where no further expansion is possible (except that due to sheer increase in population) unless the power of the schools to attract and hold the children is substantially increased. This implies that qualitative improvement will be necessary as a means of increasing enrolment. Quality is an end in itself, and the usual assumption is that qualitative programmes would be taken up after the period of quantitative expansion is over. But at the stage which will be reached in 1966, qualitative and quantitative programmes will have to interpenetrate. The problem again ceases to be purely financial and will have to be tackled mainly in terms of the preparation and employment of thousands of competent, devoted and enthusiastic teachers who are willing to give their best to the community.

Keeping these considerations in mind, let us examine the pros and cons of the possible target dates for fulfilling the directive of Article 45 of the Constitution.

(1) *Assumption No. IV : Fulfilling the Directive of Article 45 of the Constitution by 1971* : In view of the importance of the problem as well as of the keen desire of the people, a question is often asked whether it would be possible to provide free and compulsory education for all children in the age-group 6-14 by 1971. With the limitation of resources, this does not appear to be a feasible target. The population of children in the age-group 6-14 by 1971 will be 112 million and if free and compulsory education is to be provided for all of them, we would have to provide at least 110 million school places in classes I to VIII by 1971. In view of the fact that the total number of school places in classes I to VIII will be only 60 million by 1966, we shall have to increase the facilities for elementary education by 52 million places which is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times the rate of expansion that would be reached during the Third Plan. Even if the proposition were administratively practicable, the expenditure on elementary education would increase so rapidly during this period of five years that it would immediately throw out of gear the development of education in the other fields. This may not be in the larger interests of the country. All things consi-

dered, the possibility of fulfilling the directive of Article 45 of the Constitution by 1971 or, in fact, by any date prior to 1975 has to be ruled out.

(2) *Assumption No I: Fulfilling the Directive of Article 45 of the Constitution by 1985*: The Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education on 'Post-War Educational Development in India' (popularly known as the Sargent Plan), had estimated that a period of about 40 years would be needed to provide universal education for all children in the age-group 6-14. As the Sargent Report was finalised in 1944, it may be assumed that, according to the Plan, the target could be reached by 1985. On this assumption, possible targets for 1975 could be (i) enrolment of 100 per cent of children in the age-group 6-11; and (ii) enrolment of 50 per cent of children in the age-group 11-14. This will mean that the total number of children to be enrolled in schools by 1975 would be 100 million—80 million in the age-group 6-11 and 20 million in the age-group 11-14. In view of the fact that the total enrolment at the elementary stage would be only 60 million in 1965-66 (50 million in the age-group 6-11 and 10 million in the age-group 11-14), this will imply an additional enrolment of 40 million children (30 million in the age-group 6-11 and 10 million in the age-group 11-14) in a period of 10 years. This will require an annual increase at the rate of 4 million places in classes I to VIII which is exactly the rate of expansion that would be reached by the end of the Third Plan. In other words, the fulfilment of the Constitutional Directive by 1985 would only call for the stabilization of the rate of expansion reached by the end of the Third Plan for a period of 10 years. The proposal has the additional advantage of providing for a period of time needed for consolidation and making available part of the resources for qualitative improvement. There is a good deal in the proposal to commend itself.

(3) *Assumption No. II: Fulfilling the Directive of Article 45 of the Constitution by 1980*: An alternative assumption for the target will be to fulfil the directive of Article 45 of the Constitution by 1980. On this assumption, it would be necessary to enrol, by 1975, 100 per cent of the children in the age-group 6-11 and 75 per cent of the children in the age-group 11-14. This will mean a total enrolment of 100 million children by 1975 (80 million in

the age-group 11-14). This will involve an additional provision of 50 million seats at the elementary stage in a period of 10 years or an increase of 5 million seats per year. This is only a little more than the estimated rate of expansion at the end of the Third Plan. Under this proposal, the funds needed for expansion programmes would be much larger than under Assumption No. II and the funds available for programmes of qualitative improvement would be correspondingly less. It will, therefore, call for a much larger effort than that involved in Assumption II. Given such an effort, it is quite possible to work out this target, especially if the system of part-time education is adopted on a large scale for the age group 11-14.

(4) *Assumption No. III : Fulfilling the Directive of Article 45 of the Constitution by 1975* : A more ambitious programme would be to try to provide free and compulsory education for all children in the age-group 6-14 by 1975. Under this assumption, the total provision of school places in classes I to VIII would have to be increased to about 120 million (which is the anticipated population in the age-group 6-14 by 1975) in a period of ten years following the Third Plan. This involves an increase in the available school places in classes I to VIII of 60 million in a period of 10 years or at the average rate of 6 million places per annum. The achievement of this target will of course involve a stupendous effort. Its main advantage is that the country will have fulfilled a pledge given to the people as early as in 1950. It will mean a very steep increase in outlays, and a slowing down of the programmes for qualitative improvement.

It will, therefore, be seen that Assumption IV is totally ruled out and that Assumption I is the most feasible target to aim at. Assumption II is a little more difficult, but still practicable ; and Assumption III, which is most likely to appeal to the popular sentiment, is possible only through a supreme effort and at an immense cost. In the further discussion of the problem, therefore, we will discuss the implications of all these three assumptions.

Phases of the Programme

In planning a programme of phased development for providing free and compulsory education for all children in the age-group

6-14 in India, a study of the history of the development of elementary education in the advanced countries of the world is of great use. It shows that a country generally advances towards the goal of universal education in three distinct phases:

(a) *Universality of Provision* : The first phase of the programme is to provide an elementary school within easy walking distance from the home of every child. This enables every parent who so desires to send his children to school. This phase is the simplest, although it has its own problems.*

(b) *Universality of Enrolment* : It must be remembered that expansion of elementary education ultimately consists of two processes—to enrol all children of the prescribed age (*i.e.*, 6-7 in India) in class I and then to retain them at school till they complete the prescribed age (14 years) or course (classes I to VIII). The first of these processes necessitates the formation of the right initial cohort in class I. Here the ultimate target is to enrol *every* child of 6-7 in class I so that the vast majority of children in class I (say, about 90 per cent) comes to consist of children of the age-group 6-7 only. The remaining seats will be taken up by a few children of the lower age-group who may be permitted to join under certain circumstances, and of a few older children in the age-group 7-8 who may have escaped enrolment when they were 6 plus. As soon as every child, or almost every child in the age-group 6-7 is enrolled in class I (or in any higher class to which he may be found fit for admission), the target of universal enrolment may be said to have been reached.**

(c) *Universality of Retention* : The third phase of the programme of universal education is to see that every child, who is enrolled in a school, does not leave it until he completes the entire elementary course of education or completes the prescribed upper age-limit of 14. When children come from well-to-do families or families which appreciate the value of education, there is no problem of premature withdrawal. The average duration of schooling for every child in such a situation is equal to the duration of the entire elementary course, *i.e.*, eight years. But when children from poorer communities or from families which do not appreciate the

* See Chapter 6 for details.

** See Chapter 7.

value of education to the extent necessary are enrolled in schools, there is a strong parental tendency to withdraw them as soon as they become old enough to assist in some work in the family or outside it and thereby earn some money, however little, towards their maintenance. It is due to this premature withdrawal that the average duration of school life for these children is so short—between 2 to 4 years only. The lengthening of this average duration to 7 or 8 years is the main problem to be tackled in this stage and is equivalent to the reduction of wastage.*

The first of these three phases would have been almost completed at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan; and even if some of the work necessary for completing this phase is left unfinished, it could be easily completed in the Fourth Five-Year Plan. With regard to the second phase also, a good deal of ground would have been covered at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan and the task left over for future years would be in the sector of the enrolment of (1) girls (2) children from the backward classes, and from very poor families, and (3) handicapped children. The main task to be attempted beyond the Third Five-Year Plan, therefore, is the third phase, *viz.*, the reduction of wastage and stagnation. As was pointed out earlier, out of every 100 children that enter class I, only about 20 reach class VIII at present. This number will have to be increased at least to 80 and this is essentially the qualitative programme on which the greatest concentration of effort will have to be made in the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans.

The Problem of Teachers

If this shift to qualitative improvement is to take place in the Fourth Five-Year Plan and is to be continuously emphasized during the next 10 to 15 years, the improvement of the elementary school teacher will have to be given the highest priority. The teacher holds the key position in education and it is upon his competence and sense of duty that the standards of education will ultimately depend. We will, therefore, have to concentrate upon improving the general education and professional training of elementary school teachers and provide them with satisfactory conditions of service essential to efficient functioning.

* See Chapter 8.

A. General Education : What should be the minimum general education expected of elementary school teachers? The policy recommended by the Government of India is that the matriculation should be the minimum qualification in general education for elementary school teachers. By and large, this recommendation has been accepted by the state governments and during the last 12 years, the percentage of matriculate teachers at the elementary stage is increasing steadily: it was 12.59 in 1949-50 and is estimated to have increased to 39 in 1960-61. The recruitment of matriculate teachers, however, is increasing still more rapidly. In some states, only matriculate teachers are recruited; in some others, preference is given to matriculates, in spite of a lower minimum qualification prescribed; and it is only in a few states that a proportion of the total posts available are reserved for non-matriculate teachers as a measure of economy (a non-matriculate teacher has a lower scale of pay). In 1950-51, the total number of matriculates recruited was about 54 per cent of the total recruitment. At present, about 75 per cent of all new recruitment is that of matriculates only. In fact, the average elementary school teacher now recruited is a matriculate except in three cases: (1) women teachers, especially for rural areas; (2) teachers for tribal areas; and (3) teachers for posts reserved for non-matriculates. Since an improvement in the general education of elementary teachers is imperative, it is suggested that the state governments should fix a deadline beyond which the recruitment of non-matriculate teachers should be stopped altogether, and that this deadline should not go beyond 1971 in any area. In the meanwhile, intensive efforts should be made to prepare women teachers for tribal areas in sufficient numbers in order that the need to relax the minimum qualifications prescribed does not, as far as possible, arise.

There is also another point to be remembered in this context. The number of graduate teachers working at the elementary stage has been consistently increasing. In 1949-50, the total number of graduates working at the elementary stage was only 5,595, but by 1960-61, it is estimated to have increased to about 20,000. Owing to the rapid expansion of collegiate education on the one hand and the improvement of scales of pay of elementary teachers on the other, it is expected that the employment of graduates at the elementary

stage will increase still more rapidly during the next 10 to 15 years. This is to be welcomed and encouraged as an important means of raising standards. It is, therefore, suggested that every encouragement should be given for the employment of trained graduates at the elementary stage and that the target to be reached by 1980 should be that every primary school with more than 200 children should have a trained graduate as its headmaster and that every primary school with more than 500 children should have the headmaster as well as the assistant headmaster as trained graduates. At the middle school stage, the headmasters should necessarily be graduates and as large a proportion of the other teachers as possible, not being less than 25 per cent, should also be graduates.

If one were to consider the expansion of general secondary and collegiate education that is likely to take place during the next 10 to 15 years, the output of matriculates and graduates would certainly be large enough to provide the necessary number of teachers required to implement the recommendations made above. The only action that needs to be taken to achieve these targets is to bring about a substantial improvement in the remuneration of elementary teachers so as to attract them to the profession.*

B. Professional Training: The expansion and improvement of the existing programmes of professional training of elementary teachers is another programme on which great emphasis will have to be placed during the Fourth Five-Year Plan. This problem has been recently examined by the *Study Group on the Training of Elementary Teachers in India* which has made the following significant recommendations:

(1) There is at present a great backlog of untrained teachers in almost all the states. It has been estimated that, by 1965-66, the total number of elementary teachers in position would be 1.626 million and that, as many as 406,500 of these would be untrained. Each state should, therefore, fix a target date, not later than 1971 in any case, by which this backlog would be cleared. This could be done by providing (a) a short refresher in-service training course of about 5 to 6 months for those teachers who are above 35 years of age and have already put in about 10 to 15 years of service; (b) by providing a short pre-service training programme of one year only

* See Chapter 13.

to all teachers who are below the age of 35 and have put in not less than 5 years of service ; and (c) by providing full-time training only to those untrained teachers who are below 35 years of age and have not put in more than 5 years of service. The costs and the time required for clearing the backlog would thus be reduced very considerably without affecting efficiency.

(2) Each state should estimate its own requirements of additional teachers during the next 10 to 15 years as accurately as possible. In preparing these estimates, note should be taken, not only of the additional teachers required for new enrolment, but also of the teachers required for replacement in the existing ranks, due to such causes as deaths or desertions. The training facilities in each state should then be so expanded as to create an annual output which would meet the additional demand for teachers completely. The necessity to recruit untrained teachers would thus disappear and one of the major causes which now leads to inefficiency in teaching would be eliminated.

(3) The quality of training programmes will have to be considerably improved by adoption of the following measures amongst others :

(a) The duration of the training course should be increased to a minimum of two years for matriculates and those who have passed the higher secondary course. It should be at least three years (which may be broken up into two periods of two years and one year each) for non-matriculates. For graduates joining the elementary schools, a course of one year's duration, specially oriented to teaching at the elementary stage should do.

(b) The status of the average training institutions for elementary teachers is very low at present, such institutions being generally equated to secondary schools. Although this might have had some justification when the average elementary school teacher was only middle-passed, it is an anachronism now when the vast majority of recruits to the profession are matriculates. It is necessary to upgrade these institutions to the status of under-graduate institutions. The reform will make it possible to give better scales of pay to teacher educators and to improve their academic and professional qualifications.

(c) The average teacher educator of today has been trained in

an institution meant essentially for a secondary school and, more often than not, his previous background and experience have also been those of secondary education. That there is no programme for his in-service education makes him even less suitable for his job. There is a real need for courses of pre-service training for teacher educators of elementary teacher training institutions to be organized at the M.Ed. and B.Ed. levels. In addition to these, there have to be special arrangements in every state for providing in-service training to teacher educators, at the rate of about three months' in-service training to every five years of service.

(d) The existing curricula have to be revised and more appropriate teaching methods should be developed.

(e) The physical plant of the existing training institutions leaves a good deal to be desired. It is necessary to prepare a blue-print of a model training institution for elementary teachers and to indicate its needs in terms of land, buildings, hostels, classrooms, staff quarters, library, laboratory, teaching equipment, craft sheds and equipment for craft teaching, etc. An attempt has to be made to see that all the existing institutions are provided with a good physical plant on the lines of this blue-print within a prescribed period ; care is also to be taken to see that all the new institutions that are proposed to be established conform to the prescribed specifications. Any economy to water down the standard specifications of training institutions will prove false in the long run and seriously affect the quality of education in elementary schools.

(f) Training of teachers can never develop in isolation. It has to be integrated with educational research in the development of improved techniques of teaching and the provision of extension services to elementary schools. No attempt has been made so far in this direction. It is vital to develop research and extension wings in training institutions.*

C. *Remuneration and Other Service Conditions* : The remuneration of teachers will also have to be considerably improved. At the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, the average annual salary of an elementary school teacher is expected to be Rs. 1000. (It may be pointed out that this is the overall average, with considerable variations from state to state). If teachers of a better quality are to be

* See Chapter 13.

obtained and standards of their general education and professional training have to be improved as indicated above, the existing scales of pay will have to be considerably upgraded. A reasonable target to be adopted in this regard would be to double the average salary by 1981. This increase is a little higher than the increase that would take place in the national income per capita; but it would make up for the comparatively low salaries that are being paid to elementary teachers at present and bring some kind of parity with those of the other government servants with similar qualifications and responsibilities.

There are other aspects of the problem of remuneration of elementary school teachers. The first of these is that of providing a good system of *old-age provision* (pension etc.), with the aim that teachers of all categories, whatever the type of management under which they work, should be given the same old-age provision as is given to government servants—pension at $3/8$ ths of the retiring salary plus a *gratuity* according to rules.

Secondly is the question of opportunities to elementary teachers for *promotion to higher cadres*. Such opportunities are even more effective than improved salary scales in attracting competent persons to the profession. Barring a few states like Maharashtra or Gujarat, no other state in India at present offers any avenues for promotion to elementary teachers. It is suggested that distinguished elementary school teachers should be eligible for promotion as (1) teacher educators, and (2) supervisors of elementary schools. This suggestion has no financial implications, but can go far in attracting competent persons to the profession.*

Pupil-Teacher Ratio

For the purpose of a perspective plan, it is essential to estimate the number of teachers required to meet the needs of expansion as well as of replacement. This can be done only if a definite decision is taken regarding the pupil-teacher ratio to be adopted.

Unfortunately, this is one of the most controversial areas in elementary education at present. There are two distinct schools of thought. According to one, the pupil-teacher ratio should be as low as possible and preferably 30:1. According to the other, a high

* See Chapter 14.

pupil-teacher ratio is inescapable in the present situation in India and the existing pupil-teacher ratio of 34:1 should be deliberately raised during the next five years, to 50:1. The main argument in favour of the smaller pupil-teacher ratio is that it will lead to qualitative improvement, whereas the main argument in respect of the larger pupil-teacher ratio is that it will enable us to provide a higher remuneration to teachers without affecting the pace of expansion.

In this context, the problem of the introduction of the double-shift system becomes very significant. Those who support a larger pupil-teacher ratio recommend the adoption of the double-shift system at the primary stage, or at any rate in classes I and II. The adoption of the double shift-system will obviously increase the overall pupil-teacher ratio. Opposition to this proposal is quite strong, on the grounds that it introduces inequalities; that the teachers having double-shift classes have to work harder without any additional remuneration; that the children learn less, (although this assumption is not quite correct); and that it lowers standards. A suitable compensatory allowance to teachers who have to handle two shifts seems to be obviously justified. The effect of this arrangement on standards of achievement needs examination. The following points deserve consideration in this context. (i) The time for which children are kept in schools in class I (or sometimes classes I and II) should always be less than that in the other classes. It is a mistake to keep young children at school for as long as six hours a day. Three to four hours of instruction are all that they need at this stage. (ii) Studies have been made in some places where the double-shift system has been in operation. They show that there is no significant difference in the learning of children who attend for 3 to 4 hours a day and those who spend 5 to 6 hours a day, if instruction is properly organized.

If the pupil-teacher ratio is to be raised without adopting the double-shift system, a larger class-size will have to be observed. At present, the class-size is generally fixed at 40 and this may have to be raised to 50 or even 60. Even here, however, the same controversies are in evidence. One group of thinkers will not agree to a class-size of more than 40 which, in the last analysis, will give an average pupil-teacher ratio of about 30. The other group of

thinkers proposes the adoption of class-size with a minimum of 50 pupils and a maximum of 60 pupils. If these suggestions are adopted, the overall pupil-teacher ratio may rise to 40, 45, or even 50. In this context, it may be pointed out that there is no special sanctity about any particular class-size. What matters is the method of teaching and organization to be adopted. There are certain methods of organization and teaching which can be used only if the total size of the class is small, while there are others which can be used in classes of a larger size. If the proper techniques are adopted, it is possible to obtain better results with a large class than in a small class where the techniques employed are relatively unsatisfactory. Moreover, it must also be remembered that the size of the class is not a purely educational but a financial issue. When an educational authority has to face a given number of children but commands only limited resources for the appointment of teachers, the size of the class gets determined on administrative and financial grounds, irrespective of the educational theory then prevailing. It is not always possible to make social and financial situations agree with educational theories. On the other hand, it is always preferable to utilize educational theories for devising solutions to problems that arise from inescapable social and economic needs. The question which an educationist should ask is: What methods of teaching should be evolved in order to enable the teacher to teach in a class of size which appears inevitable in the given situation? The teaching profession in this country has not accepted intellectually the large class as an inescapable necessity and it is not trained academically to handle it in an efficient manner. Yet the average situation in the country is such that six teachers out of ten are called upon to face classes of very big sizes varying from 50 to 100. It is this contrast between the training of teachers and their expectations on the one hand and the needs of the social and economic realities on the other—and not the large classes—that causes the present malaise in India. If we could only accept a large class-size as an economic necessity for the next 10 to 15 years, if we could concentrate on the evolution of teaching methods suitable for large classes, and if we could train our teachers properly in the handling of these methods, the educational standards would materially improve in spite of the size of the classes.

The study of elementary education even in the advanced countries shows that, in the initial stages, they adopted classes of large size in order to achieve expansion quickly and economically. Later, as the pressure of expansion became less and the resources available to elementary education expanded, the class size was gradually reduced. A similar development has taken place in Kerala, the most advanced state in India in elementary education ; and probably, a similar development will have to be planned for the rest of the country, and particularly for the less advanced states.

At present, the pupil-teacher ratio is about 35:1. The different proposals made in this respect are that it may be raised to 40, 45 or even 50. Since the controversies on the subject are still strong and since public opinion in the country has not yet crystallized on this issue, it is proposed to calculate the total number of teachers required as well as the expenditure involved in the programme of providing free and compulsory education to all children in the age-group 6-14 on the basis of four different pupil-teacher ratios—35, 40, 45 and 50. Each state may then adopt such pupil-teacher ratio as may be in keeping with the financial resources available to it.

Number of Teachers Required

The total number of teachers required for the development of elementary education during the next 15 years has to be calculated in two parts: (a) the number of teachers required for additional enrolment in classes I to VIII ; and (b) the number of teachers required for replacement due to such causes as retirement, death or desertion.

(a) *Teachers Required for Additional Enrolment* : The number of additional teachers required for new enrolment will depend upon the target date for the introduction of free and compulsory education in the age-group 6-14 and also upon the pupil-teacher ratio adopted. For the purpose of these calculations, three target dates will be assumed (1975, 1981 and 1985) and, as suggested above, four different assumptions will be made with regard to the pupil-teacher ratios (35, 40, 45 and 50).

The number of additional teachers required for the expansion of elementary education have been separately given in Table 70 on each of these assumptions:

TABLE 70: NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL TEACHERS REQUIRED TO MEET THE DEMAND OF ADDITIONAL PUPILS (1966-76)

(in thousands)

Assumption about enrolment by 1975-76	Total enrolment in classes I-VIII in		No. of teachers expected to be in position in 1966	No. of teachers expected to be in position in 1976 on the assumption of pupil-teacher ratios of					Teachers needed for additional enrolment on the basis of pupil-teacher ratios of				
	1966	1976		35	40	45	50	50	35	40	45	50	50
I. 100% in 6-11 age-group and 50% in 11-14 age-group	59,400	100,000	1,626	2,860	2,500	2,222	2,000	2,000	1,234	874	596	374	374
II. 100% in 6-11 age-group and 75% in 11-14 age-group	59,400	110,000	1,626	3,146	2,750	2,444	2,200	2,200	1,520	1,124	818	574	574
III. 100% in 6-11 age-group and 100% in 11-14 age-group	59,400	120,000	1,626	3,432	3,000	2,666	2,400	2,400	1,806	1,374	1,040	774	774

(b) *Teachers Required for Replacement*: The number of teachers required for filling the gaps in the ranks of the existing teachers due to retirement, death, desertion, etc., can be calculated if the 'replacement rate' is known with fair accuracy. It may be pointed out that this replacement rate varies from country to country and, even in the same country, from time to time, because it depends on several social and economic factors. In several European countries, where the practice of a young woman working as an elementary teacher until she gets married is common, the replacement rate is as high as 7 per cent. In Japan, where the tradition is to follow the profession steadily, the replacement rate is less than 2 per cent. In a recent study made by the Ministry of Education, it was found that the replacement rate in India varied from one part of the country to another. In the tribal areas, for instance, where conditions of life are very difficult, the desertion rate is high. In urban areas, on the other hand, the desertion as well as the death rates are lower. Studies on replacement rate will, therefore, have to be conducted periodically and separately for the different parts of the country.

In the study of the problem recently carried out by the Ministry of Education, it was found that the overall replacement rate for the country as a whole was about 3.7 per cent—2 per cent for retrenchment and 1.7 per cent for desertion. As this study was based on comparatively meagre data and as there is reason to believe that its findings erred on the side of underestimation, it has been assumed in this Plan, that the replacement rate for elementary teachers would be about 4 per cent (2 per cent for retirement and 2 per cent for desertions and deaths) during the next 10 to 15 years.

If replacement is calculated at 4 per cent per year on the total number of teachers in position in 1965-66, and if replacement is calculated on the new teachers appointed during the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans, at 2 per cent (in the case of these teachers the question of retirement does not arise and the only reasons for replacement would be deaths, desertions, etc., which account for only 2 per cent), the total number of teachers required during this period for the expansion of elementary education as well as for replacement can be calculated. This is shown in Table 71.

It will be seen from this table that the minimum number of additional teachers required during the Fourth and the Fifth Five-

TABLE 71: TOTAL NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL TEACHERS REQUIRED (1966-76)

Assumption about enrolment by 1975-76	Teachers required for replacement @ 4% per year of the initial cadre of 1,606,000 in 1965-66 in the 10-year period (in millions)	Teachers required for additional enrolment on the basis of different pupil-teacher ratios of					Total number of additional teachers required (1966-76) on the basis of pupil-teacher ratios of					Annual requirements of additional teachers in 1966-76 on the basis of pupil-teacher ratios of				
		35	40	45	50	(in thousands)	35	40	45	50	(in thousands)	35	40	45	50	(in thousands)
I. 100 per cent in 6-11 age-group and 50 per cent in 11-14 age-group	.650	1,234 123*	874 87*	596 60*	374 37*		2,007	1,611	1,306	1,061		201	161	131	106	
II. 100 per cent in 6-11 age-group and 75 per cent in 11-14 age-group	.650	1,520 152*	1,124 112*	818 82*	574 57*		2,322	1,886	1,550	1,281		232	189	155	128	
III. 100 per cent in 6-11 age-group and 100 per cent in 11-14 age-group	.650	1,806 181*	1,374 137*	1,040 104*	774 77*		2,637	2,161	1,794	1,501		264	216	179	150	

*Replacements added at 10 per cent on the total number of teachers required (replacement rate being taken at 2 per cent per annum on the teachers actually employed during the year).

Year Plans would be 106,000 a year (on the basis of the minimum target of enrolment and the highest pupil-teacher ratio) while the largest number of teachers needed would be 264,000 a year (on the basis of the highest target of enrolment and the lowest pupil-teacher ratio).

Expansion of Training Facilities

If this required number of teachers is to be trained and if new appointments to the teaching profession are to be restricted to trained teachers only, the enrolment in the training institutions for elementary teachers will have to be considerably increased. The following table shows the enrolment needed in training institutions in relation to (1) the target of enrolment, and (2) the pupil-teacher ratio to be adopted, on the assumption that (a) the duration of the training course would be two years and that (b) the wastage in training institutions would be of the order of 10 per cent only:

TABLE 72: TOTAL ENROLMENT NEEDED IN TRAINING INSTITUTIONS (1966-76)

Assumption with regard to targets	Enrolment needed in training institutions on the assumption of a pupil-teacher ratio of			
	35	40	45	50
(in thousands)				
I. 100 per cent enrolment in 6-11 age-group and 50 per cent in 11-14 age-group	447	358	291	2,236
II. 100 per cent enrolment in 6-11 age-group and 75 per cent in 11-14 age-group	516	420	344	284
III. 100 per cent enrolment in 6-11 age-group and 100 per cent in 11-14 age-group	587	480	398	333

The large expansion of training facilities needed in the immediate future can be imagined if these requirements are compared to the existing position in 1960-61 when the total number of training institutions for elementary teachers in the country was 1,139 and

their enrolment stood only at 122,770. Even at the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, their number will be only about 1,300 with an enrolment of 150,000.

There are three ways to step up the enrolment of training institutions: (1) to open new training institutions ; (2) to increase the capacity of existing training institutions ; and (3) to try out a suitable combination of (1) and (2).

The study-group on teacher-training has recommended that (1) each state should decide the optimum size of a training institution (this would be somewhere between 150 and 200), (2) increase the capacity of each smaller institution to the optimum size, (3) establish the necessary number of new institutions after the expansion due to (2) is first ascertained, and (4) plan the location of all training institutions in such a manner that about 80 per cent of them are located in the rural areas, that each district (which should be taken as a unit in this case) has an adequate number of training institutions to meet the needs of all its schools, and that they are located in such a way as to be accessible easily from all parts of the district. The study-group has further recommended that each state should prepare a definite programme for the expansion and improvement of training facilities for elementary teachers before the end of 1963-64 and that the implementation of this programme should start in the last two years of the Third Five-Year Plan itself. Since the preparation of teachers is the most important condition precedent for the success of a programme of elementary education, this scheme of expanding and improving teacher training facilities will have to be given a high priority and will have to be implemented fully during the next 3 to 5 years.

Buildings and Equipment

The improvement of teachers is no doubt the single most important factor in the qualitative improvement of elementary education which would have to be emphasized in the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans. But a mere improvement of teachers is not enough. It has to be supplemented by three other programmes: (1) the provision of adequate buildings and equipment for all elementary schools ; (2) the provision of ancillary services such as school health, school meals, free supply of textbooks and writing materials and school

uniforms; and (3) the provision of an adequate and competent supervisory service.

The programme of providing school buildings (inclusive of quarters for teachers, wherever necessary and possible) and equipment to all elementary schools will involve a very large financial outlay. At the end of the Third Five-Year Plan, the total enrolment in elementary schools would reach about 60 million and out of these, only about 40 per cent is estimated to have been provided with satisfactory buildings and adequate equipment. Steps will, therefore, have to be taken to provide buildings and equipment to about 36 million children out of those already enrolled in schools by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan. In addition, buildings and equipment on a similar scale would have to be provided for all the new children that would be enrolled during the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans. Assuming that this new enrolment would be of the order of 4 million a year, buildings and equipment will have to be provided for a total of 76 million children during the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans or roughly at the rate of about 7.6 million children per year. Assuming that the cost of buildings is Rs. 75 per pupil and that equipment is Rs. 50 per pupil, the total outlay required for this programme alone would be Rs. 9,500 million during the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans or Rs. 950 million per year.

The cost of buildings and equipment assumed in these estimates is not very high. In fact, in several parts of the country, the actual cost for providing equipment and buildings to elementary schools is much higher than the assumptions made here. It is, however, felt that it should be possible to organize research in the better planning of school buildings and equipment and in the use of available local materials to reduce the cost of this programme and to bring it within the assumptions stated above.*

Ancillary Services**

At present, there is hardly any provision for school health services, except in a few urban areas. One of the major programmes for improving the health of the school child and thereby the stan-

* See Chapter 16.

** See Chapter 17.

dards of instruction in elementary schools is to provide an efficient health service to all the children. A beginning in this direction may be made with the age-group 6-11 ; but ultimately the services will have to be extended to all children in the age-group 6-14.

A programme of school meals is the second important ancillary service that will have to be organized for improving the health of the school child. By the end of the Third Plan, about 10 million children are proposed to be brought under this programme. It is, however, necessary to expand the programme intensively during the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans and to provide nutritious and balanced school meal to every child attending elementary school by 1975-76.

The third important ancillary service is to provide free textbooks and writing materials to all children attending elementary schools. In addition, provision will also have to be made to see that all children in elementary schools use the prescribed school uniform and that, for this purpose, the necessary assistance is made available to the children of poor parents. These two programmes would not be so costly as the programmes of providing health services and noon meals ; but taken together, they will assist materially in improving the standard of instruction in elementary schools.*

Improving Supervision

The third important programme for qualitative improvement of elementary education is to provide an adequate and competent supervisory service. At present, the total work load on a supervisory officer of elementary schools is very heavy. This has to be reduced so that he may be able to devote more time to working with teachers and guiding them to improve instruction, and for the purpose it will be necessary to increase the number of supervisory officers. Perhaps, it may also be necessary to separate certain administrative functions which are now performed by the supervising agency and to entrust them to another agency specially created for the purpose. Steps will also have to be taken to improve the remuneration of supervisory staff to attract better type of persons to the profession and to provide them regular institutionalised

* See Chapter 18.

programmes of in-service education with a view to improving their competence.*

Educational research will also have to be developed in all sectors of elementary education and particularly in respect of curriculum and teaching methods. Special problems, such as the single-teacher schools** would also have to be studied with a view to improving their working. For this purpose, special institutions would have to be set up in each state for the development of research in elementary education and also to assist universities, training colleges and voluntary organizations to develop a programme of research in all problems of elementary education.***

Financial Implications

It is necessary to realize the financial implications of these proposals of qualitative improvement.

(i) *Teacher Costs* : From this point of view, a number of suggestions have been put forward and they may be summarized broadly as in the following table:

TABLE 73: PROPOSED SALARIES OF TEACHERS (1961-1976)

Proposal	Average annual salary proposed to be reached in			
	1961	1966	1971	1976
(In Rupees)				
I ..	900	1000	1300	1500
II ..	900	1100	1400	1600
III ..	900	1200	1500	1700
IV ..	900	1300	1600	1800

All these proposals are made on the basis of the 1960-61 prices. They will have to be suitably revised from time to time, in keeping with the rise in prices or cost of living.

It will be seen that the first of these four proposals suggests an increase of about two-thirds in the average remuneration of elemen-

* See Chapter 18.

** See Chapter 19.

*** See Chapter 20.

tary teachers. The national dividend in 1960-61 was about Rs. 330 and is expected to rise to Rs. 500 (at constant prices) by 1975-76. The basic assumption of this proposal, therefore, is that the salaries of elementary teachers should rise in keeping with the growth in the national dividend of the country. On the other hand, proposal No. IV suggests that the average salary of the elementary teachers should be doubled during this period of 15 years. The underlying assumption is that the salaries of elementary teachers are low at present and that they will have to be increased at a rate faster than that of the national dividend if justice is to be given to the elementary teachers. Proposals II and III hold intermediary positions between these two extremes.

(ii) *Non-teacher Costs* : The second important implication of the above proposals is that, in spite of this proposed increase in salaries of teachers, the non-teacher costs of education will also increase considerably during the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans both in absolute figures as well as in their relation to teacher costs. In 1950-51, the ratio of teacher costs to non-teacher costs in the total direct expenditure on elementary education was 80:20. During the next 10 years, the proportion of non-teacher costs gradually declined and, at the end of the Second Plan, it was estimated that the ratio of teacher costs to non-teacher costs was 88:12. The physical facilities provided in elementary schools, low as they were even in 1950-51, obviously declined still further during the first two Plans and owing to the pressure of expansion, the average elementary school is almost equivalent to the mere provision of a teacher at present. If ancillary services are to be developed on the lines indicated above, it is obvious that, in spite of the increase in the salaries of teachers, the proportionate share of the non-teacher costs in the total direct expenditure on elementary education would still greatly increase. The ideal target to be reached in this respect would be a ratio of 50:50 between teacher and non-teacher costs. But as an alternative, two other ratios may also be considered: 60:40 and 70:30. It will obviously not be possible to allow the proportion of teacher costs and non-teacher costs to fall below 70:30 without adversely affecting the quality of elementary education.

(iii) *Teacher Training* : At present, the costs of teacher training is roughly about 3.5 per cent of the total direct expenditure on

elementary education. If the training facilities are to be expanded and improved, as indicated above, it is estimated that this expenditure will have to rise to at least 5 per cent on the total direct expenditure on elementary education.

(iv) *Supervision* : If the supervising machinery is to be strengthened and improved as indicated above and if research in the problems of elementary education is to be extensively developed, it will be necessary to increase the total expenditure on direction and inspection also. At present the total expenditure on this head is about 2.5 per cent of the total direct expenditure on elementary education. It is felt that this will have to be increased to at least 5 per cent during the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans.

(v) *Capital Costs* : At present, the capital expenditure incurred on elementary education is very low. In order to provide elementary schools with adequate buildings and equipment, it is very necessary to provide large outlays during the Fourth and Fifth Five-Year Plans. The minimum amount required may be Rs. 75 per pupil on account of buildings and Rs. 50 per pupil on account of equipment and the optimum amount may be Rs. 100 per pupil on account of buildings and Rs. 100 per pupil on account of equipment.

Estimate of Funds Required : The Need-Based Approach

If the targets of expansion, as suggested earlier, are to be reached and if a programme of qualitative improvement of elementary education on the lines indicated above is also to be implemented simultaneously, it is obvious that the total expenditure on elementary education will increase very considerably. It is, therefore, necessary to make a rough estimate of the financial outlay that would be needed to put across the programmes suggested above.

There are two ways in which this can be done. In the first or the *need-based* approach, an attempt is made to determine the programme demanded by the people and the total financial outlay required for its implementation is calculated. In the second or the *resources-based* approach, an attempt is first made to estimate the financial resources that are likely to be available for a programme of elementary education and then the outline of the best programme that could be put across within the inescapable financial limitations

is prepared. It is obvious that the implications of the programme and its priorities can be understood better if both these exercises are attempted and balanced against each other.

The total cost of a programme of free and compulsory education as it is generally demanded by the people is very high. A rough indication of this may be had from the following calculations.

I. RECURRING COST

(a) *Teacher Costs* : The general consensus of opinion is that the minimum salary of an elementary school teacher should be Rs. 100 per month. The maximum is placed varyingly at Rs. 200, Rs. 250 or even Rs. 300. The average salary of the type of the scale which is generally proposed at present would be about Rs. 150 per month or Rs. 1800 per year. To this, we will have to add about 10 per cent for costs on account of old-age provision and welfare services. It may, therefore, be safely assumed that, under the existing popular proposals, the average cost on account of a teacher would be Rs. 2,000 per year. The commonly accepted pupil-teacher ratio is 40:1. Hence the recurring teacher-cost of elementary education would be Rs. 50 per pupil.

(b) *Cost on Account of Other Items* : To this, we will have to add the recurring cost per pupil on account of other items. These would include the following:

<i>Item of expenditure</i>	<i>Annual cost per pupil</i>
	Rs.
School health (including school meals) for all children	30
School uniforms (given free to about 20% of the children)	5
Supply of free textbooks and writing materials and other costs and contingencies	10
Total	Rs. 45

(c) *Total Recurring Costs* : It will thus be seen that the total direct cost per pupil would come to Rs. 100. To this, we will have

to add 5 per cent on account of the direct costs of teacher education and another 5 per cent on account of supervision. The total recurring cost of elementary education would thus come to Rs. 110 per pupil.

II. NON-RECURRING COST

The cost of one classroom of a primary, middle or basic school varies considerably. In cities and towns, it may be as high as Rs. 6,000 to Rs. 10,000 per classroom (exclusive of land) and may go up to Rs. 8,000 to Rs. 18,000 inclusive of land and equipment. In villages, the cost is considerably lower. The land is almost free and the construction cost of the building is about Rs. 3,000 to Rs. 4,000 per classroom. For the country as a whole, the capital cost on account of buildings is generally assumed at Rs. 100 per pupil. Similarly, the cost on account of equipment also is assumed at Rs. 100 per pupil. This includes furniture, teaching aids, library and craft materials. On these assumptions, a sum of Rs. 200 per child per year would be needed for non-recurring expenditure. As has been stated above, provision will have to be made for this non-recurring expenditure for about 36 million children out of those who would be already enrolled by the end of the Third Five-Year Plan and for all the additional children proposed to be enrolled during the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans.

III. TOTAL COST—RECURRING AND NON-RECURRING

Table 74 shows the total cost of this programme on the three assumptions made above.

In calculating the non-recurring cost, it has been assumed that all the new children enrolled in schools during the year as well as one-tenth of the 36 million children enrolled by 1965-66 (and not provided with adequate buildings and equipment) would be covered by the programme of capital expenditure. Under target No. I, the total number of children for whom capital costs would have to be provided annually comes to 7.6 million (4 million new enrolment and 3.6 million old enrolment). The total capital cost of the programme of buildings and equipment at Rs. 200 per

TABLE 74: TOTAL COST (RECURRING AND NON-RECURRING) OF A PROGRAMME OF FREE AND COMPULSORY EDUCATION FOR ALL CHILDREN IN THE AGE-GROUP 6-14

Target	Total number of children to be enrolled in elementary schools by 1975-76 (in millions)	Total recurring cost of the programme (in millions) @ Rs. 100 per child	Total capital cost of the programme (in millions) @ Rs. 200 per child per year	Grand total (Annual cost) (in millions)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
I. 100% enrolment in the age-group 6-11 and 50% enrolment in the age-group 11-14.	100	11,000	1,520	12,520
II. 100% enrolment in the age-group 6-11 and 75% enrolment in the age-group 11-14.	110	12,100	1,720	13,820
III. 100% enrolment in the age-group 6-11 and 100% enrolment in the age-group 11-14.	120	13,200	1,920	15,120

child thus comes to Rs. 1520 million. Similarly, the number of children to be covered under the capital costs programme under target No. II is 8.6 millions (5 millions new enrolment and 3.6 millions old enrolment) and that under target No. III is 9.6 millions (6 millions new enrolment and 3.6 millions old enrolment).

The most popular demand is that free and universal education should be provided for all children in the age-group 6-14 by 1975-76 at the latest. It, therefore, follows that if the popular demand is to be implemented, the total expenditure on the programme of elementary education which stood at about Rs. 1200 million (or 0.8 per cent of the national income) in 1960-61 would have to be increased to Rs. 15,120 million (or 4.3 per cent of the national income) by 1975-76.

This is almost an impossible demand. India is spending only about 2.3 per cent of her national income on education as a whole, at present, and the best we can hope for is that this expenditure should rise to about 5 per cent by 1975-76. Under these

circumstances, to expect that the total expenditure on elementary education alone would rise to 4.3 per cent of the national income is not very realistic.

The Resources-Based Approach : Funds Likely to be Obtained for Elementary Education

Let us now turn to the second or the *resources-based* approach to the planning of elementary education. Here, we do not first determine what the programme of elementary education would be and then determine its cost ; on the other hand, we ask the question : what is the amount likely to be available by 1975-76 for the recurring and capital expenditure on elementary education and what is the best programme that can be put across within this amount?

In order to answer these questions properly, it will be necessary to raise two other related issues: (a) what proportion of its national income should India spend on education in general? and (b) what proportion of this total educational expenditure should be devoted to the provision of free and compulsory education for all children in the age-group 6-14?

With regard to the first of these issues, it may be pointed out that India today spends only about 2.3 per cent of her national income on education as a whole. This is much lower than what many countries of the world are spending. In this respect, we may divide the countries of the world into three categories. In the first category come those countries which spend more than 5 per cent of their national income on education: Japan, for instance, spends 6 per cent of its national income on education. In the second category come those countries which spend about 3 to 5 per cent of their national income on education: England, for instance, spends 4.5 per cent of its national income on education. In the third category come most of the developing countries of the world which generally spend less than 3 per cent of their national income on education ; and it is in this category that India is included at present. The consensus of opinion amongst educational planners is that the developing countries also should raise their expenditure on education to a minimum of 4 per cent of the national income and, if possible, even to 5 per cent. This is a reasonable target and we may assume

that by 1975, India would be able to spend at least 4 per cent, and preferably 5 per cent, of its national income on education.

That this assumption is not unrealistic may be shown by a reference to the growth of total educational expenditure in India as it has actually occurred between 1949-50 and 1960-61. This is shown in the following table:

TABLE 75: TOTAL EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE IN INDIA
(1949-50 To 1960-61)

Year	Total educational expenditure (Rs. in millions)	Percentage of increase over previous year
1949-50	1,022	—
1950-51	1,144	11.9
1951-52	1,246	8.9
1952-53	1,376	10.5
1953-54	1,477	7.3
1954-55	1,650	11.7
1955-56	1,897	14.9
1956-57	2,063	8.8
1957-58	1,407	16.7
1958-59	2,662	10.6
1959-60	3,004	12.6
1960-61	3,367	14.3

It will be seen from the above table that the total educational expenditure in India has increased from Rs. 1,022 million in 1949-50 to Rs. 3,367 million in 1960-61. The annual increase was the lowest in 1953-54 (7.3 per cent) and the highest in 1957-58 (16.7 per cent). Taking the entire period between 1949-50 and 1960-61, the average annual increase has been 11.6 per cent.

In projecting the increase in total educational expenditure between 1960-61 and 1975-76, two assumptions are possible. According to the first, the rate of growth in educational expenditure during

the last 12 years should be increased in order to bring about a faster expansion and a better qualitative improvement in education. Even if it is not possible to increase this rate, it is argued that this earlier rate of growth should at least be maintained. On this assumption, that is, the total educational expenditure in India would rise by 11.6 per cent per year, it is found that the total educational expenditure would be about Rs. 15,916 million by 1975-76. The assumption made in the Third Five-Year Plan is that the national income, which stood at about Rs. 140,000 million in 1960-61 would rise by about 6 per cent per year and that it would reach Rs. 316,000 million by 1975-76. The total estimated educational expenditure in India for 1975-76 would, therefore, be about 5.04 per cent of the national income.

The statistics in Table 76 set out the respective size of educational expenditure on the assumption of 11.6 per cent and 10 per cent annual increase.

With regard to the second issue, *viz.*, the proportion of total educational expenditure to be devoted to elementary education, it may be pointed out that, in 1949-50, the total direct expenditure on elementary education stood at Rs. 401 million out of a total educational expenditure of Rs. 1,022 million and formed 39.3 per cent of the total educational expenditure. In 1950-51, the Kher Committee recommended that the development of elementary education should be emphasized and that the total expenditure on elementary education (including direct and indirect) should be raised to 50 per cent of the total educational expenditure. As the indirect expenditure on elementary education comes to about 10 per cent of the total direct expenditure, this recommendation would imply that the total direct expenditure on elementary education should be about 45 per cent of the total educational expenditure. During the first two Plans, it was hoped that the proportion of total educational expenditure allocated to elementary education would increase and the target proposed by the Kher Committee would be reached. This hope has, however, not materialized. In 1960-61, the total direct expenditure on elementary education was about Rs. 1,164 million out of the total educational expenditure of Rs. 3,367 million which roughly works out to 34.6 per cent.

TABLE 76: INCREASE IN TOTAL EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURE
(1960-61 To 1975-76) (in millions)

Year	Total educational expenditure	Total educational expenditure on the assumption of an increase of		National income on the assumption of an increase of 6 per cent per year	Proportion of total educational expenditure to total national income on the assumption of increase of	
		11.6 per cent per year	10 per cent per year		11.6 per cent per year	10 per cent per year
1960-61	3,367	..	..	1,40,000	..	..
1961-62
1962-63	..	3,822	3,768	1,48,000	2.58	2.55
1963-64	..	4,265	4,145	1,57,000	2.72	2.64
1964-65	..	4,760	4,560	1,66,000	2.87	2.75
1965-66	..	5,312	5,016	1,76,000	3.02	2.85
1966-67	..	5,928	5,518	1,87,000	3.17	2.95
1967-68	..	6,616	6,070	1,98,000	3.34	3.07
1968-69	..	7,383	6,677	2,10,000	3.52	3.18
1969-70	..	8,239	7,345	2,23,000	3.69	3.29
1970-71	..	9,195	8,080	2,36,000	3.90	3.42
1971-72	..	10,262	8,888	2,50,000	4.10	3.56
1972-73	..	11,452	9,777	2,65,000	4.32	3.69
1973-74	..	12,780	10,755	2,81,000	4.55	3.83
1974-75	..	14,262	11,831	2,98,000	4.78	3.97
1975-76	..	15,916	13,014	3,16,000	5.04	4.12

During the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans, this policy will have to be revised and an attempt should be made to provide 50 per cent of the total educational expenditure for elementary education (direct and indirect). On this assumption, it will be possible to get an annual allocation of about 2 per cent of the national income (or Rs. 6300 million in round figures) to 2.5 per cent of the national income (or Rs. 7,875 million round figures)

for the development of elementary education, direct as well as indirect and recurring as well as capital. This appears to be, by and large, the outside limit for funds likely to be available for the development of elementary education. If the total national income does not increase by 6 per cent per annum (as has been assumed in these calculations), and if the total expenditure on education does not rise to 4 to 5 per cent of the national income (as has been further assumed here), the total amount likely to be available for the development of elementary education during the Fourth and the Fifth Five-Year Plans would be even smaller.

Cost per Pupil

Assuming that the total amount likely to be available for the development of elementary education would vary between Rs. 6,300 million and Rs. 7,875 million by 1975-76., we may have to set aside about 10 per cent of this amount for capital expenditure. The total amount available for recurring expenditure would thus vary between Rs. 5,700 million and Rs. 7,100 million. As the number of children to be enrolled varies between 100 million and 120 million depending upon the target adopted, we would be able to afford a cost per pupil which would vary between Rs. 47.5 per pupil per year (on the assumption that the amount available for recurring expenditure on elementary education would be the least, that is, Rs. 5,700 million and the number of children to be enrolled would be the highest, that is, 120 million) and Rs. 71 per pupil per year (on the assumption that the funds available for recurring expenditure would be the highest, that is, Rs. 7,100 million and the target of enrolment would be the lowest, that is, 100 million). The different costs per pupil that could be possible between these two extreme limits are shown in Table 77.

The cost per pupil in elementary schools at the end of the Second Five-Year Plan was about Rs. 30. The table shows that it is possible, depending upon the target adopted and the funds available, to raise this cost from Rs. 30 to any amount between Rs. 47.5 and Rs. 71.0. These are, by no means, very ambitious assumptions. In fact, judged by the standard recommended by the Karachi Plan, which assumed a cost per pupil of Rs. 100 to be reached by 1980, these may be said to be on the low side.

TABLE 77: COST PER PUPIL (1975-76)

Target	Total number of children to be enrolled (in millions) Rs.	Total amount likely to be available for recurring expenditure on elementary education (in millions) Rs.	Cost per pupil Rs.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
100 per cent enrolment in the age-group 6-11 and 100 per cent enrolment in the age-group 11-14.	120	5,700	47.5
100 per cent enrolment in the age-group 6-11 and 75 per cent enrolment in the age-group 11-14.	110	5,700	51.9
100 per cent enrolment in the age-group 6-11 and 50 per cent enrolment in the age-group 11-14.	100	5,700	57.0
100 per cent enrolment in the age-group 6-11 and 100 per cent enrolment in the age-group 11-14.	120	7,100	59.1
100 per cent enrolment in the age-group 6-11 and 75 per cent enrolment in the age-group 11-14.	110	7,100	64.5
100 per cent enrolment in the age-group 6-11 and 50 per cent enrolment in the age-group 11-14.	100	7,100	71.0

*Cost per Pupil in Relation to Average Salary of Teachers,
Pupil-Teacher Ratio and Non-Teacher Costs*

Three important questions arise in this context. Given a certain cost per pupil, (1) what average annual salary can be given to the teachers? (2) what pupil-teacher ratio can be adopted? and (3) what would be the proportion between the teacher costs and non-teacher costs? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to connect the cost per pupil with the other three variables involved. This has been done below:

- Let n be the number of children to be educated ;
 x be the cost per pupil ;
 o be the average annual salary of a teacher ;

t be the pupil-teacher ratio ; and

r be the ratio of teacher costs to total direct expenditure on elementary education.

Then, the number of teachers required is $\frac{n}{t}$. Since the average annual salary of a teacher is a , the total cost on account of a teacher is $\frac{11a}{10}$, adding 10 per cent on account of old-age provision and welfare services. The total teacher costs, therefore, are $\frac{11an}{10t}$.

If these are $\frac{n}{100}$ th of the total direct expenditure the latter is equal to $\frac{110an}{rt}$. Adding 10 per cent for indirect expenditure on teacher education and supervision, the total recurring expenditure becomes $\frac{121an}{rt}$ (1)

But, since the cost per pupil is x , the total recurring expenditure is also nx (2)

Equating (1) and (2),

$$x = 121 \frac{rt}{a} \quad \text{. (3)}$$

This formula connects four variables: x or the cost per pupil ; a or the average annual salary of an elementary teacher ; r or the ratio of teacher-costs to total direct expenditure on elementary education ; and t or the pupil-teacher ratio. Given any three of these, it is possible to find out the fourth. For convenience of reference, Table 78 has been compiled to show all possible variations of a , r , and t , for the six different values of x which were obtained in Table 77.

A word of explanation may be given regarding the use of this table which connects the costs per pupil with the average annual salary of teacher, the pupil-teacher ratio and proportion of the teacher costs to non-teacher costs. For instance, when the cost per pupil is Rs. 47.5 per year (column 1, first row), the pupil-teacher ratio is 35, and the proportion of teacher costs to non-teacher costs is 50:50, and the average annual salary of the teacher would be Rs. 687 (column 4, first row). Similarly when the cost per pupil per year is Rs. 71 (column 1, row 6), the pupil-teacher ratio is 50 and the proportion of teacher costs to non-teacher costs is 70:30, the average annual salary of the teacher would be Rs. 2,054. In this way, all these four variables could be connected with each other.

TABLE 78: COST PER PUPIL IN RELATION TO THE AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARY OF TEACHERS, PUPIL-TEACHER RATIOS AND PROPORTION OF TEACHER COSTS TO TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE ON ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

Cost per pupil (in rupees)	Average annual salary of teachers (in rupees)											
	Pupil-teacher ratio: 35			Pupil-teacher ratio: 40			Pupil-teacher ratio: 45			Pupil-teacher ratio: 50		
	Ratio of teacher costs to total direct expenditure on elementary education			Ratio of teacher costs to total direct expenditure on elementary education			Ratio of teacher costs to total direct expenditure on elementary education			Ratio of teacher costs to total direct expenditure on elementary education		
	70%	60%	50%	70%	60%	50%	70%	60%	50%	70%	60%	50%
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
47.5	962	824	687	1,099	942	785	1,237	1,060	883	1,374	1,178	981
51.9	1,050	900	750	1,201	1,029	858	1,351	1,158	965	1,501	1,287	1,072
57.0	1,154	989	824	1,319	1,131	942	1,484	1,272	1,060	1,649	1,413	1,178
59.1	1,197	1,026	855	1,368	1,172	977	1,539	1,319	1,099	1,710	1,465	1,221
64.5	1,306	1,119	933	1,493	1,279	1,066	1,679	1,439	1,199	1,866	1,599	1,333
71.0	1,438	1,232	1,027	1,643	1,408	1,174	1,848	1,584	1,320	2,054	1,760	1,467

It will be seen from Table 78 that the average annual salary of teachers can vary from Rs. 687, which is calculated on the lowest cost per pupil (47.5), the lowest pupil-teacher ratio (35) and the highest proportion of non-teacher costs (50%), to Rs. 2,054, which is calculated on the basis of the highest costs per pupil (Rs. 71), the highest pupil-teacher ratio (50), and the lowest proportion of non-teacher costs (30%). It was suggested earlier that the limits within which the salary of the elementary teacher may be made to vary by 1975-76 would be Rs. 1,500 to 1,800. Within these limits, the following options are available to us:

(1) FOR AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARIES BETWEEN
RS. 1,400 AND 1,499

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 71, a pupil-teacher ratio of 35, and non-teacher costs at 30 per cent, the average annual salary of Rs. 1,438 can be given.

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 64.5, a pupil-teacher ratio of 40, and non-teacher costs at 30 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,493 can be given.

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 71, a pupil-teacher ratio of 40, and non-teacher costs at 40 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,408 can be given.

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 57, a pupil-teacher ratio of 45, and non-teacher costs at 30 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,484 can be given.

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 64.5, a pupil-teacher ratio of 45 and non-teacher costs at 40 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,439 can be given.

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 57, a pupil-teacher ratio of 50, and non-teacher costs at 40 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,413 can be given.

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 59.1, a pupil-teacher ratio of 50, and non-teacher costs at 40 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,465 can be given.

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 71, a pupil-teacher ratio of 50, and non-teacher costs at 50 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,467 can be given.

(2) FOR AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARIES BETWEEN
Rs. 1,500 AND 1,599

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 59.1, a pupil-teacher ratio of 45, and non-teacher costs at 30 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,539 can be given.

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 71, a pupil-teacher ratio of 45, and non-teacher costs at 40 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,584 can be given.

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 51.9, a pupil-teacher ratio of 50, and non-teacher costs at 30 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,501 can be given.

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 64.5, a pupil-teacher ratio of 50, and non-teacher costs at 40 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,599 can be given.

(3) FOR AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARIES BETWEEN
Rs. 1,600 AND 1,699

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 71 a pupil-teacher ratio of 40, and non-teacher costs at 30 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,643 can be given.

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 64.5, a pupil-teacher ratio of 45, and non-teacher costs at 30 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,679 can be given.

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 57, a pupil-teacher ratio of 50, and non-teacher costs at 30 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,649 can be given.

(4) FOR AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARIES BETWEEN
Rs. 1,700 AND 1,799

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 59.1, a pupil-teacher ratio of 50, and non-teacher costs at 30 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,710 can be given.

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 71, a pupil-teacher ratio of 50, and non-teacher cost at 40 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,760 can be given.

(5) FOR AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARIES OF
RS. 1,800 AND ABOVE

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 71, a pupil-teacher ratio of 45, and non-teacher costs at 30 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,848 can be given.

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 64.5, a pupil-teacher ratio of 50, and non-teacher costs at 30 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 1,866 can be given.

If we adopt a cost per pupil of Rs. 71, a pupil-teacher ratio of 50, and non-teacher costs at 30 per cent, an average annual salary of Rs. 2,054 can be given.

It will thus be seen that a pupil-teacher ratio of 35 is practically ruled out if we want to give a decent wage to elementary school teachers. The pupil-teacher ratio will have to be increased to 45 at least and perhaps to 50. This will be possible if the double-shift could be introduced in classes I and II.

It also appears that it may not be possible for us to allow non-teacher costs to go beyond 30 per cent of the total direct expenditure on elementary education. This will imply that we may not be able to provide school meals to more than 30 per cent of the children. The facilities regarding school health services may also have to be curtailed. The provision of free textbooks and writing materials can, however, be provided to all and the supply of free uniforms may have to be restricted to 20 per cent of the total enrolment.

Main Issues for Decision

From the foregoing discussion, it would be evident that decisions would have to be taken on the following points as a preliminary step towards the preparation of a perspective plan for the development of elementary education between 1961 and 1975:

(1) What should be the target for enrolment to be reached by 1975? In particular, which of the following assumptions may be made for the enrolment target in 1975:

- (a) by 1975, we would enrol 100 per cent of the children in the age-group 6-11 and 50 per cent of the children in the age-group 11-14 ;

(b) by 1975, we would enrol 100 per cent of the children in the age-group 6-11 and 75 per cent of the children in the age-group 11-14; and

(c) by 1975, we would enrol 100 per cent of the children in the age-group 6-14.

(2) What should be the policy in respect of the average remuneration of elementary school teachers? In particular, which of the following broad scale of average salaries should be adopted as the basis for preparing estimates of costs?

Assumption	1961	1966	1971	1976
	<i>(Annual salary in rupees)</i>			
I	900	1000	1300	1500
II	900	1100	1400	1600
III	900	1200	1500	1700
IV	900	1300	1600	1800

(3) What should be the policy regarding pupil-teacher ratio? What would be the reasonable pupil-teacher ratio to be reached by 1975—35, 40, 45 or 50?

(4) What should be the policy in prescribing minimum qualifications in general education for elementary school teachers?

(5) What should be the policy adopted for expanding and improving the professional training of elementary school teachers and what financial provision should be made for the purpose?

(6) What should be the policy regarding increasing expenditure on items other than teacher costs in elementary education by (i) providing contingent expenditure to elementary schools on a larger scale, and (ii) by introducing ancillary services such as school health (including school meals), provision of uniforms and free supply of textbooks and writing materials? In particular, what should be the percentage of teacher costs to total direct expenditure on elementary education?

(7) What should be the policy regarding improvement of direction, administration and supervision, and on what scale should expenditure be provided for the purpose in the estimate of costs?

(8) What proportion of the national income could reasonably be expected to be devoted to education as a whole by 1975?

(9) What proportion of the total educational expenditure should be devoted to elementary education by 1975? How should this expenditure be divided between recurring and capital costs?

(10) Of the total financial resources available for elementary education, how much should be allocated to (i) teacher costs; (ii) direct expenditure on items other than teacher costs; (iii) indirect expenditure on direction, administration and supervision; (iv) indirect expenditure on teacher training; and (v) capital costs?

(11) What should be the reasonable cost per pupil to be reached by 1975? How would the average remuneration of elementary school teachers, pupil-teacher ratio and the percentage of teacher costs to total direct expenditure on elementary education be related thereto?

It is suggested that these important problems should be discussed and decided at a very high level. It would be desirable to take decisions for the country as a whole; but it is not absolutely necessary to do so. On each of the issues raised here, it would be open to the states to take different decisions in keeping with their own local conditions. But all variations thus introduced should be within the broad limits set by the Government of India.

Some Important Administrative Problems

We have discussed so far the main financial problems involved in the development of elementary education, namely, the total financial outlay required for a good programme of elementary education, the funds likely to be available for it in the near future, the manner in which they could be best utilised and the fixation of priorities. We shall now turn to the consideration of some of the important administrative considerations involved in the programme. These are:

(i) The preparation of separate plans for the development of elementary education in each state;

(ii) The equalisation of educational opportunities as between one state and another and in particular, the grant of special financial assistance to the less advanced states for reaching the goal of universal education;

(iii) The determination of the proper role of the central and state governments, local bodies and voluntary organizations in

the planning and implementation of the programme ; and, in particular, the problem of democratic decentralisation with reference to the transfer of administration of elementary education to the local bodies at various levels ; and

(iv) The passing of essential legislation for compulsory education and enforcement of compulsory attendance. These would be briefly discussed in the following paragraphs.

Preparation of State Plans

What has been indicated in the foregoing discussions is a broad outline of the perspectives of the development of elementary education in India as a whole and points on which planning decisions would be required. Conditions, however, vary so greatly from state to state that a nation-wide plan acquires relevance only when it is integrated with the plans at the state level where the responsibility for implementation rests. It is, therefore, necessary for each state to prepare its own perspective plan for the development of elementary education between 1965-66 and 1975-76 against the background of a general plan of socio-economic development in the state and also of educational developments in all sectors.

It is, therefore, suggested that, during 1963-64, each state should prepare its own perspective plan for the development of elementary education between 1965-66 and 1975-76. An all-India plan for the development of elementary education should then be prepared on the basis of these state plans. In the light of the national plan thus finalised and approved by appropriate authorities, the state governments should prepare their Fourth Five-Year Plans for the development of elementary education during 1965-66.

In preparing the state plans for the development of elementary education, one point has to be emphasized. A programme of universal education is essentially a programme of equalizing educational opportunities, irrespective of caste, race, religion, sex or even the place of residence. At present, a perfect equality of educational opportunity does not obtain in any state. Some districts are more advanced than others ; the urban areas, as a rule, are more advanced than the rural ones ; some classes in society take better advantage of educational facilities than others ; and boys as a rule are better

educated than girls. All these inequalities will have to be eliminated or reduced to a minimum in a programme of free and compulsory education for all children in the age-group 6-14. Adequate provision for this will have to be made in the state plans for the development of elementary education.

Equalization of Educational Opportunities at the State Level

A well-planned programme for the development of elementary education in a state would provide equality of educational opportunity to all the children in the state and would eliminate any differences that may exist now between one area and another. Similarly, a national plan for the development of elementary education would have to remove the existing inequalities in elementary education as between one state and another. This can be done only if the Federal Government takes an active interest in the development of elementary education in every state and evolves a programme under which each state is assisted to reach the goal in the shortest time possible and necessary special assistance is provided to the less advanced states.

In this context, it may be pointed out that the problem of providing free and compulsory education in India is becoming equated with the problem of developing universal education in states such as Bihar, Jammu & Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh where the leeway to be covered is very much larger. The problem of providing free and compulsory education in the whole of India will, therefore, centre on providing universal education in these six states. As the advanced states are nearing their goal, the non-attending children in the country as a whole are getting more and more concentrated in the six less advanced states. This will be clearly brought out from Tables 79, 80 and 81.

It will be seen from Table 79 that, in the age-group 6-11, the total number of non-attending children in the country as a whole was 21.36 million 1960-61. Of these, as many as 12.85 million or 60.13 per cent were in the six less advanced states whose total population is only 44.54 per cent of the population in the country as a whole. During the Third Five-Year Plan, all these six states are making considerable efforts to expand elementary education.

TABLE 79: PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE LESS ADVANCED STATES

State	1961						1966					
	Total population in millions in the age-group 6-11 (estimated)			Total enrolment in classes I-V (in millions)			Total population in millions in the age-group 6-11 (estimated)			Total enrolment in classes I-V (in millions)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Bihar ..	2,990	2,844	5,834	2,446	739	3,185	544	2,105	2,649	3,442	3,286	6,728
Jammu and Kashmir ..	263	233	496	165	945	210	988	188	286	303	269	572
Madhya Pradesh ..	2,162	1,996	4,158	1,554	442	1,996	608	1,554	2,162	2,488	2,305	4,793
Orissa ..	1,136	1,087	2,223	971	440	1,411	165	647	812	1,308	1,256	2,564
Rajasthan ..	1,403	1,272	2,675	899	216	1,115	504	1,056	1,560	1,614	1,469	3,083
Uttar Pradesh ..	4,977	4,494	9,471	3,225	868	4,093	1,752	3,626	5,378	5,729	5,192	10,921
Total ..	12,931	11,926	24,857	9,260	2,750	12,010	3,671	9,176	12,847	14,884	13,777	28,661
All India ..	28,991	27,171	56,162	23,479	11,317	34,987	5,512	15,854	21,366	33,373	31,391	64,764
Percentage of the less advanced states to all India ..	44.60	43.89	44.26	39.44	24.30	34.52	6.660	5.788	6.013	4.460	4.389	4.426
										4.039	3.221	3.718
										8,351	6,308	6,748

TABLE 81: ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN THE LESS ADVANCED STATES

State	1961						1966					
	Total population in millions in the age-group 6-14 (estimated)			Total enrolment in classes I-VIII (in millions)			Total population in millions in the age-group 6-14 (estimated)			Total enrolment in classes I-VIII (in millions)		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Bihar ..	4.418	4.249	8.667	2.925	.795	3.720	1.493	3.454	4.947	5.223	5.004	10.227
Jammu and Kashmir ..	.392	.348	.740	.213	.057	.270	.179	.291	.470	.464	.410	.874
Madhya Pradesh ..	3.195	2.962	6.157	1.822	.491	2.313	1.373	2.471	3.844	3.776	3.486	7.262
Orissa ..	1.682	1.612	3.294	1.066	.452	1.518	.616	1.160	1.776	1.990	1.899	3.889
Rajasthan ..	2.089	1.888	3.977	1.078	.244	1.322	1.011	1.644	2.655	2.470	2.222	4.692
Uttar Pradesh ..	7.393	6.695	14.088	3.927	.990	4.917	3.466	5.705	9.171	8.741	7.883	16.624
TOTAL ..	19.169	17.754	36.923	11.031	3.029	14.060	8.138	14.725	22.863	22.664	20.904	43.568
ALL INDIA ..	43.147	40.669	83.816	28.529	12.920	41.690	14.618	27.749	42.367	51.030	47.898	98.928
Percentage of the less advanced states to all India ..	4.443	4.365	4.405	3.867	2.344	3.392	5.567	5.306	5.396	4.441	4.364	4.404
										3.998	3.071	3.650
										5.625	5.488	5.536

Assuming that they fulfil the targets of their Third Five-Year Plans, they would still have the largest number of non-attending children. In 1965-66, the total number of non-attending children in the country would be 15.1 millions out of which as many as 10.2 millions or 67.48 per cent of the children would be in these six states only. In other words, the proportion of non-attending children within these six states to the total number of non-attending children in the country as a whole has increased during the Third Five-Year Plan—from 60.13 per cent in 1960-61 to 67.48 per cent in 1965-66.

Similar conclusions also can be drawn at the middle school stage (Table 80) and at the elementary stage as a whole (Table 81). It is, therefore, evident that unless special efforts of these states are supplemented by special central assistance, the difficult problems of providing free and compulsory education for all children in these states would take much longer to be solved. The situation, it appears, would justify the institution of a special grant-in-aid for the development of elementary education for less advanced states.

Role of the Central and State Governments and Local Bodies

Article 45 of the Constitution places the responsibility for the provision of free and compulsory education on the 'State'. The word 'State' as used here includes the Government of India, the state governments and local bodies. It is, therefore, necessary, to define clearly the role of these different agencies if the programme is to be satisfactorily implemented.

There is general agreement on the role to be played by the Federal Government. It has to act as a coordinating and clearing house agency between the state governments. It should also try to provide the essential leadership for the development of the programme ; and above all, it must try to provide equality of educational opportunity as between one state and another by offering special assistance to the less advanced states. Similarly, it is generally agreed that the ultimate responsibility for the development of elementary education rests upon the state governments subject only to two limitations: the assistance received from the Government of India on the one hand and the responsibility delegated to the local bodies on the other. But there are several controversies relating to the role of local bodies in the development of elementary education.

Some thinkers are of the view that elementary education should be administered directly by the state governments until it is universalized and its standards are sufficiently improved and that its transfer to the control of the local bodies may be considered only after this stage is reached. There are others who argue that the local bodies should be immediately and intimately associated with the administration and development of elementary education and this is reflected in the experiment, in some states, of handing over a large measure of control and responsibility for elementary education to panchayats. The success or otherwise of the development of universal education in the country is now intimately bound up with the efficiency and zeal with which the local bodies are able to implement the responsibilities that are being entrusted to them.

Legislation

It is also necessary to moderate the legislation regarding compulsory primary education. Most of the compulsory education laws in the country were passed a long time ago when there was little practical experience of the enforcement of compulsory attendance. They were based on the assumption that the programme would extend gradually from one area to another. In view of the fact that it has been decided to develop the programme quickly and to introduce free and compulsory education for all children in the age-group 6-14 within a specified period, it is necessary to modernize these early laws on compulsory education. The Delhi Primary Education Act, 1960, was passed from this point of view ; and the model created by it has since been adopted in the states of Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Assam and Gujarat.

It is also essential to set up the necessary administrative machinery under compulsory education laws, for the enforcement of compulsory attendance. This machinery should not be very costly and should be educative, rather than penal, in character. Practical methods for this purpose will have to be evolved and the officials as well as the non-officials who will be involved in the programme will have to be properly oriented. This is one of the major responsibilities which the State Education Departments have to discharge in the immediate future.*

* See Chapters 24 and 25.

Statistical Tables

1. GROWTH OF POPULATION IN INDIA (1901-61)

State/Union Territory	Total population in millions (with decennial percentage variations)							
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	
Andhra Pradesh	..	19.066	21.447 +12.49	21.420 - 0.13	24.204 +12.99	27.289 +12.75	31.115 +14.02	35.983 +15.65
Assam	..	3.713	4.334 +16.73	5.158 +19.01	6.166 +19.54	7.403 +20.08	8.831 +19.28	11.873 +34.45
Bihar	..	27.312	28.315 + 3.67	28.127 - 0.66	31.348 +11.45	35.172 +12.20	38.784 +10.27	46.456 +19.78
Gujarat	..	9.095	9.803 + 7.79	10.175 + 3.79	11.490 +12.92	13.701 +19.25	16.263 +18.69	20.633 +26.88
Jammu & Kashmir	..	N.A.	2.292	2.424 + 5.75	2.670 +10.14	2.947 +10.36	3.254 +10.42	3.561 + 9.44
Kerala	..	6.396	7.148 +11.75	7.802 + 9.16	9.507 +21.85	11.031 +16.04	13.549 +22.82	16.904 +24.76
Madhya Pradesh	..	16.861	19.441 +15.30	19.172 - 1.38	21.356 +11.39	23.991 +12.34	26.072 + 8.67	32.372 +24.17
Madras	..	19.253	20.903 + 8.57	21.629 + 3.47	23.472 + 8.52	26.268 +11.91	30.119 +14.66	33.687 +11.85
Maharashtra	..	19.392	21.474 +10.74	20.850 - 2.91	23.959 +14.91	26.833 +11.99	32.002 +19.27	39.554 +23.60
Mysore	..	13.055	13.525 + 3.60	13.378 - 1.09	14.633 + 9.38	16.255 +11.09	19.402 +19.36	23.587 +21.57
Orissa	..	10.303	11.379 +10.44	11.159 - 1.94	12.491 +11.94	13.768 +10.22	14.646 + 6.38	17.549 +19.82

1. GROWTH OF POPULATION IN INDIA (1901-61)—Contd.

State/Union Territory	Total population in millions (with decennial percentage variations)							
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	
Punjab	..	13.266	11.945 - 9.96	12.465 + 4.35	13.667 + 9.64	16.101 + 17.81	16.135 + 0.21	20.307 + 25.86
Rajasthan	..	10.294	10.984 + 6.70	10.293 - 6.29	11.748 + 14.14	13.864 + 18.01	15.971 + 15.20	20.156 + 26.20
Uttar Pradesh	..	48.625	48.152 - 0.97	46.670 - 3.08	49.777 + 6.66	56.532 + 13.57	63.216 + 11.82	73.746 + 16.66
West Bengal	..	16.942	18.001 + 6.25	17.496 - 2.91	18.899 + 8.14	23.232 + 22.93	26.302 + 13.22	34.926 + 32.79
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	..	0.025	0.026 + 7.34	0.027 + 2.37	0.029 + 8.78	0.034 + 14.61	0.031 - 8.28	0.063 + 105.19
Delhi	..	0.406	0.414 + 1.98	0.488 + 18.03	0.636 + 30.26	0.918 + 44.27	1.744 + 90.00	2.659 + 52.44
Himachal Pradesh	..	0.844	0.877 + 3.82	0.890 + 1.54	0.954 + 7.22	1.058 + 10.84	1.109 + 4.89	1.351 + 21.78
L. M. & A. Islands	..	0.014	0.015 + 4.85	0.014 - 6.31	0.016 + 17.62	0.018 + 14.43	0.021 + 14.60	0.024 + 14.61
Manipur	..	0.284	0.346 + 21.71	0.384 + 10.92	0.446 + 16.04	0.512 + 14.92	0.578 + 12.80	0.780 + 35.04
Tripura	..	0.173	0.230 + 32.48	0.304 + 32.59	0.382 + 25.63	0.513 + 34.14	0.639 + 24.56	1.142 + 78.71
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	..	0.024	0.029 + 19.52	0.031 + 6.99	0.038 + 23.23	0.040 + 5.70	0.041 + 2.70	0.058 + 39.56

Goa, Daman & Diu	..	..	0.532	0.548 + 3.09	0.532 - 2.97	0.580 + 9.03	0.624 + 7.62	0.638 + 2.15	0.627 - 1.66
N.E.F.A.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0.337
Nagaland	..	..	0.101	0.149 + 46.76	0.159 + 6.55	0.179 + 12.62	0.190 + 6.04	0.213 + 8.60	0.369 + 14.07
Pondicherry	..	..	0.246	0.257 + 4.39	0.244 - 5.06	0.259 + 5.93	0.285 + 10.20	0.317 + 11.31	0.369 + 16.34
INDIA/TOTAL	..	..	236.222	252.034 + 6.69	251.271 - 0.30	278.906 + 111.00	318.579 + 14.22	360.992 + 13.31	439.073 + 21.63

2. AREA AND POPULATION OF INDIA (1961)

State/Union Territory	Area in square miles	Population		Density per sq. mile	Population (and per-centage) in urban areas	Population (and per-centage) in rural areas
		Male	Female			
		(figures in millions)			(figures in millions)	
Andhra Pradesh	..	18.161	17.822	339	6.274 (17.44)	29,709 (82.56)
Assam	..	6.328	5.545	252	0.913 (7.69)	10,960 (92.31)
Bihar	..	23.302	23.154	691	3.914 (8.43)	42,542 (91.57)
Gujarat	..	10.634	9.999	20,633	5.317 (25.77)	15,317 (74.23)
Jammu & Kashmir	..	1.897	1.664	N.A.	0.593 (16.66)	2,968 (83.34)
Kerala	..	8.362	8.542	1,127	2.554 (15.11)	14,350 (84.89)
Madhya Pradesh	..	16.578	15.794	32,372	4.627 (14.29)	27,745 (85.71)
Madras	..	16.911	16.776	669	8.991 (26.69)	24,696 (73.31)
Maharashtra	..	20.429	19.125	333	11.163 (28.22)	28,391 (71.78)
Mysore	..	12.041	11.546	318	5.266 (22.33)	18,320 (77.67)

Orissa	..	..	..	60,164	8.771	8.778	17.549	292	1.110 (6.32)	16.439 (93.68)
Punjab	..	..	..	47,205	10.892	9.415	20.307	430	4.089 (20.13)	16.218 (79.87)
Rajasthan	..	..	..	132,152	10.564	9.592	20.156	153	3.281 (16.28)	16.874 (83.72)
Uttar Pradesh	..	..	..	113,654	38.634	35.112	73.746	649	9.480 (12.85)	64.267 (87.15)
West Bengal	..	..	..	33,829	18.599	16.327	34.926	1,032	8.541 (24.45)	26.385 (75.55)
A & N Islands	..	..	..	3,215	0.939	0.024	0.063	20	0.014 (22.15)	0.049 (77.85)
Delhi	..	..	..	573	1.490	1.169	2.659	6,640	2.359 (88.75)	0.299 (11.25)
Himachal Pradesh	..	..	..	10,885	0.703	0.648	1.351	124	0.063 (4.73)	1.287 (95.27)
L. M. & A. Islands	..	..	..	11	0.012	0.012	0.024	2,192	.. (0.00)	0.024 (100.00)
Manipur	..	..	..	8,628	0.387	0.393	0.780	90	0.068 (8.68)	0.712 (91.32)
Tripura	..	..	..	4,036	0.591	0.551	1.142	283	0.103 (9.02)	1.039 (90.98)
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	..	..	..	189	0.029	0.029	0.058	307	.. (0.00)	0.058 (100.00)
Goa, Daman & Diu	..	..	..	1,426	0.303	0.324	0.627	440	N.A.*	N.A.
N.E.F.A.	..	..	..	31,438	0.178	0.159	0.337	11	.. (0.00)	0.337 (100.00)

2. AREA AND POPULATION OF INDIA (1961)—Contd.

State/Union Territory	Area in square miles	Population		Density per sq. mile	Population (and per-centage) in urban areas	Population (and per-centage) in rural areas
		Male	Female			
		(figures in millions)				(figures in millions)
Nagaland	0.191	0.178	0.369	58
						0.019 (5.19)
						0.350 (94.81)
Pondicherry	0.183	0.186	0.369	1,995
						0.089 (24.11)
						0.280 (75.89)
INDIA/TOTAL	1,176,251	226,209	212,864	439,073
						373
						78,828 (17.98)
						359,616 (82.02)

*N.A. : Not available

3a. PROGRESS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN INDIA (1855-56 to 1960-61)

Year	Number of primary schools	Number of pupils in primary schools	Enrolment at the primary stage (Including pupils on rolls in primary departments of secondary schools)	Total direct expenditure on primary schools (Rs.)	Cost per pupil in a primary school (Rs.)
1855-56	2,810	96,923	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1870-71	16,473	607,320	N.A.	3,527,420	5.8
1881-82	82,916	2,061,541	N.A.	7,909,940	3.8
1886-87	89,187	2,513,934	2,782,633	8,124,481	3.2
1891-92	97,109	2,837,607	3,121,522	9,614,284	3.4
1896-97	103,920	3,209,825	3,532,157	11,088,854	3.5
1901-02	97,854	3,204,336	3,564,122	11,875,759	3.7
1906-07	112,930	3,937,866	4,336,154	15,553,512	3.9
1911-12	123,578	4,988,142	5,494,416	20,726,145	4.2
1916-17	142,203	5,818,730	6,404,200	29,313,545	5.0
1921-22	160,070	6,310,400	6,897,233	50,908,107	8.1
1926-27	189,348	8,256,760	9,120,458	69,521,696	8.4
1931-32	201,470	9,454,360	10,427,980	81,260,290	8.6
1936-37	197,227	10,541,790	11,465,709	83,780,039	7.9
1941-42	181,968	12,018,726	13,105,618	94,951,601	7.9

3a. PROGRESS OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN INDIA (1855-56 to 1960-61)—Contd.

Year	Number of primary schools	Number of pupils in primary schools	Enrolment at the primary stage (including pupils on rolls in primary departments of second- ary schools)	Total direct expenditure on primary schools (Rs.)	Cost per pupil in a primary school (Rs.)
1946-47	172,661	13,036,248	14,105,418	184,866,503	14.2
POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD					
1949-50	204,826	17,418,544	17,753,562	339,595,194	19.5
1950-51	209,671	18,293,967	18,677,641	364,843,098	19.9
1951-52	215,036	19,000,491	19,298,621	403,970,207	21.3
1952-53	222,014	19,523,003	19,801,524	442,038,765	22.6
1953-54	239,382	20,812,789	21,206,218	462,651,698	22.2
1954-55	263,626	22,196,160	22,622,017	508,927,789	22.9
1955-56	278,135	22,919,734	24,511,331	537,272,066	23.4
1956-57	287,298	23,922,567	25,964,808	584,778,161	24.4
1957-58	298,247	24,788,299	27,370,211	667,117,741	26.9
1958-59	301,504	24,372,181	30,041,251	635,707,214	26.1
1959-60	319,070	25,921,687	31,904,035	697,142,290	26.9
1960-61	331,674	26,649,380	34,721,854	734,459,406	27.6

3b. PROGRESS OF MIDDLE SCHOOL EDUCATION IN INDIA (1870-71 to 1960-61)

Year	Number of middle schools	Number of pupils in middle schools	Enrolment at the middle stage (including pupils in middle departments of high schools)	Expenditure on middle schools (Rs.)	Cost per pupil in a middle school (Rs.)
1870-71	2,606	139,421	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1881-82	3,404	148,630	N.A.	2,026,850	13.6
1886-87	N.A.	N.A.	121,578	N.A.	N.A.
1891-92	4,041	300,831	130,991	4,005,106	13.3
1896-97	4,337	342,196	150,117	4,692,267	13.7
1901-02	4,323	359,909	180,670	4,711,005	13.1
1906-07	4,621	415,066	205,429	5,686,491	13.7
1911-12	5,016	516,605	276,401	7,499,920	14.5
1916-17	5,943	614,074	385,372	10,798,284	17.6
1921-22	6,739	644,614	434,810	16,632,257	25.8
1926-27	8,651	853,640	713,939	22,391,643	26.2
1931-32	10,616	1,342,468	980,514	28,989,829	21.6
1936-37	10,762	1,363,346	1,142,254	28,722,852	21.1
1941-42	11,162	1,450,841	1,232,234	27,713,017	19.1
1946-47	12,843	1,781,390	2,036,109	48,028,644	27.0

3b PROGRESS OF MIDDLE SCHOOL EDUCATION IN INDIA (1870-71 to 1960-61)—Contd.

Year	Number of middle schools	Number of pupils in middle schools	Enrolment at the middle stage (including pupils in middle departments of high schools)	Expenditure on middle schools (Rs.)	Cost per pupil in a middle school (Rs.)
POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD					
1949-50	12,920	1,939,223	2,843,788	71,764,933	31.9
1950-51	13,596	2,072,508	3,330,119	76,989,998	37.1
1951-52	14,576	2,232,842	3,648,459	87,157,312	39.0
1952-53	15,340	2,308,751	3,850,584	96,389,393	41.7
1953-54	16,252	2,431,716	4,184,814	105,244,551	43.3
1954-55	17,318	2,595,041	4,459,752	114,585,286	44.2
1955-56	21,730	3,812,952	4,823,344	154,050,236	40.4
1956-57	24,486	4,392,223	5,158,685	171,489,940	39.0
1957-58	27,015	5,059,731	5,498,471	207,671,767	41.0
1958-59	39,597	8,169,504	5,819,656	318,347,104	39.0
1959-60	41,921	8,885,790	6,483,019	351,594,059	39.6
1960-61	49,685	10,610,240	7,512,786	429,194,577	40.5

3c. PROGRESS OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN INDIA (1870-71 to 1960-61)

Year	Number of elementary schools	Number of pupils in elementary schools	Enrolment at the elementary stage (including pupils in elementary departments of high schools)	Expenditure on elementary schools (Rs.)	Cost per pupil in an elementary school (Rs.)
1870-71	19,079	746,741	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1881-82	86,320	2,210,171	N.A.	9,936,790	4.5
1886-87	N.A.	N.A.	2,904,211	N.A.	N.A.
1891-92	101,150	3,138,438	3,252,513	13,619,390	4.3
1896-97	108,257	3,552,021	3,682,274	15,781,121	4.4
1901-02	102,177	3,564,245	3,744,792	16,586,764	4.7
1906-07	117,551	4,352,932	4,541,583	21,240,003	4.9
1911-12	128,594	5,504,747	5,770,817	28,226,065	5.1
1916-17	148,146	6,432,804	6,789,572	40,111,829	6.2
1921-22	166,809	6,955,014	7,332,043	67,540,364	9.7
1926-27	197,999	9,110,400	9,834,397	91,913,339	10.1
1931-32	212,086	10,796,828	11,408,494	110,250,119	10.2
1936-37	207,989	11,905,136	12,607,963	112,502,891	9.4
1941-42	193,130	13,469,567	14,337,852	122,664,618	9.1
1946-47	185,504	14,817,638	16,141,527	232,895,147	15.7

3c. PROGRESS OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN INDIA (1870-71 to 1960-61)

Year	Number of elementary schools	Number of pupils in elementary schools	Enrolment at the elementary stage (including pupils in elementary departments of high schools)	Expenditure on elementary schools (Rs.)	Cost per pupil in an elementary school (Rs.)
POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD					
1949-50	217,746	19,357,767	20,597,350	401,360,127	20.7
1950-51	223,267	20,366,475	22,007,760	441,833,096	21.7
1951-52	229,612	21,233,333	22,947,080	491,127,519	23.1
1952-53	237,354	21,831,754	23,652,108	538,428,158	24.7
1953-54	255,634	23,244,505	25,391,032	567,896,249	24.4
1954-55	280,944	24,791,201	27,081,769	623,513,075	25.2
1955-56	299,865	26,732,686	29,334,675	691,322,302	25.9
1956-57	311,784	28,314,790	31,123,493	756,268,101	26.7
1957-58	325,262	29,848,030	32,868,682	874,789,508	29.3
1958-59	341,161	32,541,685	35,860,907	954,054,318	29.3
1959-60	360,991	34,807,477	38,387,054	1,048,736,349	30.1
1960-61	381,359	37,259,620	42,234,640	1,163,653,983	31.2

4a. PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN INDIA ACCORDING TO MANagements (1901-02 to 1960-61)

Year	Number of primary schools managed by						Average population served by a primary school	Average enrolment in a primary school	Average area served by a primary school (sq. miles)
	Government	District Boards	Municipal Boards	Private		Total			
				Aided	Unaided				
1901-02	..	3,832 (3.9)	16,559 (16.9)	59,213 (60.5)	18,250 (18.7)	97,854 (100.0)	2,457	33	11.0
1906-07	..	3,705 (3.3)	22,899 (20.3)	70,985 (62.8)	15,341 (13.6)	112,930 (100.0)	2,136	35	9.9
1911-12	..	4,238 (3.4)	27,864 (22.5)	74,613 (60.4)	16,863 (13.7)	123,578 (100.0)	2,066	40	9.2
1916-17	..	1,353 (1.0)	39,172 (27.5)	85,353 (60.0)	16,325 (11.5)	142,203 (100.0)	1,716	41	7.3
1921-22	..	1,789 (1.1)	50,314 (31.4)	93,587 (58.5)	14,380 (9.0)	160,070 (100.0)	1,544	39	6.8
1926-27	..	2,692 (1.4)	56,924 (30.1)	5,512 (2.9)	109,253 (57.7)	189,348 (100.0)	1,306	44	5.8
1931-32	..	2,747 (1.4)	65,493 (32.5)	6,306 (3.1)	113,700 (56.4)	201,470 (100.0)	1,349	47	5.4
1936-37	..	2,666 (1.4)	65,697 (33.3)	6,666 (3.3)	110,030 (55.8)	197,227 (100.0)	1,378	53	5.6

4a. PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN INDIA ACCORDING TO MANagements (1901-02 to 1960-61)—Contd.

Year	Number of primary schools managed by					Average population served by a primary school	Average enrolment in a primary school	Average area served by a primary school (sq. miles)
	Government	District Boards	Municipal Boards	Private				
				Aided	Unaided			
1941-42	Not Available	..	..	181,968 (100.0)	66	4.7
1946-47	Not Available	..	..	172,661 (100.0)	76	5.0
POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD								
1949-50	..	78,834 (38.5)	7,990 (3.9)	62,561 (30.5)	5,839 (2.9)	204,826 (100.0)	85	5.7
1950-51	..	41,793 (19.9)	95,903 (45.7)	8,395 (4.0)	59,469 (28.4)	209,671 (100.0)	87	5.6
1951-52	..	44,182 (20.5)	97,563 (45.4)	8,581 (4.0)	59,890 (27.9)	215,036 (100.0)	88	5.5
1952-53	..	46,094 (20.8)	101,215 (45.6)	8,738 (3.9)	60,588 (27.3)	222,014 (100.0)	88	5.3
1953-54	..	52,597 (22.0)	111,156 (46.4)	8,812 (3.7)	61,788 (25.8)	239,382 (100.0)	87	5.3
1954-55	..	59,262 (22.5)	123,863 (47.0)	9,157 (3.5)	67,452 (25.6)	263,626 (100.0)	84	4.8

1955-56	..	64,827 (23.3)	133,296 (47.9)	8,927 (3.2)	67,263 (24.2)	3,822 (1.4)	278,135 (100.0)	1,433	82	4.6
1956-57	..	64,098 (22.3)	142,960 (49.7)	9,104 (3.2)	67,126 (23.4)	4,010 (1.4)	287,298 (100.0)	1,415	83	4.4
1957-58	..	77,724 (26.1)	139,416 (46.7)	8,859 (3.0)	67,924 (22.8)	4,324 (1.4)	298,247 (100.0)	1,390	83	4.2
1958-59	..	81,939 (27.2)	139,796 (46.3)	8,342 (2.8)	67,779 (22.5)	3,708 (1.2)	301,564 (100.0)	1,403	81	4.2
1959-60	..	70,333 (22.1)	168,638 (52.9)	9,217 (2.9)	66,657 (20.9)	4,025 (1.2)	319,070 (100.0)	1,352	81	4.0
1960-61	..	73,599 (22.2)	175,534 (52.9)	9,291 (2.8)	69,202 (20.9)	4,048 (1.2)	331,674 (100.0)	1,322	80	3.8

N.B. Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

4b. MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN INDIA ACCORDING TO MANAGERMENTS (1901-02 to 1960-61)

Year	Number of middle schools managed by						Average population served by a middle school	Average enrolment in a middle school	Average area served by a middle school (sq. miles)
	Government	District Boards	Municipal Boards	Private		Total			
				Aided	Unaided				
1901-02	..	304 (7.0)	986 (22.8)	2,425 (56.1)	608 (14.1)	4,323 (100.0)	55,618	83	248.4
1906-07	..	302 (6.5)		1,153 (25.0)	2,699 (58.4)	467 (10.1)	4,621 (100.0)	52,211	90	242.0
1911-12	..	309 (6.2)	1,165 (23.2)	2,883 (57.5)	659 (13.1)	5,016 (100.0)	50,911	103	226.3
1916-17	..	222 (3.7)	1,364 (23.0)	3,427 (57.7)	930 (15.6)	5,943 (100.0)	41,060	103	174.1
1921-22	..	248 (3.7)	2,243 (33.3)	3,510 (52.1)	738 (10.4)	6,739 (100.0)	36,666	96	161.9
1926-27	..	254 (2.9)	3,726 (43.1)	281 (3.3)	3,698 (42.7)	8,651 (100.0)	28,590	99	126.2
1931-32	..	283 (2.7)	5,341 (50.3)	348 (3.3)	3,799 (35.8)	10,616 (100.0)	25,601	126	103.1
1936-37	..	302 (2.8)	5,266 (48.9)	396 (3.7)	3,955 (36.8)	10,762 (100.0)	25,255	127	101.8
1941-42	..		Not available			11,162 (100.0)	26,533	130	77.3
1946-47	..		Not available			12,843 (100.0)	24,138	139	67.1

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

1949-50	..	3,338 (25.8)	4,041 (31.3)	342 (2.6)	3,965 (30.7)	1,234 (9.6)	12,920 (100.0)	27,339	150	90.8
1950-51	..	3,518 (25.9)	4,273 (31.4)	375 (2.8)	4,016 (29.5)	1,414 (10.4)	13,596 (100.0)	26,551	152	86.3
1951-52	..	3,781 (25.9)	4,470 (30.7)	381 (2.6)	4,272 (29.3)	1,672 (11.5)	14,576 (100.0)	25,261	153	80.5
1952-53	..	3,955 (25.8)	4,733 (30.9)	401 (2.6)	4,545 (29.6)	1,706 (11.1)	15,340 (100.0)	24,483	151	76.5
1953-54	..	4,332 (26.6)	4,742 (29.2)	388 (2.4)	4,871 (30.0)	1,919 (11.8)	16,252 (100.0)	23,571	150	77.9
1954-55	..	4,632 (26.7)	5,009 (28.9)	373 (2.2)	5,218 (30.1)	2,086 (12.1)	17,318 (100.0)	22,563	150	73.2
1955-56	..	4,961 (22.8)	8,104 (37.3)	884 (4.1)	5,408 (24.9)	2,373 (10.9)	21,730 (100.0)	18,341	175	58.3
1956-57	..	5,164 (21.1)	9,961 (40.7)	869 (3.6)	6,108 (24.9)	2,384 (9.7)	24,486 (100.0)	16,603	179	51.7
1957-58	..	6,807 (25.2)	10,100 (37.4)	828 (3.0)	6,850 (25.4)	2,430 (9.0)	27,015 (100.0)	15,349	187	46.9
1958-59	..	7,314 (18.5)	18,980 (47.9)	2,011 (5.1)	8,623 (21.8)	2,669 (6.7)	39,597 (100.0)	10,681	206	32.0
1959-60	..	7,307 (17.4)	20,547 (49.0)	2,209 (5.3)	8,958 (21.4)	2,900 (6.9)	41,921 (100.0)	10,291	212	30.2
1960-61	..	9,705 (19.5)	23,867 (48.0)	2,622 (5.3)	10,436 (21.0)	3,055 (6.2)	49,685 (100.0)	8,823	214	25.5

N.B. Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

4c. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN INDIA ACCORDING TO MANagements (1901-02 to 1960-61)

Year	Number of elementary schools managed by					Total	Average population served by an elementary school	Average enrolment in an elementary school	Average area served by an elementary school (sq. miles)
	Government	District Boards	Municipal Boards	Private					
				Aided	Unaided				
1901-02	..	4,136 (4.0)	17,545 (17.2)	61,638 (60.3)	18,858 (18.5)	102,177 (100.0)	2,353	35	10.5
1906-07	..	4,007 (3.4)	24,052 (20.5)	73,684 (62.7)	15,808 (13.4)	117,551 (100.0)	2,052	37	9.5
1911-12	..	4,547 (3.5)	29,029 (22.6)	77,496 (60.3)	17,522 (13.6)	128,594 (100.0)	1,986	43	8.8
1916-17	..	1,575 (1.1)	40,536 (27.4)	88,780 (59.9)	17,255 (11.6)	148,146 (100.0)	1,647	43	7.0
1921-22	..	2,037 (1.2)	52,557 (31.5)	97,097 (58.2)	15,118 (9.1)	166,809 (100.0)	1,481	42	6.5
1926-27	..	2,946 (1.5)	60,650 (30.6)	5,793 (2.9)	15,659 (7.9)	197,999 (100.0)	1,249	46	5.5
1931-32	..	3,030 (1.4)	70,834 (33.4)	6,654 (3.2)	14,069 (6.6)	212,086 (100.0)	1,281	51	5.2
1936-37	..	2,968 (1.4)	70,963 (34.1)	7,062 (3.4)	13,011 (6.3)	207,989 (100.0)	1,307	57	5.3
1941-42	..			Not available		193,130 (100.0)	1,533	70	4.5
1946-47	..			Not available		185,504 (100.0)	1,671	80	4.6

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

1949-50	..	52,940 (24.3)	82,875 (38.1)	8,332 (3.8)	66,526 (30.6)	7,073 (3.2)	217,746 (100.0)	1,622	89	5.4
1950-51	..	45,311 (20.3)	100,176 (44.9)	8,770 (3.9)	63,485 (28.4)	5,525 (2.5)	223,267 (100.0)	1,617	91	5.3
1951-52	..	47,963 (20.9)	102,033 (44.4)	8,962 (3.9)	64,162 (28.0)	6,492 (2.8)	229,612 (100.0)	1,604	92	5.1
1952-53	..	50,049 (21.1)	105,948 (44.6)	9,139 (3.9)	65,133 (27.4)	7,085 (3.0)	237,354 (100.0)	1,582	92	4.9
1953-54	..	56,929 (22.3)	115,898 (45.3)	9,200 (3.6)	66,659 (26.1)	6,948 (2.7)	255,634 (100.0)	1,499	91	4.9
1954-55	..	63,894 (22.7)	128,872 (45.9)	9,530 (3.4)	72,670 (25.9)	5,978 (2.1)	280,944 (100.0)	1,391	88	4.5
1955-56	..	69,788 (23.3)	141,400 (47.2)	9,811 (3.3)	72,691 (24.2)	6,195 (2.0)	299,865 (100.0)	1,329	89	4.2
1956-57	..	69,262 (22.2)	152,921 (49.0)	9,973 (3.2)	73,234 (23.5)	6,394 (2.1)	311,784 (100.0)	1,304	91	4.1
1957-58	..	84,531 (26.0)	149,516 (45.9)	9,687 (3.0)	74,774 (23.0)	6,754 (2.1)	325,262 (100.0)	1,275	92	3.9
1958-59	..	89,253 (26.2)	158,776 (46.5)	10,353 (3.0)	76,402 (22.4)	6,377 (1.9)	341,161 (100.0)	1,240	95	3.7
1959-60	..	77,840 (21.6)	189,185 (52.4)	11,426 (3.2)	75,615 (20.9)	6,925 (1.9)	360,991 (100.0)	1,195	96	3.5
1960-61	..	83,304 (21.8)	199,401 (52.3)	11,913 (3.1)	79,638 (20.9)	7,103 (1.9)	381,359 (100.0)	1,150	98	3.3

N.B. Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

5a. PRIMARY SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO MANagements (STATE-WISE) 1960-61

State/Union Territory	Number of Primary Schools Managed by						Average population served by a primary school	Average enrolment in a primary school	Average area served by a primary school (sq. miles)
	Government	District Boards	Municipal Boards	Private		Total			
				Aided	Unaided				
Andhra Pradesh	..	4,163 (12.2)	26,721 (78.5)	1,071 (3.1)	2,068 (6.1)	17 (0.1)	34,040 (100.0)	79	3.1
Assam	1,524 (9.5)	12,601 (78.9)	..	436 (2.7)	1,418 (8.9)	15,979 (100.0)	65	2.9
Bihar	104 (0.3)	9,846 (26.4)	979 (2.6)	25,749 (69.0)	645 (1.7)	37,323 (100.0)	73	1.8
Gujarat	..	493 (4.1)	10,339 (85.9)	308 (2.6)	585 (4.9)	307 (2.5)	12,032 (100.0)	59	6.0
Jammu & Kashmir	..	2,848 (99.6)	..	..	11 (0.4)	..	2,859 (100.0)	52	3.2
Kerala	..	2,970 (42.5)	3 (0.0)	..	4,013 (57.4)	6 (0.1)	6,992 (100.0)	258	2.1
Madhya Pradesh	..	16,718 (60.2)	9,700 (34.9)	484 (1.7)	770 (2.8)	109 (0.4)	27,781 (100.0)	61	6.2
Madras	..	1,457 (6.2)	15,242 (64.3)	862 (3.6)	6,103 (25.7)	47 (0.2)	23,711 (100.0)	105	2.1
Maharashtra	..	5,694 (22.4)	15,774 (62.1)	1,257 (4.9)	2,492 (9.8)	201 (0.8)	25,418 (100.0)	70	4.7
Mysore	..	13,454 (63.8)	2,702 (12.8)	171 (0.8)	4,771 (22.6)	4 (0.0)	21,102 (100.0)	60	3.5
Orissa	6,979 (30.3)	..	117 (0.5)	15,851 (68.7)	121 (0.5)	23,068 (100.0)	59	2.6

Punjab	..	12,951 (97.7)	..	17 (0.1)	147 (1.1)	143 (1.1)	13,258 (100.0)	1,532	75	3.6
Rajasthan	..	1,125 (7.7)	13,044 (89.7)	57 (0.4)	197 (1.3)	125 (0.9)	14,548 (100.0)	1,385	61	9.1
Uttar Pradesh	..	982 (2.5)	33,947 (84.7)	2,686 (6.7)	2,061 (5.1)	407 (1.0)	40,083 (100.0)	1,840	99	2.8
West Bengal	..	1,263 (4.5)	22,486 (80.4)	516 (1.8)	3,582 (12.8)	125 (0.5)	27,972 (100.0)	1,249	94	1.2
A. & N. Islands	..	76 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	76 (100.0)	829	63	4.2
Delhi ..	..	..	..	672 (93.6)	46 (6.4)	..	718 (100.0)	3,703	262	0.8
Himachal Pradesh	..	..	1,051 (93.1)	6 (0.5)	72 (6.4)	..	1,129 (100.0)	1,197	46	9.6
L. M. & A. Islands	..	11 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	11 (100.0)	2,182	175	1.0
Manipur	..	47 (2.8)	1,100 (66.3)	38 (2.3)	181 (10.9)	294 (17.7)	1,660 (100.0)	470	64	5.2
Nagaland	..	418 (88.2)	..	..	..	56 (11.8)	474 (100.0)	779	84	13.4
N.E.F.A.	..	127 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	127 (100.0)	2,654	36	247.5
Pondicherry	..	193 (80.8)	..	..	46 (19.2)	..	239 (100.0)	1,544	63	0.8
Tripura	..	2 (0.2)	978 (91.1)	50 (4.7)	21 (1.9)	23 (2.1)	1,074 (100.0)	1,063	76	3.8
INDIA/TOTAL	..	73,599 (22.2)	175,534 (52.9)	9,291 (2.8)	69,202 (20.9)	4,048 (1.2)	331,674 (100.0)	1,322	80	3.8

N.B. Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

5b. MIDDLE SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO MANagements (STATE-WISE) 1960-61

State/Union Territory	Number of middle schools managed by				Total	Average population served by a middle school	Average enrolment in a middle school	Average area served by a middle school (sq. miles)
	Government	District Boards	Municipal Boards	Private				
				Aided	Unaided			
Andhra Pradesh ..	133 (9.1)	1,010 (69.0)	96 (6.4)	214 (14.6)	13 (0.9)	1,466 (100.0)	240	72.5
Assam ..	130 (7.5)	550 (31.6)	4 (0.2)	914 (52.6)	141 (8.1)	1,739 (100.0)	116	27.1
Bihar ..	566 (12.8)	1,607 (36.5)	111 (2.5)	1,364 (30.9)	760 (17.3)	4,408 (100.0)	184	15.2
Gujarat ..	93 (1.4)	5,558 (85.8)	468 (7.2)	272 (4.2)	89 (1.4)	6,480 (100.0)	237	11.1
Jammu & Kashmir	517 (97.0)	..	..	16 (3.0)	..	533 (100.0)	122	173.1
Kerala ..	544 (28.1)	1 (0.1)	..	1,388 (71.8)	..	1,933 (100.0)	399	7.8
Madhya Pradesh ..	1,429 (58.3)	855 (34.9)	25 (1.0)	120 (4.9)	22 (0.9)	2,451 (100.0)	199	69.9
Madras ..	109 (3.1)	1,482 (42.1)	230 (6.5)	1,698 (48.2)	4 (0.1)	3,523 (100.0)	314	14.3
Maharashtra ..	430 (4.6)	7,366 (78.0)	1,140 (12.0)	443 (4.7)	67 (0.7)	9,446 (100.0)	258	12.6
Mysore ..	2,590 (43.5)	2,546 (42.8)	155 (2.7)	651 (10.9)	6 (0.1)	5,948 (100.0)	197	12.5
Orissa ..	276 (21.1)	..	10 (0.8)	722 (55.3)	298 (22.8)	1,306 (100.0)	83	46.1

Punjab	..	1,290 (90.3)	..	2 (0.2)	46 (3.2)	90 (6.3)	1,428 (100.0)	14,221	222	33.1
Rajasthan	..	1,253 (88.5)	..	3 (0.2)	138 (9.7)	22 (1.6)	1,416 (100.0)	14,234	223	93.3
Uttar Pradesh	..	204 (4.7)	2,502 (57.7)	190 (4.4)	311 (7.2)	1,128 (26.0)	4,335 (100.0)	17,012	127	26.2
West Bengal	..	27 (1.1)	27 (1.1)	7 (0.3)	1,990 (84.4)	308 (13.1)	2,359 (100.0)	14,805	96	14.3
A. & N. Islands	..	2 (66.7)	..	..	1 (33.3)	..	3 (100.0)	21,000	96	1,071.7
Delhi ..	..	..	..	153 (79.3)	40 (20.7)	..	193 (100.0)	13,777	335	3.0
Himachal Pradesh	..	..	145 (79.2)	..	38 (20.8)	..	183 (100.0)	7,383	121	59.5
L. M. & A. Islands	..	4 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	4 (100.0)	6,000	328	2.8
Manipur	..	..	158 (50.5)	16 (5.1)	45 (14.4)	94 (30.0)	313 (100.0)	2,492	82	27.6
Nagaland	..	55 (80.9)	..	..	..	13 (19.1)	68 (100.0)	24,071	147	93.6
N.E.F.A.	..	14 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	14 (100.0)	5,426	104	2,245.6
Pondicherry	..	34 (62.2)	..	..	19 (35.8)	..	53 (100.0)	6,962	282	3.5
Tripura	..	5 (6.0)	60 (72.3)	12 (14.5)	6 (7.2)	..	83 (100.0)	13,750	130	48.6
INDIA/TOTAL	..	9,705 (19.5)	23,867 (48.0)	2,622 (5.3)	10,436 (21.0)	3,055 (6.2)	49,685 (100.0)	8,823	214	25.5

N.B. Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

5c. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO MANagements (STATE-WISE) 1960-61

State/Union Territory	Number of elementary schools managed by					Average population served by an elementary school	Average enrolment in an elementary school	Average area served by an elementary school (sq. miles)
	Government	District Boards	Municipal Boards	Private				
				Aided	Unaided			
Andhra Pradesh ..	4,296 (12.1)	27,731 (78.1)	1,167 (3.3)	2,282 (6.4)	30 (0.1)	35,506 (100.0)	85	3.0
Assam ..	1,654 (9.4)	13,151 (74.2)	4 (0.0)	1,350 (7.6)	1,559 (8.8)	17,718 (100.0)	70	2.7
Bihar ..	670 (1.6)	11,453 (27.4)	1,090 (2.6)	27,113 (65.0)	1,405 (3.4)	41,731 (100.0)	84	1.6
Gujarat ..	586 (3.2)	15,897 (85.9)	776 (4.2)	857 (4.6)	396 (2.1)	18,512 (100.0)	121	3.9
Jammu & Kashmir ..	3,365 (99.2)	.. (..)	.. (..)	27 (0.8)	.. (..)	3,392 (100.0)	63	2.7
Kerala ..	3,514 (39.4)	4 (0.0)	.. (..)	5,401 (60.5)	6 (0.1)	8,925 (100.0)	289	1.7
Madhya Pradesh ..	18,147 (60.0)	10,555 (34.9)	509 (1.7)	890 (2.9)	131 (0.5)	30,232 (100.0)	72	5.7
Madras ..	1,566 (5.8)	16,724 (61.4)	1,092 (4.0)	7,801 (28.6)	51 (0.2)	27,234 (100.0)	132	1.8
Maharashtra ..	6,124 (17.6)	23,140 (66.4)	2,397 (6.9)	2,935 (8.4)	268 (0.7)	34,864 (100.0)	121	3.4
Mysore ..	16,044 (59.3)	5,248 (19.4)	326 (1.2)	5,422 (20.1)	10 (0.0)	27,050 (100.0)	90	2.7
Orissa ..	7,255 (29.8)	.. (..)	127 (0.5)	16,573 (68.0)	419 (1.7)	24,374 (100.0)	60	2.5
Punjab ..	14,241 (97.0)	.. (..)	19 (0.1)	193 (1.3)	233 (1.6)	14,686 (100.0)	89	3.2

Rajasthan	..	2,378 (14.9)	13,044 (81.7)	60 (0.4)	335 (2.1)	147 (0.9)	15,964 (100.0)	1,263	75	8.3
Uttar Pradesh	..	1,186 (2.7)	36,449 (82.0)	2,876 (6.5)	2,372 (5.3)	1,535 (3.5)	44,418 (100.0)	1,660	102	2.6
West Bengal	..	1,290 (4.3)	22,513 (74.2)	523 (1.7)	5,572 (18.4)	433 (1.4)	30,331 (100.0)	1,151	94	1.1
A. & N. Islands	..	78 (98.7)	..	..	1 (1.3)	..	79 (100.0)	797	65	40.7
Delhi ..	..	..	..	825 (90.6)	86 (9.4)	..	911 (100.0)	2,919	277	0.6
Himachal Pradesh	..	..	1,196 (91.2)	6 (0.4)	110 (8.4)	..	1,312 (100.0)	1,030	56	8.3
L. M. & A. Islands	..	15 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	15 (100.0)	1,600	216	0.7
Manipur	..	47 (2.4)	1,258 (63.8)	54 (2.7)	226 (11.4)	388 (19.7)	1,973 (100.0)	395	67	4.4
Nagaland	..	473 (87.3)	..	..	..	69 (12.7)	542 (100.0)	681	92	11.7
N.E.F.A.	..	141 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	141 (100.0)	2,390	43	223.0
Pondicherry	..	227 (77.7)	..	..	65 (22.3)	..	292 (100.0)	1,264	102	0.6
Tripura	..	7 (0.6)	1,038 (89.7)	62 (5.4)	27 (2.3)	23 (2.0)	1,157 (100.0)	987	80	3.5
INDIA/TOTAL	..	83,304 (21.8)	199,401 (52.3)	11,913 (3.1)	79,638 (20.9)	7,103 (1.9)	381,359 (100.0)	1,150	98	3.3

N.B. Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

6a. ENROLMENT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO MANagements (1901-02 To 1960-61)

Year	Enrolment in primary schools managed by					
	Government	District Boards	Municipal Boards	Private		Total
				Aided	Unaided	
1901-02	846,190 (26.4)	1,813,452 (56.6)	374,573 (11.7)	3,204,336 (100.0)
1906-07	1,191,439 (30.3)	2,206,956 (56.0)	347,257 (8.8)	3,937,866 (100.0)
1911-12	1,651,258 (33.1)	2,633,808 (52.8)	437,015 (8.8)	4,988,142 (100.0)
1916-17	2,361,454 (40.6)	2,946,978 (50.7)	426,514 (7.3)	5,818,730 (100.0)
1921-22	2,761,663 (43.8)	3,098,843 (49.1)	353,221 (5.6)	6,310,400 (100.0)
1926-27	3,230,566 (39.1)	3,880,425 (47.0)	405,664 (4.9)	8,256,760 (100.0)
1931-32	3,729,134 (39.4)	4,377,537 (46.3)	383,681 (4.1)	9,454,360 (100.0)
1936-37	4,042,462 (38.4)	4,991,032 (47.3)	393,788 (3.7)	10,541,790 (100.0)
1941-42	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	12,018,726 (100.0)
1946-47	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	13,036,248 (100.0)

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

1949-50	..	..	3,868,372 (22.2)	7,182,169 (41.2)	1,599,684 (9.2)	4,468,378 (25.7)	299,941 (1.7)	17,418,544 (100.0)
1950-51	..	..	3,154,730 (17.3)	8,674,791 (47.4)	1,737,692 (9.5)	4,484,804 (24.5)	241,950 (1.3)	18,293,967 (100.0)
1951-52	..	..	3,341,966 (17.6)	8,845,409 (46.6)	1,884,336 (9.9)	4,652,818 (24.5)	275,962 (1.4)	19,000,491 (100.0)
1952-53	..	..	3,406,468 (17.4)	8,877,256 (45.5)	1,923,990 (9.8)	4,990,362 (25.6)	324,927 (1.7)	19,523,003 (100.0)
1953-54	..	..	3,810,507 (18.3)	9,631,516 (46.3)	1,969,348 (9.4)	5,114,328 (24.6)	287,090 (1.4)	20,812,789 (100.0)
1954-55	..	..	4,210,334 (19.0)	10,198,695 (45.9)	2,139,796 (9.6)	5,392,198 (24.3)	255,137 (1.2)	22,196,160 (100.0)
1955-56	..	..	4,699,369 (20.5)	10,476,166 (45.7)	2,025,834 (8.8)	5,448,676 (23.8)	269,689 (1.2)	22,919,734 (100.0)
1956-57	..	..	4,618,941 (19.3)	11,347,774 (47.5)	2,111,205 (8.8)	5,552,713 (23.2)	291,934 (1.2)	23,922,567 (100.0)
1957-58	..	..	5,476,626 (22.1)	11,252,356 (45.4)	2,128,982 (8.6)	5,615,364 (22.7)	314,971 (1.2)	24,788,299 (100.0)
1958-59	..	..	5,833,088 (23.9)	10,940,272 (44.9)	1,741,172 (7.2)	5,538,362 (22.8)	299,287 (1.2)	24,372,181 (100.0)
1959-60	..	..	5,303,801 (20.5)	12,996,139 (50.1)	1,909,709 (7.4)	5,369,922 (20.7)	342,116 (1.3)	25,921,687 (100.0)
1960-61	..	..	5,406,567 (20.3)	13,223,525 (49.6)	1,898,051 (7.1)	5,765,793 (21.7)	355,444 (1.3)	26,649,380 (100.0)

N.B. Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

6b. ENROLMENT IN MIDDLE SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO MANagements (1901-02 To 1960-61)

Year	Enrolment in middle schools managed by					
	Government	District Boards	Municipal Boards	Private		Total
				Aided	Unaided	
1901-02	114,416 (31.8)	178,143 (49.5)	40,527 (11.3)	359,909 (100.0)
1906-07	142,563 (34.4)	209,252 (50.4)	34,047 (8.2)	415,066 (100.0)
1911-12	156,957 (30.4)	266,548 (51.6)	62,273 (12.0)	516,605 (100.0)
1916-17	170,702 (27.8)	329,960 (53.7)	87,723 (14.3)	614,074 (100.0)
1921-22	262,750 (40.8)	304,035 (47.2)	51,204 (7.9)	644,614 (100.0)
1926-27	529,317 (49.9)	389,828 (36.8)	59,494 (5.6)	1,059,866 (100.0)
1931-32	732,800 (54.6)	436,737 (32.5)	71,713 (5.3)	1,342,468 (100.0)
1936-37	683,957 (50.2)	479,291 (35.1)	78,141 (5.7)	1,363,346 (100.0)
1941-42	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	1,450,841 (100.0)
1946-47	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	1,781,390 (100.0)

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

1949-50	..	566,855 (29.2)	605,647 (31.2)	71,072 (3.7)	553,485 (28.5)	142,164 (7.9)	1,939,223 (100.0)
1950-51	..	655,603 (31.6)	651,054 (31.4)	85,712 (4.1)	540,424 (26.1)	139,715 (6.8)	2,072,508 (100.0)
1951-52	..	714,724 (32.0)	680,860 (30.5)	85,909 (3.9)	597,061 (26.7)	154,288 (6.9)	2,232,842 (100.0)
1952-53	..	763,166 (33.1)	718,952 (31.1)	90,672 (3.9)	583,883 (25.3)	152,078 (6.6)	2,308,751 (100.0)
1953-54	..	836,716 (34.4)	729,497 (30.0)	87,175 (3.6)	601,694 (24.7)	176,634 (7.3)	2,431,716 (100.0)
1954-55	..	902,773 (34.8)	760,421 (29.3)	92,001 (3.5)	652,735 (25.2)	187,111 (7.2)	2,595,041 (100.0)
1955-56	..	976,783 (25.6)	1,543,753 (40.5)	344,875 (9.1)	729,612 (19.1)	217,929 (5.7)	3,812,952 (100.0)
1956-57	..	1,036,361 (23.6)	1,886,186 (42.9)	354,163 (8.1)	898,943 (20.5)	216,570 (4.9)	4,392,223 (100.0)
1957-58	..	1,487,122 (29.4)	1,902,756 (37.6)	332,476 (6.6)	1,119,782 (22.1)	217,595 (4.3)	5,059,731 (100.0)
1958-59	..	1,625,091 (19.9)	3,574,531 (43.8)	989,563 (12.1)	1,715,304 (21.0)	265,015 (3.2)	8,169,504 (100.0)
1959-60	..	1,659,025 (18.7)	4,004,372 (45.1)	1,089,177 (12.2)	1,828,468 (20.6)	304,748 (3.4)	8,885,790 (100.0)
1960-61	..	2,070,738 (19.5)	4,743,719 (44.7)	1,271,409 (12.0)	2,183,888 (20.6)	340,486 (3.2)	10,610,240 (100.0)

N.B. Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

6c. ENROLMENT IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO MANagements (1901-02 to 1960-61)

Year	Enrolment in elementary schools managed by					
	Government	District Boards	Municipal Boards	Private		Total
				Aided	Unaided	
1901-02	960,606 (27.0)	1,991,595 (55.9)	415,100 (11.6)	3,564,245 (100.0)
1906-07	1,334,002 (30.6)	2,416,208 (55.5)	381,304 (8.8)	4,352,932 (100.0)
1911-12	1,808,215 (32.8)	2,900,356 (52.7)	499,288 (9.1)	5,504,747 (100.0)
1916-17	2,532,156 (39.4)	3,276,938 (50.9)	514,237 (8.0)	6,432,804 (100.0)
1921-22	3,024,413 (43.5)	3,402,878 (48.9)	404,425 (5.8)	6,955,014 (100.0)
1926-27	4,270,253 (45.8)	465,158 (5.0)	9,316,626 (100.0)
1931-32	4,814,274 (44.6)	455,394 (4.2)	10,796,828 (100.0)
1936-37	5,470,323 (45.9)	471,929 (4.0)	11,905,136 (100.0)
1941-42	N.A.	N.A.	13,469,567 (100.0)
1946-47	N.A.	N.A.	14,817,638 (100.0)

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

1949-50	..	4,435,227 (22.9)	7,787,816 (40.3)	1,640,810 (8.5)	5,021,863 (26.0)	442,105 (2.3)	19,327,821 (100.0)
1950-51	..	3,810,333 (18.7)	9,325,845 (45.8)	1,823,404 (8.9)	5,025,228 (24.7)	381,665 (1.9)	20,366,475 (100.0)
1951-52	..	4,056,690 (19.1)	9,526,269 (44.9)	1,970,245 (9.3)	5,249,879 (24.7)	430,250 (2.0)	21,233,333 (100.0)
1952-53	..	4,169,634 (19.1)	9,596,208 (44.0)	2,014,662 (9.2)	5,574,245 (25.5)	477,005 (2.2)	21,831,754 (100.0)
1953-54	..	4,647,223 (20.0)	10,361,013 (44.6)	2,056,523 (8.8)	5,716,022 (24.6)	463,724 (2.0)	23,244,505 (100.0)
1954-55	..	5,113,107 (20.6)	10,959,116 (44.2)	2,231,797 (9.0)	6,044,933 (24.4)	442,248 (1.8)	24,791,201 (100.0)
1955-56	..	5,676,152 (21.2)	12,019,919 (45.0)	2,370,709 (8.9)	6,178,288 (23.1)	487,618 (1.8)	26,732,686 (100.0)
1956-57	..	5,655,302 (20.0)	13,233,960 (46.7)	2,465,368 (8.7)	6,451,656 (22.8)	508,504 (1.8)	28,314,790 (100.0)
1957-58	..	6,963,748 (33.3)	13,155,112 (44.1)	2,461,458 (8.2)	6,735,146 (22.6)	532,566 (1.8)	29,848,030 (100.0)
1958-59	..	7,458,179 (22.9)	14,514,803 (44.6)	2,730,735 (8.4)	7,273,666 (22.4)	564,302 (1.7)	32,541,685 (100.0)
1959-60	..	6,962,826 (20.0)	17,000,511 (48.8)	2,998,886 (8.6)	7,198,390 (20.7)	646,864 (1.9)	34,807,477 (100.0)
1960-61	..	7,477,305 (20.1)	17,967,244 (48.2)	3,169,460 (8.5)	7,949,681 (21.3)	695,930 (1.9)	37,259,620 (100.0)

N.B. Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

7a. ENROLMENT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS BY STATES AND MANAGEMENT (1960-61)

State/Union Territory	Enrolment in primary schools managed by				
	Government	District Boards	Municipal Boards	Private Bodies	
				Aided	Unaided
					Total
Andhra Pradesh..	..	2,018,170 (75.4)	184,035 (6.9)	208,991 (7.8)	1,510 (0.0)
Assam	865,309 (82.7)	.. (..)	24,345 (2.3)	64,834 (6.2)
Bihar	1,013,659 (37.4)	111,293 (4.1)	1,530,121 (56.4)	48,718 (1.8)
Gujarat	490,853 (69.0)	100,053 (14.1)	54,663 (7.7)	36,576 (5.1)
Jammu & Kashmir	146,301 (98.9)	.. (..)	1,693 (1.1)	.. (..)
Kerala	864,934 (47.9)	.. (..)	937,489 (52.0)	890 (0.0)
Madhya Pradesh	857,240 (51.0)	131,401 (7.8)	66,966 (4.0)	12,581 (0.7)
Madras	209,139 (8.4)	215,106 (8.6)	851,555 (34.1)	11,079 (0.4)
Maharashtra	345,280 (19.4)	302,538 (17.0)	265,723 (14.9)	36,695 (2.1)
Mysore	784,311 (61.5)	28,986 (2.3)	285,158 (22.3)	194 (0.0)
Orissa	412,360 (30.5)	21,473 (1.6)	911,040 (67.3)	8,765 (0.6)
					1,275,916 (100.0)
					1,353,638 (100.0)

Punjab	..	..	929,743 (93.8)	..	..	3,968 (0.4)	28,200 (2.8)	29,780 (3.0)	991,691 (100.0)
Rajasthan	..	..	161,567 (18.3)	..	672,788 (76.3)	8,199 (0.9)	27,658 (3.2)	11,435 (1.3)	881,647 (100.0)
Uttar Pradesh	..	..	56,592 (1.4)	..	3,186,038 (80.5)	498,911 (12.6)	174,453 (4.4)	42,834 (1.1)	3,958,828 (100.0)
West Bengal	..	..	180,616 (6.9)	..	1,963,440 (74.5)	100,548 (3.8)	361,235 (13.7)	29,150 (1.1)	2,634,989 (100.0)
A. & N. Islands	..	..	4,823 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	4,823 (100.0)
Delhi	..	..	..	..	..	173,329 (92.2)	14,732 (7.8)	..	188,061 (100.0)
Himachal Pradesh	..	..	..	..	48,486 (93.4)	746 (1.4)	2,705 (5.2)	..	51,937 (100.0)
L. M. & A. Islands	..	..	1,920 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	1,920 (100.0)
Manipur	..	..	2,197 (2.1)	..	69,435 (65.3)	5,586 (5.3)	11,936 (11.2)	17,168 (16.1)	106,322 (100.0)
Nagaland	..	..	38,114 (95.2)	..	..	..	..	1,919 (4.8)	40,033 (100.0)
N.E.F.A.	..	..	4,595 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	4,595 (100.0)
Pondicherry	..	..	12,217 (81.8)	..	..	..	2,722 (18.2)	..	14,939 (100.0)
Tripura	..	..	391 (0.5)	..	63,364 (77.9)	11,879 (14.6)	4,408 (5.4)	1,316 (1.6)	81,358 (100.0)
INDIA/TOTAL	..	..	5,406,567 (20.3)	..	13,223,525 (49.6)	1,898,051 (7.1)	5,765,793 (21.7)	355,444 (1.3)	26,649,380 (100.0)

7b. ENROLMENT IN MIDDLE SCHOOLS BY STATES AND MANAGEMENT (1960-61)

State/Union Territory	Enrolment in middle schools managed by					
	Government	District Boards	Municipal Boards	Private Bodies		Total
				Aided	Unaided	
Andhra Pradesh	64,493 (18.3)	2,587 (0.7)	352,318 (100.0)
Assam	80,958 (40.1)	11,956 (5.9)	201,934 (100.0)
Bihar	243,828 (30.0)	92,336 (11.4)	812,023 (100.0)
Gujarat	55,451 (3.6)	22,317 (1.4)	1,536,097 (100.0)
Jammu & Kashmir	7,940 (12.2)	..	65,245 (100.0)
Kerala	481,403 (62.5)	..	770,690 (100.0)
Madhya Pradesh	19,684 (4.0)	4,081 (0.8)	488,684 (100.0)
Madras	590,666 (53.3)	1,217 (0.2)	1,107,835 (100.0)
Maharashtra	100,236 (4.1)	10,185 (0.4)	2,436,775 (100.0)
Mysore	157,354 (13.4)	1,625 (0.1)	1,170,276 (100.0)
Orissa	61,713 (56.8)	14,948 (13.8)	108,574 (100.0)

Punjab	..	..	283,493 (89.5)	..	..	650 (0.2)	14,233 (4.5)	18,426 (5.8)	316,802 (100.0)
Rajasthan	..	..	270,565 (85.5)	..	..	1,071 (0.4)	38,371 (12.1)	6,368 (2.0)	316,375 (100.0)
Uttar Pradesh	..	..	39,789 (7.2)	..	302,653 (55.1)	31,945 (5.8)	51,428 (9.4)	124,012 (22.5)	549,827 (100.0)
West Bengal	..	..	4,592 (2.0)	..	2,934 (1.3)	1,336 (0.7)	192,473 (85.3)	24,128 (10.7)	225,663 (100.0)
A. & N. Islands	..	..	198 (68.7)	..	..	..	90 (31.3)	..	288 (100.0)
Delhi	..	..	..	..	..	49,684 (76.9)	14,935 (23.1)	..	64,619 (100.0)
Himachal Pradesh	..	..	..	..	21,063 (95.3)	..	1,039 (4.7)	..	22,102 (100.0)
L. M. & A. Islands	..	..	1,313 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	1,313 (100.0)
Manipur	..	..	..	..	14,072 (54.9)	3,299 (12.9)	3,428 (13.4)	4,806 (18.8)	25,605 (100.0)
Nagaland	..	..	8,493 (85.0)	..	..	..	..	1,494 (15.0)	9,987 (100.0)
N.E.F.A.	..	..	1,458 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	..	1,458 (100.0)
Pondicherry	..	..	11,602 (77.6)	..	..	..	3,353 (22.4)	..	14,955 (100.0)
Tripura	..	..	1,060 (9.8)	..	6,937 (64.3)	1,986 (18.4)	812 (7.5)	..	10,795 (100.0)
INDIA/TOTAL	..	..	2,070,738 (19.5)	..	4,743,719 (44.7)	1,271,409 (12.0)	2,183,888 (20.6)	3,40,486 (3.2)	10,610,240 (100.0)

7c. ENROLMENT IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS BY STATES AND MANagements (1960-61)

State/Union Territory	Enrolment in elementary schools managed by					
	Government	District Boards	Municipal Boards	Private Bodies		Total
				Aided	Unaided	
Andhra Pradesh	..	2,217,579 (73.2)	218,100 (7.2)	273,484 (9.0)	4,097 (0.1)	3,030,138 (100.0)
Assam	..	956,540 (76.6)	925 (0.1)	105,303 (8.4)	76,790 (6.2)	1,248,464 (100.0)
Bihar	..	1,336,122 (37.9)	143,897 (4.1)	1,773,949 (50.3)	141,054 (4.0)	3,524,014 (100.0)
Gujarat	..	1,650,636 (73.5)	382,130 (17.0)	110,114 (4.9)	58,893 (2.6)	2,247,113 (100.0)
Jammu & Kashmir	..	203,606 (95.5)	.. (..)	9,633 (4.5)	.. (..)	213,239 (100.0)
Kerala	..	1,153,826 (44.8)	154 (0.1)	1,418,892 (55.1)	890 (0.0)	2,574,962 (100.0)
Madhya Pradesh	..	1,152,322 (53.1)	774,121 (35.7)	140,649 (6.5)	16,662 (0.7)	2,170,404 (100.0)
Madras	..	244,815 (6.8)	1,571,163 (43.6)	1,422,221 (40.0)	12,296 (0.3)	3,604,246 (100.0)
Maharashtra	..	442,351 (10.5)	2,422,510 (57.4)	940,004 (22.3)	365,959 (8.7)	4,217,704 (100.0)
Mysore	..	1,221,507 (49.9)	686,009 (28.0)	94,345 (3.9)	442,512 (18.1)	2,446,192 (100.0)
Orissa	..	443,424 (30.3)	.. (..)	22,322 (1.6)	972,753 (66.5)	1,462,212 (100.0)

Punjab	..	..	1,213,236 (92.7)	.. (..)	4,618 (0.4)	42,433 (3.2)	48,206 (3.7)	1,308,493 (100.0)
Rajasthan	..	..	432,132 (36.1)	672,788 (56.1)	9,270 (0.8)	66,029 (5.5)	17,803 (1.5)	1,198,022 (100.0)
Uttar Pradesh	..	..	96,381 (2.1)	3,488,691 (77.4)	530,856 (11.8)	225,881 (5.0)	166,846 (3.7)	4,508,655 (100.0)
West Bengal	..	..	185,208 (6.5)	1,966,374 (68.7)	102,084 (3.6)	553,708 (19.3)	53,278 (1.9)	2,860,652 (100.0)
A. & N. Islands	..	..	5,021 (98.2)	.. (..)	.. (..)	90 (1.8)	.. (..)	5,111 (100.0)
Delhi	..	..	.. (..)	.. (..)	223,013 (88.3)	29,667 (11.7)	.. (..)	252,680 (100.0)
Himachal Pradesh	..	..	.. (..)	69,549 (93.9)	746 (1.0)	3,744 (5.1)	.. (..)	74,039 (100.0)
L. M. & A. Islands	..	..	3,233 (100.0)	.. (..)	.. (..)	.. (..)	.. (..)	3,233 (100.0)
Manipur	..	..	2,197 (1.7)	83,507 (63.3)	8,885 (6.7)	15,364 (11.6)	21,974 (16.7)	131,927 (100.0)
Nagaland	..	..	46,607 (93.2)	.. (..)	.. (..)	.. (..)	3,413 (6.8)	50,020 (100.0)
N.E.F.A.	..	..	6,053 (100.0)	.. (..)	.. (..)	.. (..)	.. (..)	6,053 (100.0)
Pondicherry	..	..	23,819 (79.7)	.. (..)	.. (..)	6,075 (20.3)	.. (..)	29,894 (100.0)
Tripura	..	..	1,451 (1.6)	70,301 (76.3)	13,865 (15.0)	5,220 (5.7)	1,316 (1.4)	92,153 (100.0)
INDIA/TOTAL	..	..	7,477,305 (20.1)	17,967,244 (48.2)	3,169,460 (8.5)	7,949,681 (21.3)	695,930 (1.9)	37,259,620 (100.0)

8. ENROLMENT AT THE ELEMENTARY STAGE ACCORDING TO CLASSES (1911-12 to 1960-61) (in 000's)

Year	CLASSES										Grand Total I-VIII
	I	II	III	IV	V	Total I-V	VI	VII	VIII	Total VI-VIII	
1911-12 ..	2,717	1,062	757	545	324	5,405	167	119	76	362	5,767
1916-17 ..	2,933	1,404	934	667	415	6,353	215	157	105	477	6,829
1921-22 ..	3,343	1,556	924	636	377	6,835	246	158	114	518	7,352
1926-27 ..	5,280	1,638	1,131	768	427	9,243	279	211	141	631	9,874
1931-32 ..	5,281	2,111	1,496	1,016	628	10,532	377	301	229	907	11,440
1936-37 ..	5,291	2,378	1,762	1,288	790	11,509	477	365	296	1,138	12,646
1941-42 ..	5,525	2,724	2,027	1,572	1,085	12,933	591	437	377	1,405	14,338
1946-47 ..	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD											
1949-50 ..	6,901	4,136	3,057	2,365	1,733	18,193	1,150	975	719	2,844	21,037
1950-51 ..	6,948	4,332	3,353	2,623	1,898	19,154	1,246	1,023	851	3,120	22,274

1951-52 ..	7,025	4,445	3,534	2,777	2,029	19,810	1,339	1,113	875	3,388	23,198
1952-53 ..	7,395	4,402	3,497	2,886	2,168	20,348	1,468	1,168	931	3,567	23,915
1953-54 ..	8,087	4,700	3,648	2,998	2,240	21,672	1,547	1,274	1,008	3,829	25,501
1954-55 ..	9,112	4,960	3,780	3,074	2,299	23,224	1,597	1,374	1,077	4,048	27,272
1955-56 ..	9,958	5,523	4,067	3,216	3,403	25,167	1,698	1,436	1,160	4,293	29,460
1956-57 ..	10,283	5,871	4,457	3,467	2,635	26,713	1,862	1,543	1,232	4,637	31,349
1957-58 ..	10,908	6,086	4,747	3,686	2,743	28,170	1,990	1,625	1,313	4,928	33,098
1958-59 ..	11,999	6,630	5,048	4,020	3,059	30,757	2,208	1,794	1,439	5,441	36,198
1959-60 ..	12,693	7,147	5,391	4,248	3,341	32,820	2,593	1,926	1,533	6,052	38,882
1960-61 ..	13,393	7,512	5,879	4,594	3,609	34,987	2,727	2,220	1,756	6,703	41,690

9. ENROLMENT AT THE ELEMENTARY STAGE ACCORDING TO CLASSES (STATE-WISE) 1960-61

State/Union Territory	CLASSES										
	I	II	III	IV	V	Total I-V	VI	VII	VIII	Total VI-VIII	Grand total (I-VIII)
Andhra Pradesh	1,220,064	637,064	475,334	357,943	285,650	2,976,055	173,115	127,702	107,068	407,885	3,383,940
Assam	508,476	209,117	165,728	135,830	106,433	1,125,584	82,778	72,682	64,431	219,891	1,345,475
Bihar	1,470,518	666,025	457,890	324,872	265,190	3,184,495	213,048	177,078	144,649	534,775	3,719,270
Gujarat	819,107	411,006	326,401	264,055	209,815	2,030,384	160,729	130,696	95,529	386,954	2,417,338
Jammu & Kashmir	65,289	51,727	36,493	28,932	27,355	209,796	22,718	19,252	17,457	59,427	269,223
Kerala	613,389	518,133	478,601	422,107	358,659	2,390,889	279,356	262,592	153,315	695,263	3,086,152
Madhya Pradesh	750,025	433,795	351,596	255,390	196,886	1,995,692	133,600	100,495	82,897	316,992	2,312,684
Madras	1,065,301	762,516	618,248	491,818	395,506	3,333,389	290,987	222,258	177,700	690,945	4,024,334
Maharashtra	1,489,133	843,226	662,968	537,801	415,517	3,948,645	314,027	243,604	190,528	748,159	4,696,804
Mysore	836,364	497,012	363,793	280,090	190,583	2,167,842	147,826	123,143	92,507	363,476	2,531,318
Orissa	700,609	314,254	212,653	117,811	65,533	1,410,860	46,526	37,837	23,143	107,506	1,518,366
Punjab	435,510	287,295	264,467	237,711	214,683	1,439,666	178,116	143,042	117,443	438,601	1,878,267

Rajasthan ..	454,858	226,804	183,331	138,882	110,627	1,114,502	87,353	67,739	51,978	207,070	1,321,572
Uttar Pradesh ..	1,466,846	912,449	713,781	562,250	437,675	4,093,001	313,395	266,332	244,488	824,215	4,917,216
West Bengal ..	1,256,296	602,525	454,097	339,399	249,833	2,902,150	210,249	166,302	141,145	517,696	3,419,846
A. & N. Islands	1,619	1,044	903	540	330	4,436	213	161	106	480	4,916
Delhi ..	78,594	58,639	52,456	55,563	41,134	286,386	43,230	35,008	33,871	112,109	398,495
Himachal Pradesh ..	28,562	18,825	14,665	11,947	10,032	84,031	8,193	6,177	5,459	19,829	103,860
L. M. & A. Islands ..	1,325	950	561	339	221	3,396	133	153	37	323	3,719
Manipur ..	52,836	24,527	16,597	12,362	10,751	117,073	9,262	7,587	6,554	23,403	140,476
Nagaland ..	22,153	10,700	9,219	4,419	3,983	50,479	2,976	2,096	700	5,772	56,251
N.E.F.A. ..	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Pondicherry ..	11,434	7,288	5,268	3,626	3,618	31,234	2,742	2,853	1,526	7,121	38,355
Tripura ..	36,444	17,340	13,692	10,463	8,717	86,656	6,260	5,191	3,982	15,433	102,089
INDIA/TOTAL	13,392,757	7,512,261	5,878,742	4,594,150	3,608,731	34,986,641	2,726,832	2,219,980	1,756,513	6,703,325	41,689,966

Rajasthan ..	10,564,082	9,591,520	20,153,602	899,042 (8.51)	215,460 (2.25)	1,114,502 (5.53)	179,499 (1.70)	27,571 (0.29)	207,070 (1.03)	1,078,541 (10.21)	243,031 (2.54)	1,321,572 (6.56)
Uttar Pradesh	38,634,201	35,112,200	73,746,401	3,224,830 (8.34)	868,171 (2.47)	4,093,001 (5.55)	701,784 (1.82)	122,431 (0.35)	824,215 (1.12)	3,926,614 (10.16)	990,602 (2.82)	4,917,216 (6.67)
West Bengal	18,599,144	16,327,135	34,926,279	1,881,457 (10.12)	1,020,693 (6.25)	2,902,150 (8.31)	383,979 (2.06)	133,717 (0.82)	517,696 (1.48)	2,265,436 (12.18)	1,154,410 (7.07)	3,419,846 (9.79)
A. & N. Islands ..	39,304	24,244	63,548	2,719 (6.92)	1,717 (7.08)	4,436 (6.98)	360 (0.92)	120 (0.05)	480 (0.76)	3,079 (7.84)	1,837 (7.13)	4,916 (7.74)
Delhi ..	1,489,378	1,169,234	2,658,612	165,656 (11.12)	120,730 (10.33)	286,386 (10.77)	65,893 (4.42)	46,216 (3.95)	112,109 (4.22)	231,549 (15.54)	166,946 (14.28)	398,495 (14.99)
Himachal Pradesh	702,697	648,447	1,351,144	67,221 (9.57)	16,810 (2.59)	84,031 (6.22)	16,577 (2.36)	3,252 (0.50)	19,829 (1.47)	83,798 (14.93)	20,062 (3.09)	103,860 (7.69)
L. M. A. Islands ..	11,935	12,173	24,108	2,119 (17.75)	1,277 (10.49)	3,396 (14.09)	301 (2.52)	22 (0.18)	323 (1.34)	2,420 (20.27)	1,299 (10.67)	3,719 (15.43)
Manipur ..	387,058	392,979	780,037	76,867 (19.86)	40,206 (10.23)	117,073 (15.01)	17,886 (4.62)	5,517 (1.40)	23,403 (3.00)	94,753 (24.48)	45,723 (11.63)	140,476 (18.01)
Nagaland ..	191,027	178,173	369,200	32,148 (16.83)	18,331 (10.29)	50,479 (13.67)	4,016 (2.10)	1,756 (0.96)	5,772 (1.56)	36,164 (18.93)	20,087 (11.27)	56,251 (15.23)
N.E.F.A. ..	177,680	158,878	336,558	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Pondicherry	183,347	185,732	369,079	18,984 (10.35)	12,250 (6.60)	31,234 (8.46)	5,280 (2.88)	1,841 (0.99)	7,121 (1.93)	24,264 (13.23)	14,091 (7.59)	38,355 (10.39)
Tripura ..	591,237	550,768	1,142,005	57,114 (9.66)	29,542 (5.36)	86,656 (7.59)	11,064 (1.87)	4,369 (0.79)	15,433 (1.35)	68,178 (11.53)	33,911 (6.15)	102,089 (8.94)
INDIA/TOTAL	226,293,620	212,941,462	439,235,002	23,590,001 (10.42)	11,396,640 (5.35)	34,986,641 (7.96)	5,073,625 (2.24)	1,629,700 (0.77)	6,703,325 (1.53)	28,663,626 (12.66)	13,026,340 (6.12)	41,689,966 (9.49)

11a. ENROLMENT IN CLASSES I-V ACCORDING TO AGES (1911-12 to 1960-61)

Year	Below 6 years	6-7 years	7-8 years	8-9 years	9-10 years	10-11 years	Total 6-11 years	Above 11 years	Grand Total	Percentage of enrolment in the age-group to total enrolment		
										Below 6 years	6-11 years	Above 11 years
1911-12 ..	766,990	835,154	855,460	720,767	648,801	535,662	3,595,844	1,042,094	5,404,928	14.19	66.53	19.28
1916-17 ..	808,817	921,340	974,446	897,650	797,029	660,640	4,251,105	1,292,590	6,352,512	12.73	66.92	20.35
1921-22 ..	934,361	1,071,473	1,089,606	994,444	829,102	657,482	4,642,107	1,258,146	6,834,614	13.67	67.92	18.41
1926-27 ..	1,216,582	344,066	1,506,990	1,303,702	1,076,452	863,337	6,270,545	1,756,052	9,243,179	13.16	67.84	19.00
1931-32 ..	1,372,975	1,757,896	1,748,907	1,549,083	1,313,515	1,010,290	7,379,691	1,779,692	10,532,358	13.04	70.07	16.90
1936-37 ..	1,292,116	1,904,252	1,969,318	1,819,490	1,522,108	1,180,134	8,395,302	1,821,160	11,508,578	11.23	72.95	15.82
1941-42 ..	1,279,066	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	9,846,652	1,806,961	12,932,679	9.89	76.14	13.97
1946-47 ..	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD												
1949-50 ..	1,671,003	3,182,423	3,353,849	3,004,205	2,583,675	1,902,322	14,026,474	2,495,607	18,193,084	9.18	77.10	13.72
1950-51 ..	1,698,651	3,207,103	3,360,826	3,184,290	2,679,905	2,106,790	14,538,914	2,916,892	19,154,457	8.87	75.90	15.23
1951-52 ..	1,740,321	3,274,361	3,396,597	3,257,345	2,785,546	2,151,542	14,865,391	3,204,036	19,809,748	8.79	75.04	16.17
1952-53 ..	1,493,988	3,332,732	3,445,545	3,322,565	2,918,198	2,366,395	15,385,435	3,469,001	20,348,424	7.34	75.61	17.05
1953-54 ..	1,674,492	3,426,456	3,786,523	3,566,430	2,992,673	2,459,181	16,231,263	3,764,110	21,671,865	7.74	74.89	17.37
1954-55 ..	2,011,844	3,959,283	4,097,544	3,737,381	3,226,642	2,536,438	17,557,288	3,655,118	23,224,250	8.66	75.60	15.74
1955-56 ..	2,223,677	4,281,718	4,580,473	4,205,815	3,521,558	2,664,368	19,253,932	3,689,404	25,167,013	8.84	76.50	14.66
1956-57 ..	2,551,152	4,597,765	4,935,215	4,439,418	3,734,910	2,798,753	20,506,061	3,655,312	26,712,525	9.55	76.77	13.68
1957-58 ..	2,241,551	4,382,935	5,257,526	4,800,016	4,100,669	3,194,146	21,735,292	4,193,236	28,170,079	7.96	77.16	14.88
1958-59 ..	2,574,285	5,114,138	5,760,258	5,240,467	4,466,848	3,360,407	23,942,118	4,240,196	30,756,589	8.37	77.84	13.79
1959-60 ..	2,828,291	5,321,691	6,184,047	5,580,718	4,774,504	3,626,248	25,487,208	4,503,963	32,819,462	8.62	77.66	13.72
1960-61 ..	2,936,410	5,745,333	6,516,388	5,983,980	4,976,305	3,914,668	27,138,674	4,911,557	34,986,641	8.39	77.57	14.04

11b. ENROLMENT IN CLASSES VI-VIII ACCORDING TO AGES (1911-12 To 1960-61)

Year	Below 11 years	11-12 years	12-13 years	13-14 years	Total 11-14 years	Above 14 years	Grand total	Percentage to total		
								Below 11 years	11-14 years	Above 14 years
1911-12	30,487	42,456	60,149	65,403	168,008	163,598	362,093	8.4	46.4	45.2
1916-17	39,458	55,364	77,523	87,118	220,005	217,263	476,726	8.3	46.2	45.6
1921-22	42,061	63,449	91,333	97,276	252,058	223,421	517,540	8.1	48.7	43.2
1926-27	48,168	76,108	113,205	119,036	308,349	274,602	631,119	7.6	48.9	43.5
1931-32	89,857	112,405	158,206	162,882	433,493	383,830	907,180	9.9	47.8	42.3
1936-37	139,532	167,353	215,045	211,647	594,045	404,245	1,137,822	12.3	52.2	35.5
1941-42	182,193	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	767,545	455,435	1,405,173	13.0	54.6	32.4
1946-47	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD										
1949-50	461,883	494,477	581,489	534,199	1,610,165	771,740	2,843,788	16.2	56.6	27.2
1950-51	495,892	517,961	618,867	562,299	1,699,127	924,939	3,119,958	15.9	54.5	29.6
1951-52	586,334	585,516	676,992	604,368	1,866,876	934,432	3,387,642	17.3	55.1	27.6
1952-53	592,399	592,643	710,800	642,179	1,945,622	1,028,959	3,566,980	16.6	54.6	28.8

11b. ENROLMENT IN CLASSES VI-VIII ACCORDING TO AGES (1911-12 To 1960-61)—Contd.

Year	Below 11 years	11-12 years	12-13 years	13-14 years	Total 11-14 years	Above 14 years	Grand total	Percentage to total		
								Below 11 years	11-14 years	Above 14 years
1953-54	560,444	613,937	770,633	702,452	2,087,022	1,181,126	3,828,592	16.0	54.5	29.5
1954-55	519,046	648,922	816,087	778,929	2,243,938	1,285,192	4,048,176	12.8	55.4	31.8
1955-56	608,491	707,428	862,004	800,702	2,370,134	1,314,678	4,293,303	14.2	55.2	30.6
1956-57	736,576	806,500	940,689	814,184	2,561,373	1,338,568	4,636,517	15.9	55.2	28.9
1957-58	673,407	788,608	1,020,550	932,808	2,741,966	1,512,757	4,928,130	13.7	55.6	30.7
1958-59	795,681	919,890	1,151,780	1,013,984	3,085,654	1,559,367	5,440,702	14.6	56.7	28.7
1959-60	819,959	1,038,409	1,281,263	1,151,392	3,471,064	1,761,131	6,052,154	13.5	57.4	29.1
1960-61	893,799	1,167,111	1,423,103	1,279,935	3,870,149	1,939,377	6,703,325	13.3	57.8	28.9

11c. ENROLMENT IN CLASSES I-VIII ACCORDING TO AGES (1911-12 to 1960-61)

Year	Below 6 years	6-14 years	Above 14 years	Total	Percentage to total			
					Below 6 years	6-14 years	Above 14 years	
1911-12	..	766,990	4,642,623	357,408	5,767,021	13.3	80.5	6.2
1916-17	..	808,817	5,549,354	471,067	6,829,238	11.8	81.3	6.9
1921-22	..	934,361	5,945,486	472,307	7,352,154	12.7	80.9	6.4
1926-27	..	1,216,584	7,989,499	668,215	9,874,298	12.3	80.9	6.8
1931-32	..	1,372,976	9,361,990	704,572	11,439,538	12.0	81.8	6.2
1936-37	..	1,292,169	10,711,218	643,013	12,646,400	10.2	84.7	5.1
1941-42	..	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1946-47	..	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD								
1949-50	..	1,671,024	18,353,735	1,012,113	21,036,872	7.9	87.3	4.8
1950-51	..	1,698,840	19,330,746	1,244,829	22,274,415	7.6	86.8	5.6
1951-52	..	1,740,345	20,163,006	1,294,039	23,197,390	7.5	86.9	5.6

11c. ENROLMENT IN CLASSES I-VIII ACCORDING TO AGES (1911-12 to 1960-61)—Contd.

Year	Below 6 years	6-14 years	Above 14 years	Total	Percentage to total				
					Below 6 years	6-14 years	Above 14 years		
1952-53	1,494,009	21,014,234	1,407,161	23,915,404	6.2	87.9	5.9
1953-54	1,676,517	22,153,070	1,670,870	25,500,457	6.5	86.9	6.6
1954-55	2,011,854	23,575,147	1,685,425	27,272,426	7.4	86.4	6.2
1955-56	2,223,700	25,516,869	1,719,747	29,460,316	7.6	86.6	5.8
1956-57	2,551,160	26,861,177	1,936,705	31,349,042	8.1	85.7	6.2
1957-58	2,241,577	28,903,632	1,953,000	33,098,209	6.8	87.3	5.9
1958-59	2,574,286	31,652,829	1,970,176	36,197,291	7.1	87.4	5.5
1959-60	2,828,294	33,884,713	2,158,609	38,871,616	7.3	87.2	5.5
1960-61	2,989,381	36,342,246	2,358,339	41,689,966	7.17	87.17	5.66

12a. ENROLMENT IN CLASSES I-V ACCORDING TO AGES AND STATES (1960-61)

State/Union Territory	AGE GROUPS							Percentage of enrolment to total enrolment in the age group				
	Below 6 years	6-7 years	7-8 years	8-9 years	9-10 years	10-11 years	Total 6-11				Above 11	Grand Total
											Below 6 years	6-11 years
Andhra Pradesh	312,282	578,615	557,972	487,743	389,352	298,397	2,312,079	351,694	2,976,055	10.49	77.69	11.82
Assam	293,090	272,002	211,772	166,369	108,483	50,540	809,166	23,328	1,125,584	26.04	71.89	2.97
Bihar	615,730	740,821	671,567	502,245	323,893	194,913	2,433,439	135,326	3,184,495	19.33	76.42	4.25
Gujarat	62,482	194,604	306,826	332,980	330,187	295,682	1,460,279	507,623	2,030,384	3.08	71.92	25.00
Jammu & Kashmir	10,416	59,559	40,758	34,175	25,435	23,124	183,051	16,329	209,796	4.97	87.25	7.78
Kerala	3,819	271,713	519,544	500,320	422,639	328,201	2,042,417	344,653	2,390,889	0.16	85.43	14.41
Madhya Pradesh	124,843	263,796	322,697	328,481	306,621	249,654	1,471,249	399,600	1,995,692	6.26	73.72	20.02
Madras	333,571	637,203	624,129	553,392	467,719	352,218	2,634,661	365,157	3,333,389	10.01	79.04	10.95
Maharashtra	92,050	413,879	618,993	677,994	624,756	587,111	2,922,733	933,862	3,948,645	2.33	74.02	23.65
Mysore	226,571	424,131	431,644	367,810	291,673	209,231	1,724,489	216,782	2,167,842	10.45	79.55	10.00
Orissa	298,011	372,859	272,462	200,717	128,808	73,943	1,048,789	64,060	1,410,860	21.12	74.34	4.54
Punjab	105,372	194,419	237,634	236,356	219,238	210,482	1,098,129	236,165	1,439,666	7.32	76.28	16.40
Rajasthan	83,952	143,291	173,263	183,019	165,990	140,774	806,337	224,213	1,114,502	7.53	72.35	20.12
Uttar Pradesh	271,460	737,128	772,544	724,695	605,331	435,341	3,275,039	546,502	4,093,001	6.63	80.02	13.35
West Bengal	70,682	334,672	645,067	582,094	474,230	383,409	2,419,472	411,996	2,902,150	2.44	83.37	14.19

12a. ENROLMENT IN CLASSES I-V ACCORDING TO AGES AND STATES (1960-61)—Contd.

State/Union Territory	AGE GROUPS							Percentage of enrolment to total enrolment in the age group					
	Below 6 years	6-7 years	7-8 years	8-9 years	9-10 years	10-11 years	Total 6-11	Above 11	Grand Total				
										Below 6 years	Above 11 years		
A. & N. Islands	..	354	775	716	664	531	438	3,124	958	4,436	7.98	70.42	21.60
Delhi	..	18,326	43,000	48,466	49,485	44,654	41,222	226,827	41,233	286,386	6.40	79.20	14.40
Himachal Pradesh	..	5,115	9,865	13,158	12,675	12,139	11,342	59,179	19,737	84,031	6.09	70.42	23.49
L. M. & A. Islands	373	625	638	532	403	2,571	825	3,396	..	75.71	24.29
Manipur	20,831	17,697	14,970	11,730	9,976	75,204	41,869	117,073	..	64.24	35.76
Nagaland	..	4,385	6,053	7,519	7,377	6,723	5,418	33,090	13,004	50,479	8.69	65.55	25.76
N.E.F.A.	..	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Pondicherry	..	3,899	4,913	5,638	4,811	3,911	2,873	22,146	5,189	31,234	12.48	70.91	16.61
Tripura	20,831	17,697	14,970	11,730	9,976	75,204	11,452	86,656	..	86.78	13.22
INDIA/TOTAL	..	2,936,410	5,745,333	6,518,388	5,983,980	4,976,305	3,914,668	27,138,674	4,911,557	34,986,641	8.39	77.57	14.04

12b. ENROLMENT IN CLASSES VI-VIII ACCORDING TO AGES AND STATES (1960-61)

State/Union Territory	AGE-GROUPS							Percentage of enrolment to total enrolment in the age-group			
	Below 11 years	11-12 years	12-13 years	13-14 years	Total 11-14 years	Above 14 years	Grand total	Below 11 years	11-14 years	Above 14 years	
Andhra Pradesh	..	81,980	92,014	94,398	66,095	252,507	73,398	407,815	20.10	61.91	17.99
Assam	..	91,326	52,699	39,697	23,282	115,678	12,887	219,891	41.53	52.61	5.86
Bihar	..	130,307	122,600	121,184	84,037	327,821	76,647	534,775	24.37	61.30	14.33
Gujarat	..	12,121	33,445	64,414	82,515	180,374	194,459	386,954	3.13	46.62	50.25
Jammu & Kashmir	..	3,197	13,892	16,478	13,200	43,570	12,660	59,427	5.38	73.32	21.30
Kerala	..	59,924	132,944	160,362	139,946	433,252	202,087	695,263	8.62	62.31	29.07
Madhya Pradesh	..	36,083	42,201	51,626	56,083	149,910	130,999	316,992	11.38	47.29	41.33
Madras	..	109,841	152,604	174,418	129,229	456,251	124,853	690,945	15.90	66.03	18.07
Maharashtra	..	28,606	71,688	123,435	148,929	344,052	375,501	748,159	3.82	45.99	51.19
Mysore	..	73,608	76,380	80,962	60,359	217,701	72,167	363,476	20.25	59.90	19.85
Orissa	..	12,305	28,347	24,144	18,353	70,844	24,357	107,506	11.44	65.90	22.66
Punjab	..	34,129	70,561	102,071	106,519	279,151	125,321	438,601	7.78	63.65	28.57
Rajasthan	..	19,670	29,296	38,887	40,157	108,340	79,060	207,070	9.50	52.32	38.18
Uttar Pradesh	..	160,763	152,081	165,211	139,833	457,125	206,327	824,215	19.51	55.46	25.03

12b. ENROLMENT IN CLASSES VI-VIII ACCORDING TO AGES AND STATES (1960-61)—Contd.

State/Union Territory	AGE-GROUPS								Percentage of enrolment to total enrolment in the age-group		
	Below 11 years	11-12 years	12-13 years	13-14 years	Total 11-14 years	Above 14 years	Grand total	Below 11 years	11-14 years	Above 14 years	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
West Bengal	..	15,398	60,412	121,758	134,685	316,855	185,443	517,696	2.97	61.21	35.82
A. & N. Islands	..	43	80	106	84	270	167	480	8.96	56.25	34.79
Delhi	..	13,093	23,180	27,953	23,531	74,664	24,352	112,109	11.68	66.60	21.72
Himachal Pradesh	..	1,226	2,504	3,597	4,228	10,329	8,274	19,829	6.18	52.09	41.73
L.M. & A. Islands	..	5	6	19	41	66	252	323	1.55	20.43	78.02
Manipur	..	6,907	5,360	5,985	3,155	14,500	1,996	23,403	29.51	61.96	8.53
Nagaland	..	915	591	1,013	838	2,442	2,415	5,772	15.85	42.31	41.84
N.E.F.A.	..	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Pondicherry	..	807	1,158	1,414	1,406	3,978	2,336	7,121	11.33	55.86	32.81
Tripura	..	1,545	3,068	3,971	3,430	10,469	3,419	15,433	10.01	67.84	22.15
INDIA/TOTAL	..	893,799	1,167,111	1,423,103	1,279,935	3,870,149	1,939,377	6,703,325	13.33	57.74	28.93

12c. ENROLMENT IN CLASSES I-VIII ACCORDING TO AGES AND STATES (1960-61)

State/Union Territory	Enrolment			Percentage of enrolment to total enrolment in the age group			
	Below 6 years	6-14 years	Above 14 years	Total	Below 6 years	6-14 years	Above 14 years
Andhra Pradesh	..	2,979,497	92,161	3,383,940	9.23	88.05	2.72
Assam	..	1,039,345	13,040	1,345,475	21.78	77.25	0.97
Bihar	..	3,024,150	79,390	3,719,270	16.56	81.31	2.13
Gujarat	..	2,098,080	256,776	2,417,338	2.59	86.79	10.62
Jammu & Kashmir	..	245,339	13,468	269,223	3.87	91.13	5.00
Kerala	..	2,854,776	227,557	3,086,152	0.13	92.50	7.37
Madhya Pradesh	..	2,003,168	184,673	2,312,684	5.40	86.62	7.98
Madras	..	3,551,191	139,572	4,024,334	8.29	88.24	3.47
Maharashtra	..	4,107,532	497,222	4,696,804	1.96	87.45	10.59
Mysore	..	2,216,926	87,821	2,531,318	8.95	87.58	3.47
Orissa	..	1,193,354	27,001	1,518,366	19.63	78.59	1.78
Punjab	..	1,638,232	134,663	1,878,267	5.61	87.22	7.17
Rajasthan	..	1,130,804	106,816	1,321,572	6.35	85.57	8.08
Uttar Pradesh	..	4,401,795	243,961	4,917,216	5.52	89.52	4.96
West Bengal	..	3,148,734	200,430	3,419,846	2.07	92.07	5.86
A. & N. Islands	..	4,143	419	4,916	7.20	84.28	8.52

12c. ENROLMENT IN CLASSES I-VIII ACCORDING TO AGES AND STATES (1960-61)—Contd.

State/Union Territory	Enrolment			Total	Percentage of enrolment to total enrolment in the age group		
	Below 6 years	6-14 years	Above 14 years		Below 6 years	6-14 years	Above 14 years
Delhi ..	18,326	353,237	26,932	398,495	4.60	88.64	6.76
Himachal Pradesh ..	5,115	88,082	10,663	103,860	4.93	84.81	10.26
L.M. & A. Islands ..	..	3,299	420	3,719	..	88.71	11.29
Manipur ..	52,971	85,509	1,996	140,476	37.71	60.87	1.42
Nagaland ..	4,385	45,475	6,391	56,251	7.80	80.84	11.36
N.E.F.A. ..	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Pondicherry ..	3,899	31,654	2,802	38,355	10.17	82.53	7.30
Tripura ..	..	97,924	4,165	102,089	..	95.92	4.08
INDIA/TOTAL ..	2,989,381	36,342,246	2,358,339	41,689,966	7.17	87.17	5.66

13a. TEACHERS IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO GENERAL EDUCATION QUALIFICATIONS
(1949-50 to 1960-61)

Year	Graduates		Matriculates and above		Non-matriculates		Total	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1949-50	681 (0.2)	504 (0.6)	35,430 (8.1)	8,919 (11.3)	402,448 (91.7)	69,916 (88.1)	438,559	79,339
1950-51	898 (0.2)	410 (0.5)	44,730 (9.8)	9,670 (11.8)	410,009 (90.0)	72,201 (87.7)	455,637	82,281
1951-52	1,251 (0.3)	513 (0.6)	51,014 (10.7)	1,1849 (13.3)	422,285 (89.0)	76,802 (86.1)	474,514	89,164
1952-53	648 (0.1)	431 (0.4)	66,108 (13.6)	15,585 (15.7)	420,846 (86.3)	83,094 (83.9)	487,602	99,110
1953-54	1,996 (0.4)	716 (0.7)	85,269 (16.5)	18,722 (17.8)	431,083 (83.1)	85,469 (81.5)	518,348	104,907
1954-55	1,422 (0.3)	639 (0.6)	119,933 (21.3)	22,961 (20.3)	441,234 (78.4)	89,612 (79.1)	562,589	113,212
1955-56	1,879 (0.3)	729 (0.6)	140,500 (24.5)	25,675 (21.9)	431,803 (75.2)	90,663 (77.5)	574,182	117,067
1956-57	2,018 (0.3)	961 (0.8)	159,585 (27.1)	32,668 (26.9)	427,275 (72.6)	87,632 (72.3)	588,878	121,261
1957-58	2,083 (0.4)	1,081 (0.9)	171,632 (28.5)	35,107 (27.6)	428,355 (71.1)	90,981 (71.5)	602,070	127,169
1958-59	2,309 (0.4)	1,243 (1.1)	172,755 (29.9)	35,047 (29.8)	402,094 (69.7)	81,336 (69.1)	577,158	117,626
1959-60	2,509 (0.4)	1,474 (1.2)	199,838 (33.0)	39,901 (31.9)	403,943 (66.6)	83,809 (66.9)	606,290	125,184
1960-61	3,050 (0.5)	1,575 (1.2)	221,354 (36.0)	43,233 (34.1)	390,460 (63.5)	82,023 (64.7)	614,864	126,831

N.B. Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

13b. TEACHERS IN MIDDLE SCHOOLS ACCORDING TO GENERAL EDUCATION QUALIFICATIONS
(1949-50 to 1960-61)

Year	Graduates		Matriculates and above		Non-matriculates		Total
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
1949-50	3,558 (5.3)	852 (7.1)	26,916 (40.3)	3,902 (32.3)	36,313 (54.4)	7,324 (60.6)	78,865
1950-51	3,920 (5.4)	887 (6.9)	31,267 (43.1)	4,323 (33.5)	37,422 (51.5)	7,677 (59.6)	85,496
1951-52	4,469 (5.8)	1,029 (7.3)	33,463 (43.8)	4,863 (34.6)	38,532 (50.4)	8,176 (58.1)	90,532
1952-53	5,025 (6.1)	1,194 (7.9)	36,745 (44.8)	5,490 (36.6)	40,219 (49.1)	8,319 (55.5)	96,992
1953-54	5,910 (6.7)	1,261 (7.7)	41,849 (47.6)	6,638 (40.4)	40,108 (45.7)	8,534 (51.9)	104,300
1954-55	7,422 (7.8)	1,424 (8.3)	47,411 (50.1)	7,215 (42.3)	39,838 (42.1)	8,439 (49.4)	111,749
1955-56	9,204 (7.4)	1,707 (7.2)	54,893 (44.1)	9,060 (38.0)	60,453 (48.5)	13,077 (54.8)	148,394
1956-57	9,388 (6.9)	1,951 (6.3)	63,052 (46.6)	12,459 (40.1)	63,027 (46.5)	16,686 (53.6)	166,563
1957-58	10,684 (7.2)	2,408 (6.5)	71,630 (48.4)	15,585 (42.1)	65,740 (44.4)	19,026 (51.4)	185,073
1958-59	10,742 (5.2)	2,569 (4.8)	96,219 (46.8)	23,616 (39.4)	98,813 (48.0)	33,722 (56.3)	265,681
1959-60	12,200 (5.5)	3,200 (4.6)	109,245 (49.2)	29,699 (42.4)	100,663 (45.3)	37,125 (53.0)	292,132
1960-61	14,119 (5.4)	3,763 (4.5)	130,933 (50.0)	35,042 (41.9)	116,825 (44.6)	44,761 (53.6)	345,443

N.B. Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

Punjab	..	528 (2.7)	104 (1.5)	13,995 (72.7)	3,700 (52.4)	4,743 (24.6)	3,259 (46.1)	19,266	7,063	26,329
Rajasthan	..	208 (0.8)	90 (3.1)	19,660 (76.8)	1,301 (44.7)	5,722 (22.4)	1,521 (52.2)	25,590	2,912	28,502
Uttar Pradesh	..	847 (1.0)	232 (2.0)	18,636 (21.3)	2,335 (19.9)	67,857 (77.7)	9,147 (78.1)	87,340	11,714	99,054
West Bengal	..	448 (0.5)	267 (3.3)	48,079 (63.6)	5,304 (66.2)	27,184 (35.9)	2,450 (30.5)	75,711	8,021	83,732
A. & N. Islands	..	..	..	84 (82.4)	25 (69.4)	18 (17.6)	11 (30.6)	102	36	138
Delhi ..	..	281 (9.1)	217 (9.2)	2,245 (72.8)	1,703 (72.1)	557 (18.1)	441 (18.7)	3,083	2,361	5,444
Himachal Pradesh	..	..	..	1,707 (82.9)	194 (78.5)	353 (17.1)	53 (21.5)	2,060	247	2,307
L.M. & A. Islands	..	..	..	8 (25.0)	4 (28.6)	24 (75.0)	10 (71.4)	32	14	46
Manipur	..	2 (0.1)	..	161 (3.9)	15 (7.7)	3,947 (96.0)	180 (92.3)	4,110	195	4,305
Nagaland	..	..	..	15 (1.7)	6 (6.1)	880 (98.3)	93 (63.9)	895	99	994
N.E.F.A.	..	..	..	169 (71.6)	8 (47.1)	67 (28.4)	9 (52.9)	236	17	253
Pondicherry	..	2 (0.6)	2 (2.9)	300 (82.4)	31 (45.6)	62 (17.0)	35 (51.5)	364	68	432
Tripura	..	5 (0.2)	4 (0.8)	1,876 (78.8)	431 (90.4)	501 (21.0)	42 (8.8)	2,382	477	2,859
INDIA/TOTAL	..	3,050 (0.5)	1,575 (1.2)	221,354 (36.0)	43,233 (34.1)	390,460 (63.5)	82,023 (64.7)	614,864	126,831	741,695

N.B. Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

Punjab	..	1,604 (21.5)	557 (19.5)	3,989 (53.3)	1,312 (45.9)	1,885 (25.2)	987 (34.6)	7,478	2,856	10,334
Rajasthan	..	1,061 (9.3)	190 (8.4)	8,434 (74.2)	1,085 (48.0)	1,880 (16.5)	986 (43.6)	11,375	2,261	13,636
Uttar Pradesh	..	1,752 (9.2)	482 (11.5)	9,355 (49.1)	1,995 (47.5)	7,950 (41.7)	1,725 (41.0)	19,057	4,202	23,259
West Bengal	..	2,639 (28.8)	613 (36.2)	5,690 (62.0)	990 (58.5)	846 (9.2)	89 (5.3)	9,175	1,692	10,867
A. & N. Islands	..	1 (14.3)	1 (11.1)	6 (85.7)	6 (66.7)	.. (..)	2 (22.2)	7	9	16
Delhi ..	..	426 (41.7)	417 (36.3)	515 (50.4)	640 (55.7)	81 (7.9)	92 (8.0)	1,022	1,149	2,171
Himachal Pradesh	..	216 (16.7)	26 (14.5)	823 (63.5)	114 (63.7)	256 (19.8)	39 (21.8)	1,295	179	1,474
L.M. & A. Islands	..	.. (..)	1 (33.3)	16 (44.4)	2 (66.7)	20 (55.6)	.. (..)	36	3	39
Manipur	..	2 (0.2)	1 (1.6)	661 (54.0)	50 (79.4)	561 (45.8)	12 (19.0)	1,224	63	1,287
Nagaland	..	14 (2.6)	.. (..)	125 (23.2)	6 (12.0)	399 (74.2)	44 (88.0)	538	50	588
N.E.F.A.	..	24 (28.2)	1 (20.0)	44 (51.8)	3 (60.0)	17 (20.0)	1 (20.0)	85	5	90
Pondicherry	..	8 (2.7)	3 (1.4)	224 (75.4)	140 (63.3)	65 (21.9)	78 (35.3)	297	221	518
Tripura	..	94 (16.7)	14 (11.5)	449 (79.6)	103 (84.4)	21 (3.7)	5 (4.1)	564	122	686
INDIA/TOTAL	..	14,119	3,763	130,933	35,042	116,825	44,761	261,877	83,566	345,443

N.B. Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

Punjab..	..	2,132 (8.0)	661 (6.7)	17,984 (67.2)	5,012 (50.5)	6,628 (24.8)	4,246 (42.8)	26,744	9,919	36,663
Rajasthan	..	1,269 (3.4)	280 (5.4)	28,094 (76.0)	2,386 (46.1)	7,602 (20.6)	2,507 (48.5)	36,965	5,173	42,138
Uttar Pradesh	..	2,599 (2.4)	714 (4.5)	27,991 (26.3)	4,330 (27.2)	75,807 (71.3)	10,872 (68.3)	106,397	15,916	122,313
West Bengal	..	3,087 (3.6)	880 (9.1)	53,769 (63.4)	6,294 (64.8)	28,030 (33.0)	2,539 (26.1)	84,886	9,713	94,599
A. & N. Islands	..	1 (0.9)	1 (2.2)	90 (82.6)	31 (68.9)	18 (16.5)	13 (28.9)	109	45	154
Delhi ..	..	707 (17.2)	634 (18.1)	2,760 (67.2)	2,343 (66.7)	638 (15.6)	533 (15.2)	4,105	3,510	7,615
Himachal Pradesh	..	216 (6.4)	26 (6.1)	2,530 (75.4)	308 (72.3)	609 (18.2)	92 (21.6)	3,355	426	3,781
L. M. & A. Islands	..	.. (..)	1 (5.9)	24 (35.3)	6 (35.3)	44 (64.7)	10 (58.8)	68	17	85
Manipur	..	4 (0.1)	1 (0.4)	822 (15.4)	65 (25.2)	4,508 (84.5)	192 (74.4)	5,334	258	5,592
Nagaland	..	14 (1.0)	.. (..)	140 (9.8)	12 (8.1)	1,279 (89.2)	137 (91.9)	1,433	149	1,582
N.E.F.A.	..	24 (7.5)	1 (4.5)	213 (66.3)	11 (50.0)	84 (26.2)	10 (45.5)	321	22	343
Pondicherry	..	10 (1.5)	5 (1.7)	524 (79.3)	171 (59.2)	127 (19.2)	113 (39.1)	661	289	950
Tripura	..	99 (3.4)	18 (3.0)	2,325 (78.9)	534 (89.1)	522 (17.7)	47 (7.9)	2,946	599	3,545
INDIA/TOTAL	..	17,169 (1.9)	5,338 (2.5)	352,287 (40.2)	78,275 (37.2)	507,285 (57.9)	126,784 (60.3)	876,741	210,397	1,087,138

N.B. Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

15a. TEACHERS ACCORDING TO TRAINING IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS (1901-02 to 1960-61)

Year	Trained				Untrained				Total		Percentage of trained teachers			
	Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women		Total	
1901-02	..	20,474		90,785		N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	111,259	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	18.5
1906-07	..	N.A.		N.A.		N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1911-12	..	42,497		128,862		N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	171,359	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	24.8
1916-17	..	65,818		153,849		N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	219,667	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	30.0
1921-22	..	N.A.		N.A.		N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	249,040	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	38.9
1926-27	..	126,291		11,851		159,403	14,305	285,694	26,156	311,850	44.2	45.3	44.3	
1931-32	..	159,820		16,965		158,198	16,559	318,018	33,524	351,542	50.3	50.6	50.3	
1936-37	..	191,569		23,209		144,503	17,034	336,072	40,243	376,315	57.0	57.7	57.1	
1941-42	..	213,706		29,669		132,631	16,073	346,337	45,742	392,079	61.7	64.8	62.0	
1946-47	..	222,117		38,386		128,423	17,203	350,540	55,589	406,129	63.4	69.1	64.1	

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

1949-50 ..	..	247,712	54,338	190,847	25,001	438,559	79,339	517,898	56.5	68.5	58.3
1950-51 ..	..	259,291	56,833	196,346	25,448	455,637	82,281	537,918	56.9	69.1	58.8
1951-52 ..	..	283,891	62,308	190,623	26,856	474,514	89,164	563,678	59.8	69.9	61.4
1952-53 ..	..	294,054	70,754	193,548	28,356	487,602	99,110	586,712	60.3	71.4	62.2
1953-54 ..	..	314,044	75,481	204,304	29,426	518,348	104,907	623,255	60.6	72.0	62.5
1954-55 ..	..	335,301	82,515	227,288	30,697	562,598	113,212	675,801	59.6	72.9	61.8
1955-56 ..	..	336,930	86,262	237,252	30,805	574,182	117,067	691,249	58.7	73.7	61.2
1956-57 ..	..	351,028	91,119	237,850	30,142	588,878	121,261	710,139	59.6	75.1	62.3
1957-58 ..	..	367,588	95,847	234,482	31,322	602,070	127,169	729,239	61.1	75.4	63.6
1958-59 ..	..	354,886	87,791	222,272	29,835	577,158	117,626	694,784	61.5	74.6	63.7
1959-60 ..	..	374,235	92,443	232,055	32,741	606,290	125,184	731,474	61.7	73.8	63.8
1960-61 ..	..	382,065	93,059	232,799	33,772	614,864	126,831	741,695	62.1	73.4	64.1

15b. TEACHERS ACCORDING TO TRAINING IN MIDDLE SCHOOLS (1901-02 to 1960-61)

Year	Trained				Untrained			Total		Percentage of trained teachers		
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
1901-02	Not Available			..	..	..	..	..
1906-07	Not Available			..	..	..	..	..
1911-12	8,817	..	15,676	..	..	N.A.	N.A.	24,493	N.A.	N.A.	36.9
1916-17	13,668	..	18,135	..	..	N.A.	N.A.	31,803	N.A.	N.A.	43.0
1921-22	Not Available	..	..	..	..	36,003	N.A.	N.A.	53.5
1926-27	23,733	3,217	18,027	2,108	41,760	5,325	47,085	56.8	60.4	57.2	57.2
1931-32	33,588	4,244	17,799	2,409	51,387	6,653	58,040	65.4	63.8	65.2	65.2
1936-37	34,612	5,258	17,076	2,669	51,688	7,927	59,615	67.0	66.3	66.9	66.9
1941-42	34,783	5,559	19,333	3,188	54,116	8,747	62,863	64.3	63.6	64.2	64.2
1946-47	35,996	6,746	25,798	3,873	61,794	10,619	72,413	58.3	63.5	59.0	59.0

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

1949-50 ..	..	34,511	6,967	32,276	5,111	66,787	12,078	78,865	51.7	57.7	52.6
1950-51 ..	..	38,014	7,517	34,595	5,370	72,609	12,887	85,496	52.4	58.3	53.3
1951-52 ..	..	40,716	8,341	35,748	5,727	76,464	14,068	90,532	53.2	59.3	54.2
1952-53 ..	..	43,967	9,080	38,022	5,923	81,989	15,003	96,992	53.6	60.5	54.7
1953-54 ..	..	46,737	10,051	41,130	6,382	87,867	16,433	104,300	53.2	61.2	54.5
1954-55 ..	..	49,102	10,666	45,569	6,412	94,671	17,078	111,749	51.9	62.5	53.5
1955-56 ..	..	70,786	15,990	53,764	7,854	124,550	23,844	148,394	56.8	67.1	58.5
1956-57 ..	..	78,530	21,547	56,937	9,549	135,467	31,096	166,563	58.0	69.3	60.1
1957-58 ..	..	90,117	25,904	57,937	11,115	148,054	37,019	185,073	60.9	70.0	62.7
1958-59 ..	..	130,039	44,818	75,735	15,089	205,774	59,907	265,681	63.2	74.8	65.8
1959-60 ..	..	142,122	51,757	79,986	18,267	222,108	70,024	292,132	64.0	73.9	66.4
1960-61 ..	..	168,296	61,316	93,581	22,250	261,877	83,566	345,443	64.3	73.4	66.5

15c. TEACHERS ACCORDING TO TRAINING IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (1901-02 to 1960-61)

Year	Trained			Untrained			Total			Percentage to trained teachers		
	Men	Women		Men	Women		Men	Women		Men	Women	Total
1901-02	Not Available	..	..	..	..	..
1906-07	Not Available	..	..	..	..	..
1911-12	Not Available	..	..	N.A.	N.A.	26.3
1916-17	Not Available	..	..	N.A.	N.A.	31.6
1921-22	Not Available	..	..	N.A.	N.A.	40.5
1926-27	..	150,024	15,068	177,430	16,413	327,454	31,481	..	..	45.8	47.9	46.0
1931-32	..	193,408	21,209	175,997	18,968	369,405	40,177	..	..	52.4	52.8	52.4
1936-37	..	226,181	28,467	161,579	19,703	387,760	48,170	..	..	58.3	59.1	58.4
1941-42	..	248,489	35,228	151,964	19,261	400,453	54,489	..	..	62.1	64.7	62.4
1946-47	..	258,113	45,132	154,221	21,076	412,334	66,208	62.6	68.2	63.4

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

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1949-50	..	282,223	61,305	223,123	30,112	505,346	91,417	596,763	55.8	67.1	57.6
1950-51	..	297,305	64,350	230,941	30,818	528,246	95,168	623,414	56.3	67.6	58.0
1951-52	..	324,607	70,649	226,371	32,583	550,978	103,232	654,210	58.9	68.4	60.4
1952-53	..	338,021	79,834	231,570	34,279	569,591	114,113	683,704	59.3	70.0	61.1
1953-54	..	360,781	85,532	245,434	35,808	606,215	121,340	727,555	59.5	70.5	61.3
1954-55	..	384,403	93,181	272,857	37,109	657,260	130,290	787,550	58.5	71.5	60.6
1955-56	..	407,716	102,252	291,016	38,659	698,732	140,911	839,643	58.4	72.6	60.7
1956-57	..	429,558	112,666	294,787	39,691	724,345	152,357	876,702	59.3	73.9	61.8
1957-58	..	457,705	121,751	292,419	42,437	750,124	164,188	914,312	61.0	74.2	63.4
1958-59	..	484,925	132,609	298,007	44,924	782,932	177,533	960,465	61.9	74.7	64.3
1959-60	..	516,357	144,200	312,041	51,008	828,398	195,208	1,023,606	62.3	73.9	64.5
1960-61	..	550,361	154,375	326,380	56,022	876,741	210,397	1,087,138	62.8	73.4	64.8

16a. NUMBER OF TEACHERS IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN STATES (1960-61)

State/Union Territory	Trained				Untrained				Total			Percentage of trained teachers		
	Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Women		Men	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Andhra Pradesh ..	48,950	12,317	11,574	1,045	60,524	13,362	73,886	80.9	92.2	82.9				
Assam ..	9,081	1,284	13,593	2,396	22,674	3,680	26,354	40.5	34.9	39.3				
Bihar ..	40,145	2,322	14,394	2,802	54,539	5,124	59,663	73.6	45.3	71.2				
Gujarat ..	5,108	1,747	10,455	1,955	15,563	3,702	19,265	32.8	47.2	35.6				
Jammu & Kashmir ..	1,856	528	1,798	222	3,654	750	4,404	50.8	70.4	54.1				
Kerala ..	24,581	17,758	2,001	2,269	26,582	20,027	46,609	92.5	88.7	90.8				
Madhya Pradesh ..	25,545	3,562	25,387	2,570	50,932	6,132	57,064	50.2	58.1	51.0				
Madras ..	47,821	23,299	2,726	322	50,547	23,621	74,168	88.6	98.6	95.9				
Maharashtra ..	17,897	7,163	22,365	2,946	40,262	10,109	50,371	44.5	70.9	49.8				
Mysore ..	12,951	3,628	18,954	2,658	31,905	6,286	38,191	40.6	57.7	43.4				

Orissa ..	14,004	357	22,507	457	36,511	814	37,325	38.4	43.9	38.5
Punjab ..	17,715	6,531	1,551	532	19,266	7,063	26,329	91.9	92.5	92.1
Rajasthan ..	13,121	1,361	12,469	1,551	25,590	2,912	28,502	51.3	46.7	50.8
Uttar Pradesh ..	68,669	5,382	18,671	6,332	87,340	11,714	99,054	78.6	45.9	74.8
West Bengal ..	28,822	3,068	46,889	4,953	75,711	8,021	83,732	38.1	38.2	38.1
A. & N. Islands ..	63	18	39	18	102	36	138	61.8	50.0	58.7
Delhi ..	3,061	2,347	22	14	3,083	2,361	5,444	99.3	99.4	99.3
Himachal Pradesh ..	1,205	181	855	66	2,060	247	2,307	58.5	73.3	60.1
L. M. & A. Islands ..	29	8	3	6	32	14	46	90.6	57.1	80.4
Manipur ..	403	43	3,707	152	4,110	195	4,305	9.8	22.1	10.4
Nagaland ..	167	4	728	95	895	99	994	18.7	4.0	17.2
N.E.F.A. ..	160	12	76	5	236	17	253	67.8	70.6	68.0
Pondicherry ..	218	32	146	36	364	68	432	59.9	47.1	57.9
Tripura ..	493	107	1,889	370	2,382	477	2,859	20.7	22.4	21.0
INDIA/TOTAL ..	382,065	93,059	232,799	33,772	614,864	126,831	741,695	62.1	73.4	64.1

16b. NUMBER OF TEACHERS IN MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN STATES (1960-61)

State/Union Territory	Trained				Untrained				Total		Percentage of trained teachers		
	Men		Women		Men		Women		Men		Men	Women	Total
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Total	Women			
Andhra Pradesh ..	7,664	2,622	2,470	596	10,134	3,218	13,352	75.6	81.5	77.0			
Assam ..	2,009	314	5,841	788	7,850	1,102	8,952	25.6	28.5	25.9			
Bihar ..	14,499	1,355	8,360	704	22,859	2,059	24,918	63.4	65.8	63.6			
Gujarat ..	14,772	6,697	13,073	5,000	27,845	11,697	39,542	53.1	57.3	54.3			
Jammu & Kashmir ..	1,169	199	970	74	2,139	273	2,412	54.7	72.9	56.7			
Kerala ..	12,920	9,429	3,478	2,872	16,398	12,301	28,699	78.8	76.7	77.9			
Madhya Pradesh ..	9,724	1,392	9,467	1,315	19,191	2,707	21,898	50.7	51.4	50.8			
Madras ..	20,962	14,249	1,125	165	22,087	14,414	36,501	94.9	98.9	96.5			
Maharashtra ..	34,902	11,853	13,769	3,715	48,671	15,568	64,239	71.7	76.1	72.8			
Mysore ..	16,455	4,632	10,860	2,431	27,315	7,063	34,378	60.2	65.6	61.3			
Orissa ..	1,712	183	3,523	169	5,235	352	5,587	32.7	52.0	33.9			

Punjab ..	6,800	2,559	678	297	7,478	2,856	10,334	90.9	89.6	90.6
Rajasthan ..	5,872	984	5,503	1,277	11,375	2,261	13,636	51.6	43.5	50.3
Uttar Pradesh ..	15,043	3,050	4,014	1,152	19,057	4,202	23,259	78.9	72.6	77.8
West Bengal ..	1,265	347	7,910	1,345	9,175	1,692	10,867	13.8	20.5	14.8
A. & N. Islands ..	5	4	2	5	7	9	16	71.4	44.4	56.3
Delhi ..	1,015	1,135	7	14	1,022	1,149	2,171	99.3	98.8	99.0
Himachal Pradesh ..	929	114	366	65	1,295	179	1,474	71.7	63.7	70.8
L. M. & A. Islands ..	34	3	2	..	36	3	39	94.4	100.0	94.9
Manipur ..	77	18	1,147	45	1,224	63	1,287	6.3	28.6	7.4
Nagaland ..	41	10	497	40	538	50	588	7.6	20.0	8.7
N.E.F.A. ..	66	3	19	2	85	5	90	77.6	60.0	76.7
Pondicherry ..	206	125	91	96	297	221	518	69.4	56.6	63.9
Tripura ..	155	39	409	83	564	122	686	27.5	32.0	28.3
INDIA/TOTAL ..	168,296	61,316	93,581	22,250	261,877	83,566	345,443	64.3	73.4	66.5

16c. NUMBER OF TEACHERS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN STATES (1960-61)

State/Union Territory	Trained		Untrained		Total		Percentage of trained teachers			
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Andhra Pradesh ..	56,614	14,939	14,044	1,641	70,658	16,580	87,238	80.1	90.1	82.0
Assam ..	11,090	1,598	19,434	3,184	30,524	4,782	35,306	36.3	33.4	35.9
Bihar ..	54,644	3,677	22,754	3,506	77,398	7,183	84,581	70.6	51.2	69.0
Gujarat ..	19,880	8,444	23,528	6,955	43,408	15,399	58,807	45.8	54.8	48.2
Jammu & Kashmir ..	3,025	727	2,768	296	5,793	1,023	6,816	52.2	71.2	55.0
Kerala ..	37,501	27,187	5,479	5,141	42,980	32,328	75,308	87.3	84.1	85.9
Madhya Pradesh ..	35,269	4,954	34,854	3,885	70,123	8,839	78,962	50.3	56.0	50.9
Madras ..	68,783	37,548	3,851	487	72,634	38,035	110,669	94.7	98.7	96.1
Maharashtra ..	52,799	19,016	36,134	6,661	88,933	25,677	114,610	59.4	74.1	62.7
Mysore ..	29,406	8,260	29,814	5,089	59,220	13,349	72,569	49.7	61.9	51.9
Orissa	15,716	540	26,030	626	41,746	1,166	42,912	37.6	46.3	37.9

Punjab	..	24,515	9,090	2,229	829	26,744	9,919	36,663	91.7	91.6	91.7
Rajasthan	..	18,993	2,345	17,972	2,828	36,965	5,173	42,138	51.4	45.3	50.6
Uttar Pradesh	..	83,712	8,432	22,685	7,484	106,397	15,916	122,313	78.7	53.0	75.3
West Bengal	..	30,087	3,415	54,799	6,298	84,886	9,713	94,599	35.4	35.2	35.4
A. & N. Islands	..	68	22	41	23	109	45	154	62.4	48.9	58.4
Delhi ..	..	4,076	3,482	29	28	4,105	3,510	7,615	99.3	99.2	99.3
Himachal Pradesh	..	2,134	295	1,221	131	3,355	426	3,781	63.6	69.2	64.2
L. M. & A. Islands	..	63	11	5	6	68	17	85	92.6	64.7	87.1
Manipur	..	480	61	4,854	197	5,334	258	5,592	9.0	23.4	9.7
Nagaland	..	208	14	1,225	135	1,433	149	1,582	14.5	9.4	14.0
N.E.F.A.	..	226	15	95	7	321	22	343	70.4	68.2	70.3
Pondicherry	..	424	157	237	132	661	289	950	64.6	54.3	61.2
Tripura	..	648	146	2,298	453	2,946	599	3,545	22.0	24.4	22.4
INDIA/TOTAL	..	550,361	154,375	326,380	56,022	876,741	210,397	1,087,138	62.8	73.4	64.8

17. REMUNERATION OF TEACHERS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS (1901-02 to 1960-61)

Year	Primary schools			Middle schools			Elementary schools		
	Number of teachers	Total expenditure on teachers' salaries (Rs.)	Average annual salary per teacher (Rs.)	Number of teachers	Total expenditure on teachers' salaries (Rs.)	Average annual salary per teacher (Rs.)	Number of teachers	Total expenditure on teachers' salaries (Rs.)	Average annual salary per teacher (Rs.)
1901-02	111,259	10,094,395	90.7	N.A.	4,004,354	N.A.	N.A.	14,098,749	N.A.
1906-07	N.A.	13,220,485	N.A.	N.A.	4,833,517	N.A.	N.A.	18,054,002	N.A.
1911-12	171,359	17,617,223	102.8	24,493	6,374,932	260.3	195,852	23,992,155	122.5
1916-17	219,667	24,916,513	113.4	31,803	9,178,541	288.6	251,470	34,095,054	135.6
1921-22	249,040	43,271,891	173.8	36,003	14,137,418	392.7	285,043	57,409,309	201.4
1926-27	311,850	59,093,442	189.5	47,085	19,032,896	404.2	358,935	78,126,338	217.7
1931-32	351,542	69,071,246	196.5	58,040	24,641,355	424.6	409,582	93,712,601	228.8
1936-37	376,315	71,213,033	189.2	59,615	24,414,424	409.5	435,930	95,627,457	219.4
1941-42	392,079	80,708,861	205.8	62,863	23,556,064	374.7	454,942	104,264,925	229.2
1946-47	403,129	157,136,528	386.9	72,413	40,824,347	563.8	478,542	197,960,875	413.7

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

1949-50	517,898	248,186,821	479.2	78,865	44,919,683	569.6	596,763	293,106,504	491.2
1950-51	537,918	292,903,774	544.5	85,496	58,341,600	682.4	623,414	351,245,374	563.4
1951-52	563,678	339,422,925	602.2	90,532	65,667,024	725.3	654,210	405,089,949	619.2
1952-53	586,712	372,456,329	634.8	96,992	72,265,579	745.1	683,704	444,721,908	650.5
1953-54	623,255	388,379,816	623.1	104,300	77,383,311	741.9	727,555	465,763,127	640.2
1954-55	675,801	427,971,161	633.3	111,749	86,505,052	774.1	787,550	514,476,213	653.3
1955-56	691,249	450,370,170	651.5	148,394	120,020,338	808.8	839,643	570,390,508	679.3
1956-57	710,139	492,777,712	693.9	166,563	138,514,058	831.6	876,702	631,291,770	720.1
1957-58	729,239	569,231,230	780.6	185,073	170,127,358	919.2	914,312	739,358,588	808.7
1958-59	694,784	547,822,820	788.5	265,681	267,103,770	1,005.4	960,465	814,926,590	848.5
1959-60	731,474	612,874,393	837.9	292,132	302,995,673	1,037.2	1,023,606	915,870,068	894.7
1960-61	741,695	647,209,860	872.6	345,443	366,452,427	1,060.8	1,087,138	1,013,662,287	932.4

18a. REMUNERATION OF TEACHERS IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN STATES

State/Union Territory	1956-57			1960-61		
	Number of teachers	Total expenditure on teachers' salaries (Rs.)	Average annual salary per teacher (Rs.)	Number of teachers	Total expenditure on teachers' salaries (Rs.)	Average annual salary per teacher (Rs.)
Andhra Pradesh	..	77,064	53,464,120	73,886	69,320,335	938.2
Assam	..	20,578	9,583,081	26,354	19,705,417	747.7
Bihar	..	49,217	19,889,859	59,663	41,802,463	700.6
Gujarat	..	106,957*	94,440,397*	19,265	23,933,821	1,242.3
Jammu & Kashmir	..	2,490	1,971,901	4,404	2,995,007	680.1
Kerala	..	46,577	35,137,798	46,609	50,854,507	1,091.1
Madhya Pradesh	..	44,499	32,467,370	57,064	50,718,214	888.8
Madras	..	83,569	57,574,799	74,168	64,961,125	875.9
Maharashtra	..	**	**	50,371	60,429,933	1,199.7
Mysore	..	48,653	34,915,814	38,191	36,811,627	963.9
Orissa	..	24,812	10,493,891	37,325	18,811,135	504.0

Punjab	..	23,767	20,830,167	876.4	26,329	30,194,624	1,146.8
Rajasthan	..	16,843	12,350,503	733.3	28,502	26,333,297	923.9
Uttar Pradesh	..	80,396	44,384,942	552.1	99,054	61,853,244	624.4
West Bengal	..	74,098	51,514,126	695.2	83,732	65,541,045	782.7
A. & N. Islands	..	60	74,294	1,238.2	138	236,788	1,715.8
Delhi	..	3,311	6,798,104	2,053.2	5,444	9,615,329	1,766.2
Himachal Pradesh	..	1,774	1,754,692	989.1	2,307	2,877,752	1,247.4
L.M. & A. Islands	..	28	4,514	161.2	46	59,787	1,299.7
Manipur	..	2,048	1,024,540	500.3	4,305	3,527,783	819.5
Nagaland	..	..	..	..	994	1,352,582	1,360.7
N.E.F.A.	..	290	336,325	1,159.8	253	485,094	1,917.4
Pondicherry	..	739	1,167,844	1,580.3	432	551,483	1,276.6
Tripura	..	2,369	2,598,631	1,096.9	2,859	4,237,468	1,482.2
INDIA/TOTAL	..	710,139	492,777,712	693.9	741,695	647,209,860	872.6

* Figures pertain to Ex-Bombay State.

** Figures for the composite State of Bombay given under Gujarat.

18b. REMUNERATION OF TEACHERS IN MIDDLE SCHOOLS IN STATES

State/Union Territory	1956-57			1960-61		
	Number of teachers	Total expenditure on teachers' salaries (Rs.)	Average annual salary per teacher (Rs.)	Number of teachers	Total expenditure on teachers' salaries (Rs.)	Average annual salary per teacher (Rs.)
Andhra Pradesh	..	4,897,450	1,170.8	13,352	13,452,848	1,007.6
Assam	..	3,776,534	601.8	8,952	7,779,359	869.0
Bihar	..	12,594,087	682.8	24,918	23,311,643	935.5
Gujarat	..	33,193,623*	870.6*	39,542	41,516,877	1,050.0
Jammu & Kashmir	..	1,355,135	722.0	2,412	2,734,405	1,133.7
Kerala	..	10,763,781	817.2	28,699	30,135,929	1,050.0
Madhya Pradesh	..	13,284,718	866.8	21,898	20,719,831	946.2
Madras	..	3,467,692	719.1	36,501	35,528,154	973.3
Maharashtra	..	**	**	64,239	81,083,607	1,262.2
Mysore	..	10,556,362	863.2	34,378	33,743,202	981.5
Orissa	..	2,754,963	820.2	5,587	5,229,397	936.0

Punjab	..	7,497	8,712,753	1,162.0	10,334	14,246,388	1,378.6
Rajasthan	..	9,334	7,808,701	836.6	13,636	15,297,158	1,121.8
Uttar Pradesh	..	20,528	13,815,833	673.0	23,259	20,077,393	863.2
West Bengal	..	8,019	7,379,361	920.2	10,867	12,150,286	1,118.1
A & N Islands	..	11	10,648	968.0	16	15,234	952.1
Delhi	..	1,293	2,226,954	1,722.3	2,171	4,192,934	1,931.3
Himachal Pradesh	..	922	1,185,433	1,285.7	1,474	1,358,009	921.3
L.M. & A. Islands	..	..	..	..	39	64,530	1,654.6
Manipur	..	378	230,161	608.9	1,287	1,232,104	957.3
Nagaland	..	..	..	..	588	699,961	1,190.4
N.E.F.A.	..	72	117,020	1,500.3	90	200,412	2,226.8
Pondicherry	..	..	..	..	518	671,270	1,295.9
Tripura	..	457	382,849	837.7	686	1,011,496	1,474.5
INDIA/TOTAL	..	166,563	138,514,058	813.6	345,443	366,452,427	1,060.8

* Figures pertain to ex-Bombay State.

** Figures for the composite State of Maharashtra given under Gujarat.

18c. REMUNERATION OF TEACHERS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN STATES

State/Union Territory	1956-57			1960-61			
	Number of teachers	Total expenditure on teachers' salaries (Rs.)	Average annual salary per teacher (Rs.)	Number of teachers	Total expenditure on teachers' salaries (Rs.)	Average annual salary per teacher (Rs.)	
Andhra Pradesh	..	81,485	58,361,570	716.2	87,238	82,773,183	948.8
Assam	..	26,853	13,359,615	497.5	35,306	27,484,776	778.5
Bihar	..	67,661	32,483,946	480.1	84,581	65,114,106	769.8
Gujarat	..	145,085*	127,634,020*	879.7*	58,807	65,450,698	1,113.0
Jammu & Kashmir	..	4,367	3,327,036	761.9	6,816	5,729,412	840.6
Kerala	..	59,748	45,901,579	768.3	75,308	80,990,436	1,075.5
Madhya Pradesh	..	59,825	45,752,088	764.8	78,962	71,438,045	904.7
Madras	..	88,391	61,042,491	690.6	110,669	100,489,279	908.0
Maharashtra	..	**	**	**	114,610	141,513,540	1,234.7
Mysore	..	60,882	45,472,176	746.9	72,569	70,554,829	972.2
Orissa	..	28,171	13,248,854	470.3	42,912	24,040,532	560.2

Punjab	..	31,264	29,542,920	945.0	36,663	44,441,012	1,212.1
Rajasthan	..	26,177	20,159,204	770.1	42,138	41,630,455	988.0
Uttar Pradesh	..	100,924	58,200,775	576.7	122,313	81,930,637	669.8
West Bengal	..	82,117	58,893,487	717.2	94,599	77,691,331	821.3
A & N Islands	..	71	84,942	1,196.4	154	252,022	1,636.5
Delhi	..	4,604	9,025,058	1,960.3	7,615	13,808,263	1,813.3
Himachal Pradesh	..	2,696	2,940,125	1,090.6	3,781	4,235,761	1,120.3
L.M. & A Islands	..	28	4,514	161.2	85	124,317	1,462.6
Manipur	..	2,426	1,254,701	517.2	5,592	4,759,887	851.2
Nagaland	..	..	..	..	1,582	2,052,543	1,297.4
N.E.F.A.	..	362	453,345	1,252.3	343	685,506	1,998.6
Pondicherry	..	739	1,167,844	1,580.3	950	1,222,753	1,287.1
Tripura	..	2,826	2,981,480	1,055.0	3,545	5,248,964	1,480.7
INDIA/TOTAL	..	876,702	631,291,770	720.1	1,087,138	1,013,662,287	932.4

* Figures pertain to Ex-Bombay State.

** Figures for the composite State of Bombay given under Gujarat.

19a. TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE ON PRIMARY EDUCATION ACCORDING TO SOURCES
(1901-02 to 1960-61)

Year	Government funds	District Board funds	Municipal Board funds	Fees	Other sources	Total	Total educational expenditure (Rs. in 000's)	Percentage of expenditure on primary education to total educational expenditure
	(Rs.)	(Rs.)	(Rs.)	(Rs.)	(Rs.)	(Rs.)	(Rs. in 000's)	
1901-02	1,627,947 (13.7)	3,644,386 (30.7)	776,485 (6.6)	3,115,211 (26.2)	2,711,730 (22.8)	11,875,759 (100.0)	40,121	29.6
1906-07	2,577,437 (16.6)	5,653,612 (36.3)	1,106,428 (7.1)	3,297,385 (21.2)	2,918,650 (18.8)	15,553,512 (100.0)	55,904	27.8
1911-12	4,528,767 (21.9)	6,403,477 (30.9)	1,694,424 (8.2)	4,220,990 (20.3)	3,878,487 (18.7)	20,726,145 (100.0)	78,593	26.4
1916-17	6,899,307 (23.5)	11,261,945 (38.4)	2,741,090 (9.4)	4,773,768 (16.3)	3,637,435 (12.4)	29,313,545 (100.0)	112,883	26.0
1921-22	26,746,035 (52.5)	8,967,899 (17.6)	5,051,635 (9.9)	4,907,427 (9.7)	5,235,111 (10.3)	50,908,107 (100.0)	183,753	27.7
1926-27	34,721,797 (49.9)	13,986,046 (20.1)	8,139,734 (11.7)	5,319,063 (7.7)	7,355,056 (10.6)	69,521,696 (100.0)	245,848	28.3
1931-32	39,704,701 (48.9)	16,650,834 (20.5)	10,999,394 (13.5)	5,346,348 (6.6)	8,559,013 (10.5)	81,260,290 (100.0)	271,857	29.9
1936-37	40,421,947 (48.3)	17,014,608 (20.3)	12,494,256 (14.9)	5,129,769 (6.1)	8,719,459 (10.4)	83,780,039 (100.0)	280,569	29.9
1941-42	51,750,803 (54.5)	17,186,535 (18.1)	14,369,785 (15.1)	4,300,807 (4.5)	7,343,671 (7.8)	94,951,601 (100.0)	308,580	30.8
1946-47	105,401,940 (57.0)	35,622,794 (19.3)	24,621,794 (13.3)	7,319,215 (4.0)	11,900,760 (6.4)	184,866,503 (100.0)	576,613	32.1

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

1949-50	227,267,918 (66.9)	54,051,097 (15.9)	34,992,273 (10.3)	8,031,191 (2.4)	15,252,715 (4.5)	339,595,194 (100.0)	1,022,395	33.2
1950-51	249,113,817 (68.3)	56,565,913 (15.5)	34,585,539 (9.5)	8,620,074 (2.3)	15,957,755 (4.4)	364,843,098 (100.0)	1,143,822	31.9
1951-52	277,407,770 (68.7)	60,014,832 (14.8)	41,118,879 (10.2)	10,237,638 (2.5)	15,191,088 (3.8)	403,970,207 (100.0)	1,245,619	32.4
1952-53	318,412,405 (72.0)	52,981,349 (12.0)	41,863,644 (9.5)	12,552,665 (2.8)	16,228,702 (3.7)	442,038,765 (100.0)	1,376,428	32.1
1953-54	331,785,380 (71.7)	57,516,275 (12.4)	44,974,039 (9.7)	13,066,330 (2.8)	15,309,674 (3.4)	462,651,698 (100.0)	1,477,417	31.3
1954-55	369,546,439 (72.6)	61,424,483 (12.1)	45,584,290 (9.0)	15,605,650 (3.0)	16,766,927 (3.3)	508,927,789 (100.0)	1,650,130	30.8
1955-56	395,510,671 (73.6)	62,474,266 (11.6)	44,983,079 (8.4)	17,527,127 (3.3)	16,776,923 (3.1)	537,272,066 (100.0)	1,896,610	28.3
1956-57	435,573,563 (74.5)	68,258,499 (11.7)	46,781,168 (8.0)	17,942,749 (3.1)	16,222,182 (2.7)	584,778,161 (100.0)	2,062,941	28.3
1957-58	523,573,865 (78.5)	58,009,595 (8.7)	49,482,556 (7.4)	17,654,595 (2.6)	18,397,230 (2.8)	667,117,741 (100.0)	2,406,545	27.7
1958-59	517,774,892 (81.4)	45,584,004 (7.2)	38,072,769 (6.0)	15,708,013 (12.5)	18,567,536 (2.9)	635,707,214 (100.0)	2,661,523	23.9
1959-60	563,120,637 (80.8)	55,176,775 (7.9)	44,000,667 (6.3)	16,602,733 (2.4)	18,241,478 (2.6)	697,142,290 (100.0)	3,003,969	23.2
1960-61	591,228,777 (80.5)	60,150,930 (8.2)	46,540,455 (6.3)	17,169,454 (2.3)	19,369,790 (2.7)	734,459,406 (100.0)	3,366,961	21.8

N.B. Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

19b. TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE ON MIDDLE SCHOOL EDUCATION ACCORDING TO SOURCES (1901-02 to 1960-61)

Year	Government funds (Rs.)	District Board funds (Rs.)	Municipal Board funds (Rs.)	Fees (Rs.)	Other sources (Rs.)	Total (Rs.)	Total educational expenditure (Rs. in 000's)	Percentage of expenditure on middle school education to total educational expenditure
1901-02	719,551 (15.3)	638,516 (13.6)	277,725 (5.9)	1,665,437 (35.3)	1,409,776 (29.9)	4,711,005 (100.0)	40,121	11.7
1906-07	1,076,682 (18.9)	847,235 (14.9)	374,947 (6.6)	1,966,880 (34.6)	1,420,747 (25.0)	5,686,491 (100.0)	55,904	10.2
1911-12	1,284,592 (17.1)	1,100,988 (14.7)	487,635 (6.5)	2,909,030 (38.8)	1,717,675 (22.9)	7,499,920 (100.0)	78,593	9.5
1916-17	2,127,850 (19.7)	1,737,346 (16.1)	713,204 (6.6)	4,096,066 (37.9)	2,123,818 (19.7)	10,798,284 (100.0)	112,883	9.6
1921-22	5,835,317 (35.1)	2,569,188 (15.4)	956,152 (5.8)	4,174,567 (25.1)	3,097,033 (18.6)	16,632,257 (100.0)	183,753	9.1
1926-27	8,345,542 (37.3)	3,623,162 (16.2)	1,287,825 (5.7)	5,559,076 (24.8)	3,576,038 (16.0)	22,391,643 (100.0)	245,848	9.1
1931-32	11,267,836 (38.9)	5,129,098 (17.7)	1,652,357 (5.7)	7,142,630 (24.6)	3,797,908 (13.1)	28,989,829 (100.0)	271,857	10.7
1936-37	10,875,676 (37.9)	5,278,887 (18.4)	1,723,554 (6.0)	7,406,144 (25.8)	3,438,591 (11.9)	28,722,852 (100.0)	280,569	10.2
1941-42	10,517,749 (37.9)	5,140,938 (18.6)		8,615,070 (31.1)	3,439,260 (12.4)	27,713,017 (100.0)	308,580	9.0
1946-47	18,713,488 (39.0)	8,506,903 (17.7)		14,404,381 (30.0)	6,403,872 (13.3)	48,028,644 (100.0)	576,613	8.3

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD								
1949-50	30,019,242 (48.6)	6,735,058 (10.9)	2,181,507 (3.5)	15,022,236 (24.3)	7,806,890 (12.7)	61,764,933 (100.0)	1,022,395	6.0
1950-51	39,231,291 (51.0)	8,556,779 (11.1)	2,882,049 (3.7)	18,412,543 (23.9)	7,907,336 (10.3)	76,989,998 (100.0)	1,143,822	6.7
1951-52	44,135,378 (50.6)	9,825,681 (11.3)	2,771,969 (3.2)	21,283,058 (24.4)	9,141,226 (10.5)	87,157,312 (100.0)	1,245,619	7.0
1952-53	50,055,864 (51.9)	10,927,290 (11.3)	3,098,209 (3.2)	22,702,398 (23.6)	9,605,632 (10.0)	96,389,393 (100.0)	1,376,248	7.0
1953-54	56,342,691 (53.5)	11,303,316 (10.8)	3,066,786 (2.9)	24,414,845 (23.2)	10,116,913 (9.6)	105,244,551 (100.0)	1,477,417	7.1
1954-55	65,403,816 (57.1)	11,145,419 (9.7)	3,307,502 (2.9)	24,449,056 (21.3)	10,279,493 (9.0)	114,585,286 (100.0)	1,650,130	6.9
1955-56	96,860,005 (62.9)	14,287,708 (9.3)	5,626,282 (3.7)	24,878,081 (16.1)	12,398,160 (8.0)	154,050,236 (100.0)	1,896,610	8.1
1956-57	113,850,899 (66.4)	14,449,183 (8.4)	5,439,064 (3.2)	25,084,382 (14.6)	12,666,412 (7.4)	171,489,940 (100.0)	2,062,941	8.3
1957-58	150,110,161 (72.3)	12,725,593 (6.1)	5,599,135 (2.7)	25,254,448 (12.2)	13,982,430 (6.7)	207,671,767 (100.0)	2,406,545	8.6
1958-59	233,513,918 (73.4)	15,128,024 (4.7)	22,848,784 (7.2)	27,474,301 (8.6)	19,382,077 (6.1)	318,347,104 (100.0)	2,661,523	12.0
1959-60	258,375,406 (73.5)	16,915,927 (4.8)	25,333,071 (7.2)	29,216,245 (8.3)	21,753,410 (6.2)	351,594,059 (100.0)	3,003,969	11.7
1960-61	318,143,226 (74.1)	22,128,215 (5.1)	32,023,050 (7.5)	31,667,095 (7.4)	25,232,991 (5.9)	429,194,577 (100.0)	3,366,961	12.7

N. B. Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

19c. TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE ON ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACCORDING TO SOURCES (1901-02 to 1960-61)

Year	Government funds (Rs.)	District Board funds (Rs.)	Municipal Board funds (Rs.)	Fees (Rs.)	Other sources (Rs.)	Total (Rs.)	Total educational expenditure (Rs. in 000's)	Percentage of expenditure on elementary education to total expenditure
1901-02	2,347,498 (14.2)	4,282,902 (25.8)	1,054,210 (6.4)	4,780,648 (28.8)	4,121,506 (24.8)	16,586,764 (100.0)	40,121	41.3
1906-07	3,654,119 (17.2)	6,500,847 (30.6)	1,481,375 (7.0)	5,264,265 (24.8)	4,339,397 (20.4)	21,240,003 (100.0)	55,904	38.0
1911-12	5,813,359 (20.6)	7,504,465 (26.6)	2,182,059 (7.7)	7,130,020 (25.3)	5,596,162 (19.8)	28,226,065 (100.0)	78,593	35.9
1916-17	9,027,157 (22.5)	12,999,291 (32.4)	3,454,294 (8.6)	8,869,834 (22.1)	5,761,253 (14.4)	40,111,829 (100.0)	112,883	35.5
1921-22	32,581,352 (48.2)	11,537,087 (17.1)	6,007,787 (8.9)	9,081,994 (13.5)	8,332,144 (12.3)	67,540,364 (100.0)	183,753	36.8
1926-27	43,067,339 (46.9)	17,609,208 (19.2)	9,427,559 (10.2)	10,878,139 (11.8)	10,991,094 (11.2)	91,913,339 (100.0)	245,848	37.4
1931-32	50,972,537 (46.2)	21,779,932 (19.8)	12,651,751 (11.5)	12,488,978 (11.3)	12,356,921 (11.2)	110,250,119 (100.0)	271,857	40.6
1936-37	51,297,623 (45.6)	22,293,495 (19.8)	14,217,810 (12.6)	12,535,913 (11.2)	12,158,050 (10.8)	112,502,891 (100.0)	280,569	40.1
1941-42	62,268,552 (50.8)		36,697,258 (29.9)	12,915,817 (10.5)	10,782,931 (8.8)	122,664,618 (100.0)	308,580	39.8
1946-47	124,115,428 (53.3)		68,751,491 (29.5)	21,723,596 (9.3)	18,304,632 (7.9)	232,895,147 (100.0)	576,613	40.4

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

1949-50	257,287,160 (64.1)	60,786,155 (15.1)	37,173,780 (9.3)	23,053,427 (5.8)	23,059,605 (5.7)	401,360,127 (100.0)	1,022,395	39.3
1950-51	288,345,108 (65.3)	65,122,692 (14.7)	37,467,588 (8.5)	27,032,617 (6.1)	23,865,091 (5.4)	441,833,096 (100.0)	1,143,822	38.6
1951-52	321,543,148 (65.5)	69,840,513 (14.2)	43,890,848 (8.9)	31,520,696 (6.4)	24,332,314 (5.0)	491,127,519 (100.0)	1,245,619	39.4
1952-53	368,468,269 (68.4)	63,908,639 (11.9)	44,961,853 (8.4)	35,255,063 (6.5)	25,834,334 (4.8)	538,428,158 (100.0)	1,376,428	39.1
1953-54	388,128,071 (68.3)	68,819,591 (12.1)	48,040,825 (8.5)	37,481,175 (6.6)	25,426,587 (4.5)	567,896,249 (100.0)	1,477,417	38.4
1954-55	434,950,255 (69.8)	72,569,902 (11.6)	48,891,792 (7.8)	40,054,706 (6.4)	27,046,420 (4.4)	623,513,075 (100.0)	1,650,130	37.8
1955-56	492,370,676 (71.2)	76,761,974 (11.1)	50,609,361 (7.3)	42,405,208 (6.2)	29,175,083 (4.2)	691,322,302 (100.0)	1,896,610	36.5
1956-57	549,424,462 (72.7)	82,707,682 (10.9)	52,220,232 (6.9)	43,027,131 (5.7)	28,888,594 (3.8)	756,268,101 (100.0)	2,062,941	36.6
1957-58	673,684,026 (77.0)	70,735,188 (8.1)	55,081,591 (6.3)	42,909,043 (4.9)	32,379,660 (3.7)	874,789,508 (100.0)	2,406,545	36.3
1958-59	751,288,810 (78.7)	60,712,028 (6.4)	60,921,553 (6.4)	43,182,314 (4.5)	37,949,613 (4.0)	954,054,318 (100.0)	2,661,523	35.8
1959-60	821,496,043 (78.3)	72,092,702 (6.9)	69,333,738 (6.6)	45,818,978 (4.4)	39,994,888 (3.8)	1,048,736,349 (100.0)	3,003,969	34.9
1960-61	909,372,003 (78.1)	82,279,145 (7.1)	78,563,505 (6.8)	48,836,549 (4.2)	44,602,781 (3.8)	1,163,653,983 (100.0)	3,366,961	34.6

20a. TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE ON PRIMARY EDUCATION ACCORDING TO SOURCES AND STATES (1960-61)

State/Union Territory	Government funds	District Board funds	Municipal Board funds	Fees	Other sources	Total
Andhra Pradesh	..	20,596,057 (27.1)	3,604,855 (4.7)	208,356 (0.3)	253,410 (0.3)	76,056,007 (100.0)
Assam	..	19,886,156 (89.3)	20,334 (0.1)	4,828 (..)	2,009,804 (9.0)	22,277,859 (100.0)
Bihar	..	40,054,561 (90.2)	859,994 (2.0)	21,663 (0.1)	1,532,456 (3.4)	44,388,829 (100.0)
Gujarat	..	22,808,041 (79.5)	2,266,203 (7.9)	1,003,503 (3.5)	1,175,868 (4.1)	28,701,247 (100.0)
Jammu & Kashmir	..	3,791,512 (99.8)	.. (..)	3,800 (0.1)	4,974 (0.1)	3,800,286 (100.0)
Kerala	..	54,854,171 (99.3)	.. (..)	4,223 (0.0)	389,206 (0.7)	55,249,979 (100.0)
Madhya Pradesh	..	55,588,458 (89.5)	2,252,130 (3.6)	369,255 (0.6)	1,365,839 (2.2)	62,136,592 (100.0)
Madras	..	57,309,440 (78.7)	6,052,676 (8.3)	189,812 (0.3)	2,216,972 (3.0)	72,802,522 (100.0)
Maharashtra	..	45,993,571 (66.4)	8,569,150 (12.4)	8,240,205 (11.9)	3,573,233 (5.1)	69,303,077 (100.0)
Mysore	..	35,730,972 (91.0)	1,354,392 (3.5)	38,704 (0.1)	1,567,999 (4.0)	39,247,901 (100.0)
Orissa	..	18,446,727 (89.5)	227,956 (1.1)	6,600 (0.0)	745,175 (3.6)	20,619,075 (100.0)

Punjab	..	..	34,434,734 (96.3)	.. (..)	151,460 (0.4)	77,798 (0.2)	1,106,175 (3.1)	35,770,167 (100.0)
Rajasthan	..	..	28,222,785 (96.0)	.. (..)	112,196 (0.4)	413,277 (1.4)	649,640 (2.2)	29,397,898 (100.0)
Uttar Pradesh	..	..	58,406,423 (74.4)	10,450,490 (13.3)	7,318,018 (9.3)	621,613 (0.8)	1,719,071 (2.2)	78,515,615 (100.0)
West Bengal	..	..	56,651,956 (79.9)	3,525,982 (5.0)	4,194,594 (5.9)	5,803,930 (8.2)	690,420 (1.0)	70,866,882 (100.0)
I. & N. Islands	..	..	309,155 (100.0)	.. (..)	.. (..)	.. (..)	.. (..)	309,155 (100.0)
Delhi	..	..	15,500 (0.1)	.. (..)	10,331,221 (97.0)	140,558 (1.3)	169,345 (1.6)	10,656,624 (100.0)
Himachal Pradesh	..	..	.. (..)	3,275,354 (98.1)	23,834 (0.7)	.. (..)	39,175 (1.2)	3,338,363 (100.0)
L. M. & A. Islands	..	..	65,331 (100.0)	.. (..)	.. (..)	.. (..)	.. (..)	65,331 (100.0)
Manipur	..	..	39,352 (1.1)	3,507,685 (95.7)	.. (..)	.. (..)	116,161 (3.2)	3,663,198 (100.0)
Nagaland*	..	..	1,673,558 (100.0)	.. (..)	.. (..)	.. (..)	.. (..)	1,673,558 (100.0)
N.E.F.A.	..	..	515,509 (100.0)	.. (..)	.. (..)	.. (..)	.. (..)	515,509 (100.0)
Pondicherry	..	..	636,715 (97.9)	.. (..)	.. (..)	10,369 (1.6)	3,256 (0.5)	650,340 (100.0)
Tripura	..	..	4,400,821 (98.8)	.. (..)	.. (..)	10,960 (0.3)	41,611 (0.9)	4,453,392 (100.0)
INDIA/TOTAL	..	..	591,228,777 (80.5)	60,150,930 (8.2)	46,540,455 (6.3)	17,169,454 (2.3)	19,369,790 (2.7)	734,459,406 (100.0)

*Separate figures according to sources are not available.

20b. TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE ON MIDDLE EDUCATION ACCORDING TO SOURCES AND STATES (1960-61)

State/Union Territory	Government funds	District Board funds	Municipal Board funds	Fees	Other Sources	Total	
Andhra Pradesh	..	11,484,441 (69.1)	2,504,432 (15.0)	909,838 (5.5)	1,263,285 (7.6)	465,360 (2.8)	16,627,356 (100.0)
Assam	..	7,293,205 (73.3)	7,346 (0.1)	35,864 (0.4)	1,983,297 (20.0)	620,820 (6.2)	9,940,532 (100.0)
Bihar	..	17,021,357 (64.6)	1,006,300 (3.8)	343,191 (1.3)	5,330,398 (20.2)	2,667,416 (10.1)	26,268,662 (100.0)
Gujarat	..	36,839,801 (80.8)	2,662,046 (5.8)	4,167,066 (9.2)	714,882 (1.6)	1,199,418 (2.6)	45,583,213 (100.0)
Jammu & Kashmir	..	3,072,128 (97.4)	.. (..)	.. (..)	28,131 (0.9)	53,980 (1.7)	3,154,239 (100.0)
Kerala	..	33,499,465 (98.5)	.. (..)	.. (..)	97,545 (0.3)	428,743 (1.2)	34,025,753 (100.0)
Madhya Pradesh	..	22,794,484 (88.8)	1,044,477 (4.1)	228,141 (0.9)	1,030,665 (4.0)	585,457 (2.2)	25,683,224 (100.0)
Madras	..	30,745,065 (73.7)	3,821,869 (9.2)	4,511,725 (10.8)	650,823 (1.6)	1,986,460 (4.7)	41,715,942 (100.0)
Maharashtra	..	65,094,143 (69.5)	3,718,735 (4.0)	14,931,300 (15.9)	2,669,613 (2.8)	7,323,421 (7.8)	93,737,212 (100.0)
Mysore	..	33,207,387 (87.8)	1,200,432 (3.2)	1,332,470 (3.5)	154,562 (0.4)	1,925,175 (5.1)	37,820,026 (100.0)
Orissa	..	3,723,580 (59.2)	161,232 (2.6)	27,241 (0.4)	1,094,843 (17.4)	1,278,707 (20.4)	6,285,603 (100.0)

Punjab	..	..	15,854,537 (92.6)	348 (0.0)	46,207 (0.3)	540,176 (3.1)	682,802 (4.0)	17,124,070 (100.0)
Rajasthan	..	..	16,034,576 (90.1)	17,564 (0.1)	28,182 (0.1)	725,261 (4.1)	994,242 (5.6)	17,799,825 (100.0)
Uttar Pradesh	..	..	12,515,444 (45.8)	3,140,703 (11.5)	1,045,171 (3.8)	7,968,240 (29.2)	2,658,196 (9.7)	27,327,754 (100.0)
West Bengal	..	..	6,020,795 (39.8)	111,228 (0.7)	26,960 (0.2)	7,113,696 (47.0)	1,865,836 (12.3)	15,138,515 (100.0)
A. & N. Islands	..	..	19,405 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	19,405 (100.0)
Delhi	..	..	31,888 (0.7)	..	4,389,694 (89.0)	247,479 (5.0)	261,903 (5.3)	4,930,964 (100.0)
Himachal Pradesh	..	..	..	1,453,351 (97.3)	..	..	41,049 (2.7)	1,494,400 (100.0)
L. M. & A. Islands	..	..	71,233 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	71,233 (100.0)
Manipur	..	..	..	1,278,152 (88.9)	..	12,683 (0.9)	146,463 (10.2)	1,437,298 (100.0)
Nagaland*	..	..	830,878 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	830,878 (100.0)
N.E.F.A.	..	..	210,482 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	210,482 (100.0)
Pondicherry	..	..	686,450 (91.3)	..	..	30,353 (4.0)	34,947 (4.7)	751,750 (100.0)
Tripura	..	..	1,092,482 (97.9)	..	..	11,163 (1.0)	12,596 (1.1)	1,116,241 (100.0)
INDIA/TOTAL ..	..	..	318,143,226 (74.1)	22,128,215 (5.1)	32,023,050 (7.5)	31,667,095 (7.4)	25,232,991 (5.9)	429,194,577 (100.0)

*Separate figures according to sources not available.

20c. TOTAL DIRECT EXPENDITURE ON ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACCORDING TO SOURCES AND STATES (1960-61)

State/Union Territory	Government funds	District Board funds	Municipal Board funds	Fees	Other sources	Total
Andhra Pradesh	..	23,100,489 (24.9)	4,514,641 (4.9)	1,471,641 (1.6)	718,770 (0.8)	92,683,363 (100.0)
Assam	..	27,179,361 (84.3)	364,083 (1.1)	1,988,125 (6.2)	2,630,624 (8.2)	32,218,391 (100.0)
Bihar	..	57,075,918 (80.7)	2,926,455 (4.1)	5,352,061 (7.6)	4,199,872 (5.9)	70,757,491 (100.0)
Gujarat	..	59,647,842 (80.3)	4,109,678 (5.5)	1,718,385 (2.3)	2,375,286 (3.2)	74,284,460 (100.0)
Jammu & Kashmir	..	6,863,640 (98.7)	.. (..)	31,931 (0.5)	58,954 (0.8)	6,954,525 (100.0)
Kerala	..	88,353,636 (99.0)	2,379 (0.0)	101,768 (0.1)	817,949 (0.9)	89,275,732 (100.0)
Madhya Pradesh	..	78,382,942 (89.3)	3,605,387 (4.1)	1,999,920 (1.6)	1,951,296 (2.2)	87,819,816 (100.0)
Madras	..	88,054,505 (76.9)	10,855,491 (9.5)	840,635 (0.7)	4,203,432 (3.7)	114,518,464 (100.0)
Maharashtra	..	111,087,714 (68.1)	6,645,653 (4.1)	10,909,818 (6.7)	10,896,654 (6.7)	163,040,289 (100.0)
Mysore	..	68,938,359 (89.5)	2,554,824 (3.3)	193,266 (0.3)	3,493,174 (4.5)	77,067,927 (100.0)
Orissa	..	22,170,307 (82.4)	1,359,849 (5.0)	1,101,443 (4.1)	2,023,882 (7.5)	26,904,668 (100.0)

Punjab	..	..	50,289,271 (95.1)	348 (0.0)	197,667 (0.3)	617,974 (1.2)	1,788,977 (3.4)	52,894,237 (100.0)
Rajasthan	..	..	44,257,361 (93.8)	17,564 (0.0)	140,378 (0.3)	1,138,538 (2.4)	1,643,882 (3.5)	47,197,723 (100.0)
Uttar Pradesh	..	..	70,921,867 (67.0)	13,591,193 (12.9)	8,363,189 (7.9)	8,589,853 (8.1)	4,377,267 (4.1)	105,843,369 (100.0)
West Bengal	..	..	62,672,751 (72.9)	3,637,210 (4.2)	4,221,554 (4.9)	12,917,626 (15.0)	2,556,256 (3.0)	86,005,397 (100.0)
A. & N. Islands	..	..	328,560 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	328,560 (100.0)
Delhi	..	..	47,388 (0.3)	..	14,720,915 (94.4)	388,037 (2.5)	431,248 (2.8)	15,587,588 (100.0)
Himachal Pradesh	..	..	..	4,728,705 (97.8)	23,834 (0.5)	..	80,224 (1.7)	4,832,763 (100.0)
L. M. & A. Islands	..	..	136,564 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	136,564 (100.0)
Manipur	..	..	39,352 (0.8)	4,785,837 (93.8)	..	12,683 (0.2)	262,624 (5.2)	5,100,496 (100.0)
Nagaland*	..	..	2,504,436 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	2,504,436 (100.0)
N.E.F.A.	..	..	725,991 (100.0)	..	..	..	..	725,991 (100.0)
Pondicherry	..	..	1,323,165 (94.4)	..	..	40,722 (2.9)	38,203 (2.7)	1,402,090 (100.0)
Tripura	..	..	5,493,303 (98.6)	..	..	22,123 (0.4)	54,207 (1.0)	5,569,633 (100.0)
INDIA/TOTAL	..	..	909,372,003 (78.1)	82,279,145 (7.1)	78,563,505 (6.8)	48,836,549 (4.2)	44,602,781 (3.8)	1,163,653,983 (100.0)

* Separate figures according to sources not available.

21a. PROGRESS OF GIRLS' EDUCATION AT THE PRIMARY STAGE (1901-02 to 1960-61)

Year	Number of primary schools for girls	Number of girls enrolled in primary schools		Percentage of girls in boys' schools to total enrolment of girls	Number of girls on rolls for every 100 boys	Number of girls at the primary stage
		For boys	For girls			
1901-02	5,628	160,035	185,362	46.3	12	380,282
1906-07	9,983	219,143	294,105	42.7	15	561,767
1911-12	12,886	339,278	446,225	43.2	18	833,315
1916-17	18,122	432,629	603,496	41.8	21	115,492
1921-22	22,635	461,880	736,670	38.5	23	1,297,643
1926-27	26,682	614,199	935,082	39.6	N.A.	N.A.
1931-32	32,635	831,224	1,245,879	40.0	36	2,261,864
1936-37	32,333	1,200,103	1,411,474	46.0	N.A.	N.A.
1941-42	24,141	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1946-47	21,480	1,980,393	1,494,772	57.0	N.A.	N.A.

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

1949-50	13,972	3,625,535	1,226,024	4,851,559	74.7	39	5,034,740
1950-51	13,901	3,841,058	1,297,316	5,138,374	74.8	39	5,271,359
1951-52	13,968	4,071,988	1,334,586	5,406,574	75.3	40	5,507,114
1952-53	14,227	4,262,839	1,343,041	5,605,880	76.0	41	5,731,727
1953-54	14,711	4,672,861	1,387,577	6,060,438	77.1	41	6,199,920
1954-55	14,925	5,114,874	1,437,853	6,552,727	78.1	42	6,740,376
1955-56	15,230	5,523,719	1,449,642	6,973,361	79.2	44	7,486,686
1956-57	16,065	5,897,405	1,489,899	7,387,304	79.8	45	8,080,691
1957-58	16,433	6,127,514	1,549,459	7,676,973	79.8	45	8,557,321
1958-59	16,735	6,065,831	1,428,597	7,494,428	80.9	47	9,560,763
1959-60	18,800	6,543,435	1,510,246	8,053,681	81.2	47	10,265,920
1960-61	19,829	6,874,879	1,509,162	8,384,041	82.0	48	11,322,747

21b. PROGRESS OF GIRLS' EDUCATION AT THE MIDDLE STAGE (1901-02 to 1960-61)

Year	Number of middle schools for girls	Number of girls enrolled in middle schools		Percentage of girls in boys' schools to total enrolment of girls	Number of girls on rolls for every 100 boys	Number of girls at the middle stage
		For boys	For girls			
1901-02	361	6,882	27,504	20.0	5	8,133
1906-07	453	10,541	38,811	21.4	5	10,553
1911-12	361	17,690	28,837	38.0	5	13,055
1916-17	523	29,544	47,487	38.4	5	18,871
1921-22	626	34,385	58,081	37.2	6	24,555
1926-27	722	49,017	81,304	37.6	N.A.	N.A.
1931-32	847	63,735	113,753	35.9	8	70,613
1936-37	1,030	68,659	154,555	30.8	N.A.	N.A.
1941-42	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1946-47	1,653	60,030	261,478	18.7	N.A.	N.A.

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

1949-50	1,588	104,135	290,817	394,952	26.4	N.A.	N.A.
1950-51	1,674	106,135	290,912	397,047	26.7	22	603,720
1951-52	1,720	143,258	279,466	422,724	33.9	22	669,096
1952-53	1,762	159,180	289,700	448,880	35.5	23	713,008
1953-54	1,891	175,038	306,288	481,326	36.4	24	818,881
1954-55	1,901	218,274	321,204	539,478	40.5	25	891,354
1955-56	2,337	462,213	429,782	891,995	51.8	26	992,560
1956-57	2,615	606,833	506,928	1,113,761	54.5	28	1,138,171
1957-58	2,874	813,056	549,808	1,362,364	59.7	30	1,262,581
1958-59	3,762	1,684,619	840,247	2,524,866	66.7	31	1,365,219
1959-60	4,056	1,860,039	924,844	2,784,883	66.8	32	1,575,922
1960-61	4,672	2,352,254	1,059,662	3,411,916	68.9	34	1,914,131

21c. PROGRESS OF GIRLS' EDUCATION AT THE ELEMENTARY STAGE (1901-02 to 1960-61)

Year	Number of elementary schools	Number of girls enrolled in elementary schools		Percentage of girls in boys' schools to total enrolment of girls	Number of girls on rolls for every 100 boys	Number of girls at the elementary stage
		For boys	For girls			
			Total			
1901-02	5,989	166,917	212,866	44.0	12	388,515
1906-07	10,436	229,684	332,916	40.8	14	572,320
1911-12	13,247	356,968	475,062	42.9	17	846,370
1916-17	18,645	462,173	650,983	41.5	20	1,134,363
1921-22	23,261	496,265	794,751	38.4	22	1,322,198
1926-27	27,404	663,216	1,016,386	39.5	N.A.	N.A.
1931-32	33,482	894,959	1,359,632	39.7	32	2,332,477
1936-37	33,363	1,268,762	1,566,029	44.8	N.A.	N.A.
1941-42	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
1946-47	23,133	2,040,423	1,756,250	53.7	N.A.	N.A.

POST-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

1949-50	15,560	3,729,670	1,516,841	5,246,511	71.1	N.A.	N.A.
1950-51	15,575	3,947,193	1,588,228	5,535,421	71.3	36	5,875,079
1951-52	15,688	4,215,246	1,614,052	5,829,298	72.3	37	6,176,210
1952-53	15,989	4,422,019	1,632,741	6,054,760	73.0	37	6,444,735
1953-54	16,602	4,847,899	1,693,865	6,541,764	74.1	38	7,018,801
1954-55	16,826	5,333,148	1,759,057	7,092,205	75.2	39	7,631,730
1955-56	17,567	5,985,932	1,879,424	7,865,356	76.1	41	8,479,246
1956-57	18,680	6,504,238	1,996,827	8,501,065	76.5	42	9,218,862
1957-58	19,307	6,940,570	2,099,267	9,039,337	76.8	43	9,819,902
1958-59	20,497	7,750,450	2,268,844	10,019,294	77.4	44	10,925,982
1959-60	22,856	8,403,474	2,435,090	10,838,564	77.5	45	11,841,842
1960-61	24,501	9,227,133	2,568,824	11,795,957	78.2	46	13,236,878

22a. PROGRESS OF GIRLS' EDUCATION AT THE PRIMARY STAGE IN STATES (1960-61)

State/Union Territory	Number of primary schools for girls	Number of girls enrolled in primary schools		Percentage of girls in boys' schools to total enrolment of girls	Number of girls on rolls for every 100 boys	Number of girls at the primary stage
		For boys	For girls			
Andhra Pradesh	..	985,421	35,666	1,021,087	62	1,135,391
Assam	..	348,791	35,797	384,588	58	414,742
Bihar	..	473,219	164,215	637,434	30	738,868
Gujarat	..	187,664	48,379	236,043	55	723,607
Jammu & Kashmir	..	1,525	35,213	36,738	27	44,988
Kerala	..	837,315	7,385	844,700	87	1,109,821
Madhya Pradesh	..	221,929	145,929	367,858	28	441,914
Madras	..	941,670	..	941,670	62	1,280,253
Maharashtra	..	515,016	127,692	642,708	58	1,451,779
Mysore	..	381,589	86,378	467,967	59	807,203

Orissa ..	252	406,073	20,760	426,834	95.1	45	439,961
Punjab ..	2,895	147,839	158,242	306,081	48.3	47	462,926
Rajasthan ..	614	103,784	51,199	154,983	67.0	24	215,460
Uttar Pradesh	4,927	399,323	389,637	787,960	50.7	27	868,171
West Bengal	963	826,359	120,030	946,389	87.3	55	950,967
A. & N. Islands	..	1,836	..	1,836	100.0	63	1,717
Delhi ..	275	15,082	60,897	75,979	19.9	73	120,730
Himachal Pradesh	8	8,297	8,535	16,832	49.3	25	16,810
L. M. & A. Islands	4	563	560	1,123	50.1	65	1,255
Manipur ..	167	24,236	13,017	37,253	65.1	54	37,253
Nagaland ..	..	14,643	..	14,643	100.0	58	17,138
N.E.F.A. ..	..	441	..	441	100.0	N.A.	N.A.
Pondicherry	11	4,654	631	5,285	88.1	65	12,250
Tripura ..	..	27,610	..	27,610	100.0	52	29,543
INDIA/TOTAL	..	19,829	1,509,162	8,384,041	82.0	48	11,322,747

22b. PROGRESS OF GIRLS' EDUCATION AT THE MIDDLE SCHOOL STAGE IN STATES
(1960-61)

State/Union Territory	Number of middle schools for girls	Number of girls enrolled in middle schools		Percentage of girls in boys' schools to total enrolment of girls	Number of girls enrolled for every 100 boys	Number of girls at the middle stage
		For boys	For girls			
Andhra Pradesh	..	91,874	23,443	79.7	29	92,085
Assam	..	48,241	16,734	74.2	38	60,812
Bihar	..	90,100	49,518	64.5	12	56,037
Gujarat	..	311,161	239,894	56.5	42	148,704
Jammu & Kashmir	..	436	12,751	3.3	24	11,643
Kerala	..	337,030	5,813	98.3	78	394,161
Madhya Pradesh	..	34,809	52,595	39.8	18	49,320
Madras	..	416,605	2,559	99.4	44	209,537
Maharashtra	..	646,523	216,081	74.9	38	268,954
Mysore	..	258,240	154,780	62.5	38	100,910

Orissa ..	94	10,127	6,282	16,409	61.7	13	12,293
Punjab ..	357	25,429	68,539	93,968	27.1	25	88,941
Rajasthan ..	202	21,190	49,216	70,406	30.1	15	27,571
Uttar Pradesh ..	661	16,918	86,770	103,688	16.3	17	122,431
West Bengal ..	418	24,357	39,074	63,431	38.4	36	203,473
A. & N. Islands ..	..	119	..	119	100.0	33	120
Delhi ..	99	2,771	27,715	30,486	9.1	70	46,216
Himachal Pradesh ..	11	3,237	1,096	4,333	74.7	20	3,252
L. M. & A. Islands ..	..	147	..	147	100.0	9	42
Manipur ..	20	4,078	2,511	6,589	61.9	33	8,470
Nagaland ..	..	3,860	..	3,860	100.0	43	2,949
N.E.F.A. ..	..	257	..	257	100.0	N.A.	N.A.
Pondicherry ..	21	2,098	3,659	5,757	36.4	35	1,841
Tripura ..	5	2,647	632	3,279	80.7	39	4,369
INDIA/TOTAL ..	4,672	2,352,254	1,059,662	3,411,916	68.9	34	1,914,131

22c. PROGRESS OF GIRLS' EDUCATION AT THE ELEMENTARY STAGE IN STATES (1960-61)

State/Union Territory	Number of elementary schools for girls	Number of girls enrolled in elementary schools		Percentage of girls in boys' schools to total enrolment of girls	Number of girls for every 100 boys	Number of girls at the elementary stage
		For boys	For girls			
Andhra Pradesh	..	1,077,295	59,109	94.8	57	1,227,476
Assam	..	397,032	52,531	88.3	55	475,554
Bihar	..	563,319	213,733	72.5	27	794,905
Gujarat	..	498,825	288,273	63.4	53	872,311
Jammu & Kashmir	..	1,961	47,964	3.9	27	56,631
Kerala	..	1,174,345	13,198	98.9	84	1,503,982
Madhya Pradesh	..	256,738	198,524	56.4	27	491,234
Madras	..	1,358,275	2,559	99.8	59	1,489,790
Maharashtra	..	1,161,539	343,773	77.2	54	1,720,733
Mysore	..	639,829	241,158	72.6	56	908,113

Orissa ..	..	346	416,200	27,042	443,242	93.9	42	452,254
Punjab ..	..	3,252	173,268	226,781	400,049	43.3	42	551,867
Rajasthan ..	..	816	124,974	100,415	225,389	55.4	23	243,031
Uttar Pradesh ..	..	5,588	416,241	475,407	891,648	46.7	25	990,602
West Bengal ..	..	1,381	850,716	159,104	1,009,820	84.2	51	1,154,440
A. & N. Islands ..	..	..	1,955	..	1,955	100.0	60	1,837
Delhi ..	..	374	17,853	88,612	106,465	16.8	72	166,946
Himachal Pradesh ..	..	19	11,534	9,631	21,165	54.5	24	20,062
L. M. & A. Islands ..	..	4	710	560	1,270	55.9	54	1,297
Manipur ..	..	187	28,314	15,528	43,842	64.6	48	45,723
Nagaland ..	..	..	18,503	..	18,503	100.0	56	20,087
N.E.F.A. ..	..	..	698	..	698	100.0	N.A.	N.A.
Pondicherry ..	..	32	6,752	4,290	11,042	61.1	58	14,091
Tripura ..	..	5	30,257	632	30,889	98.0	50	33,912
INDIA/TOTAL ..	..	24,501	9,227,133	2,568,824	11,795,957	78.2	46	13,236,878

23a. PROGRESS OF COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION (1949-50 to 1960-61)

Year	Number of towns, cities, or villages under compulsion	Total estimated population of the children of school-going age in areas under compulsion	Number of institutions where compulsion was in force	Number of pupils on rolls under compulsion		Coercive measures taken				Number of attendance officers	Total expenditure		
				Boys	Girls	Number of notices issued	Number of attendance orders passed	Prosecutions					
								For non-enrolment	For non-attendance realised				
(Rs.)													
1949-50	..	18,822	5,184,834	31,269	2,616,192	1,376,495	621,841	238,296	33,509	85,569	45,892	1,351	32,102,278
1950-51	..	20,657	5,357,351	33,561	2,744,833	1,422,026	645,890	252,203	41,984	89,613	40,575	1,286	40,307,644
1951-52	..	32,701	6,494,647	35,882	3,041,617	1,593,649	591,793	239,474	41,834	80,536	42,110	983	53,350,629
1952-53	..	34,486	6,755,571	36,559	3,148,737	1,603,459	592,279	201,765	31,128	89,152	37,651	1,005	63,260,308
1953-54	..	36,496	6,997,776	37,407	3,272,409	1,613,476	618,447	231,874	35,483	69,526	29,259	1,019	68,993,133
1954-55	..	40,077	7,964,431	43,460	3,628,456	1,800,506	626,467	223,498	35,549	67,736	24,958	827	83,095,286
1955-56	..	40,357	8,545,944	46,218	4,122,280	1,965,132	687,421	240,450	39,514	57,146	23,629	981	105,073,380
1956-57	..	54,801	9,297,401	58,357	4,188,177	2,188,500	781,924	268,671	39,755	56,971	20,785	892	109,180,719
1957-58	..	56,482	9,942,174	64,067	4,494,663	2,411,055	668,496	251,871	29,883	44,269	31,880	793	134,138,116
1958-59	..	58,174	10,278,786	66,073	4,788,698	2,547,596	697,834	236,908	27,376	47,621	14,483	761	167,134,284
1959-60	..	61,699	10,854,206	68,863	5,103,802	2,794,404	620,149	197,109	22,212	36,730	12,932	698	179,577,659
1960-61	..	67,974	10,830,336	70,479	5,113,213	2,707,829	555,940	198,728	20,452	33,194	26,454	654	169,663,810

23b. PROGRESS OF COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION IN STATES (1960-61)

STATISTICAL TABLES

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State/Union Territory	Number of cities, towns and villages under compulsion	Total estimated population of the children of school-going age in these areas	Number of institutions where compulsion was in force	Number of pupils on rolls under compulsion		Coercive measures taken				Number of attendance officers	Total expenditure (Rs.)
				Boys	Girls	Number of notices issued	Number of attendance orders passed	For non-enrolment	Prosecutions For non-attendance		
Andhra Pradesh ..	1,473	632,381	3,284	282,350	188,160	24,521	18,757	7,056	11,595	..	7,660,347
Assam ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bihar ..	8,514	673,075	4,942	354,540	94,123	5,615	1,067	..	..	38	7,226,566
Gujarat ..	12,844	1,756,046	12,765	638,050	419,506	136,702	49,111	4,380	8,257	1,079	31,118,636
Jammu & Kashmir ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kerala ..	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Madhya Pradesh ..	6,666	548,441	4,646	313,177	36,121	14,303	5,583	481	1,208	837	9,299,899
Madras ..	5,342	1,732,586	5,619	777,450	547,452	1,747	..	..	..	..	88,193
Maharashtra	15,793	2,890,478	19,958	1,233,788	818,916	207,550	45,279	1,312	1,190	244	64,033,025
Mysore ..	4,370	996,800	10,044	529,124	336,646	14,306	8,039	985	844	389	22,323,371
Orissa ..	13	6,145	33	3,388	..	175	175	..	46	104	271,491

23b. PROGRESS OF COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION IN STATES (1960-61)—Contd.

State/Union Territories	Number of cities, towns and villages under compulsion	Total estimated population of the children of school going age in these areas	Number of institutions where compulsion was in force	Number of pupils on rolls under compulsion		Coercive measures taken				Number of attendance officers	Total expenditure
				Boys	Girls	Number of notices issued	Number of attendance orders passed	For non-enrollment	Prosecutions For non-attendance		
Punjab ..	3,921	278,375	1,164	182,344	..	49	51	..	..	82	3,851,904
Rajasthan ..	712	98,092	686	49,058	18,097	..	..	..	..	17	3,944,735
Uttar Pradesh	1,782	678,146	3,327	479,256	97,058	148,648	70,666	6,238	10,054	298	14,374,244
West Bengal..	5,744	447,771	3,191	235,394	121,250	1,424	..	..	..	..	5,459,399
A. & N. Islands	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Delhi ..	800	92,000	800	35,294	30,500	..	..	..	..	4	12,000
Himachal Pradesh ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
L.M. & A. Islands ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Manipur ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nagaland ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
N.E.F.A. ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pondicherry ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tripura ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
INDIA/TOTAL	67,974	10,830,336	70,479	5,113,213	2,707,829	555,940	198,728	20,452	33,194	26,454	169,663,810

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INFORMATION CONCERNING THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING

1. **ESTABLISHMENT.** The National Council of Educational Research and Training was set up in September 1961 as an autonomous organization, under the Government of India, Ministry of Education.

2. **OBJECTIVES.** The objectives of the Council are to promote, organize and foster research in all branches of education ; to organize advanced level training ; to disseminate knowledge of improved educational techniques and practices in the school system ; and to act as a clearing house, and with this object undertake special studies, surveys and investigations.

3. **MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL.** The Council consists of the Union Minister for Education as ex-officio President, Educational Adviser to the Government of India (ex-officio) Vice-President, Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University (ex-officio), Chairman of the University Grants Commission (ex-officio), one representative of each State Government who is the Education Minister of the State or his nominee, members of the Governing Body and 12 other persons nominated by the Government of India.

4. **OFFICERS AND AUTHORITIES OF THE COUNCIL.** The officers of the Council are the President, Vice-President, Director, Joint Director and Secretary and such others as are designated by the Governing Body. The Director of the Council is also the Director of the National Institute of Education set up by the Council.

The authorities of the Council are the Governing Body and the Board of Educational Studies and other authorities constituted by the Governing Body.

5. **THE GOVERNING BODY.** The affairs of the Council are administered, directed and controlled by the Governing Body consisting of President of the Council ; Vice-President ; three persons appointed by the Ministry of Education ; Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Finance or his representative ; two nominated members of the Board of Educational Studies ; Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University ; Joint Director of the Council ; and the Secretary. The Secretary of the Council is also the Secretary of the Governing Body.

6. **BOARD OF EDUCATIONAL STUDIES.** The Board of Educational Studies is the principal advisory body of the Council. It considers all proposals relating to research, training and extension projects referred to the Board for advice. It recommends to the Governing Body the lines on which educational research, training and extension may be conducted and guided. It also initiates, guides and supervises research and training projects, and examines and coordinates schemes relating to them.

7. **STANDING SUB-COMMITTEES.** The Board of Educational Studies functions through three Standing sub-Committees one of which deals with the research schemes submitted to the Council by other organizations and bodies, the second planning and coordinating educational studies and research within the National Institute of Education, and the third for Extension and Field Services and Regional Colleges of Education.

8. **ACTIVITIES AND PROGRAMMES.** During the two years since it was set up, the council has initiated several significant programmes in research, training and extension. Major research projects have been initiated in areas like reading, evaluation, maintenance of standards, child study, educational administration etc.

9. NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. The Council has established the National Institute of Education to carry out its objectives and to serve as a principal institutional agency for developing research, advanced training and extension services. There are several Departments and Units in the National Institute of Education such as the Departments of Social and Philosophical Foundations of Education and Comparative Education ; Psychological Foundations of Education ; Educational Administration ; Curriculum, Methods and Textbooks ; Science Education ; Basic and Elementary Education ; Fundamental Education ; Audio-Visual Education ; Department of Instruction ; Division of Extension and Field Services ; and Publication Unit.

10. YEAR BOOKS. The First Indian Year Book of Education was published by the Council in 1961 and was devoted to a review of education in India from 1947-1961. The Second Year Book deals with Elementary Education in India.

